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MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS.

NEW EDITION.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS

By WILLIAM HANNA, D.D.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM GLASGOW—DEVELOPMENT OF HIS REGRETS AND REMEMBRANCES—RESIDENCE WITH MR. DUNCAN—THE SLOOP AND THE FURNITURE—HIS COURSE OF LECTURES ON MORAL PHILOSOPHY—FIRST SESSIONS OF DR. CHALMERS AND OF DR. THOMAS BROWN COMPARED AND CONTRASTED—MORAL PHILOSOPHY AND MUSIC — THE DOG IN THE CLASS-ROOM — VALEDICTORY ADDRESS TO THE STUDENTS—BENEFITS OF SUSTAINED AND REGULATED INDUSTRY—DEMOSTHENES AND NEWTON—THE PRINCIPIA AND THE PYRAMIDS.

It was a rapid movement from Glasgow to St. Andrews, yet Dr. Chalmers found time during a single day of rest spent upon the road to write to Mrs. Chalmers, whom he had left behind—"This is a quiet time with me, and my mind is silently developing its regrets and its remembrances. You are aware that however insignificant compliments are in the general, there is a substantial object gained by the faithful transmission of them in the present instance. I do not want you so to write as in any way to overbear you, but you may perhaps have easy opportunities of conveying the expression of my kindest regards to ——. Tell John,* when you see him, that I have not forgotten him; I was really affected by his ardent grief for my departure. . . . I feel the blank and the sensibility of my departure from Glasgow more than I have ever yet done; and now that its bustle

* John Graham, the beadle of St. John's. Time, distance, and the Disruption disjoined him afterwards from his old master, yet he walked from Glasgow to Edinburgh to be present at Dr. Chalmers's funeral.

and its engrossments and its manifold urgency and fatigue are shifted away from me, I have time to think, and I trust that I do it with the gratitude for what is past and the grief for my present deprivation, which are so eminently due to my friends in that quarter." This letter, written at Kirkcaldy, is dated the 13th November 1823. On Friday the 14th, Dr. Chalmers delivered his Introductory Lecture at St. Andrews, and on the evening of Saturday he writes again to Mrs. Chalmers—"I am now with Mr. Duncan, in perfect ease and very comfortable; but I shall not be at rest till I am fairly in the midst of my dear family. The four Glasgow gentlemen left me this evening. I venerate Mr. Dennistoun, and they have all acted nobly. Poor Mr. Parker and myself were most completely unmanned by our private separation."

His old college friend, Mr. Duncan, now Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, had invited Dr. Chalmers to live with him till his own house should be ready for his reception, and out of his own family he could scarcely have found a quieter or more congenial home. "I do famously here with Mr. Duncan," he says to Mrs. Chalmers after about a week's experience of St. Andrews, "but long, notwithstanding, for your safe and comfortable settlement in St. Andrews. . . . I am quite overcrowded, and they seem to think that another and larger room will be indispensable. I get up at six o'clock—have a morning diet of study before breakfast, then a forenoon diet between one and three, and my last is between tea and supper. With this amount of study I think that I shall get tolerably on, and be able to converse with my dear family between dinner and tea. I walk before dinner. This day I made my students laugh at my expense by calling them 'my brethren' instead of 'gentlemen;' Mr. Duncan has the advantage of me to-day by laughing at it too, though I think that in this sort of rivalship I have generally the advantage of him." The excitements of the opening of his first College Session were now shared with his anxieties about the safe transfer of his family and furniture from Glasgow. Instead of exposing the latter to a tedious land carriage, it was thought better to freight a sloop, and to send it through the canal, and round the coast of Fife to St. Andrews. Influenced partly by a desire for its protection, and partly by a desire to see his old master in his new abode, John Graham volunteered to accompany it. "I am much interested," writes Dr. Chalmers on hearing of this, "by John's proposal to come in the sloop,

and if he be really keen for it, I would rather ask him than otherwise. It, for one thing, will be a great security that the furniture goes safely, and for myself I should like exceedingly to see him and be kind to him. If he do come, tell him to bring a whole packet of letters from the agency. We have had most brilliant and delightful weather ever since I came to St. Andrews —not a drop of rain."*

About the end of November, the brilliant weather giving promise of a prosperous issue, John and the sloop embarked upon their voyage. The fair promise, however, was broken. A storm overtook the ill-fated vessel as she entered the Frith of Forth, and for some days, during which he sent off the following despatches, Dr. Chalmers was kept in a state of harassing suspense as to her fate :—

"*St. Andrews, Dec.* 4.—No appearance of the sloop, and it is not thought that it will venture round Fifeness till the weather becomes more moderate. The wind has fallen, but the suspense is disagreeable in the meantime. If the vessel has put into any harbour on the coast, John should come from it overland to St. Andrews. I dislike the idea of him getting such a rock upon the occasion. This morning I was put into a sad alarm before breakfast by the information that a sloop had been stranded overnight, and was now among the rocks.

"*Dec.* 5.—I have been tantalized with two appearances today in the offing, neither of which turned out as I had hoped for; and as yet there is nothing within verge of the horizon that can be interpreted into our vessel. The weather, however, has become moderate, and the surf on the beach has abated greatly. The water looks quite calm in the Bay, and should this fair and yet gentle breeze continue it may cast up in the course of to-morrow. . . . I am in great peace and comfort. I am floundering on through my course of moral philosophy, and I think that I can see how, helter-skelter, I shall arrive at the termination of it.

"*Dec.* 8.—There was a vessel this day reported to have turned Fifeness, and which beat against the wind, as we all thought, for St. Andrews. It went by the name of Dr. Chalmers's sloop, and when on its last tack, as we thought, to the pier, a pilot-boat went out, on which she turned immediately for the West Sands, where she lies at anchor. The inference is, that she is a vessel which has just come in for shelter. The

* Letter dated November 28, 1823.

weather is more moderate to-night, and we shall be looking out to-morrow.

"*Dec.* 9, *Tuesday.—Five o'clock.*—No appearance yet of our vessel. I came up from the shore before dinner with the impression that it was really unaccountable now; but Mr. Duncan tells me that he held conversation with a fisherman about it, who said that, from the direction of the wind, there was still a difficulty in turning the point.

"*Dec.* 10.—I make no delay in informing you that the sloop arrived this morning, and is lying aground off the harbour. There will be no unpacking till to-morrow.

Dr. Chalmers was joined by his family in the beginning of January 1824. The four months which followed were months of unbroken but most pleasurable literary labour. As he started at November with lectures sufficient only for a week or two, it became an arduous task for him to keep, as he desired to do, his written compositions a day or two in advance of their delivery. The distance between the two was lessening continually as the session proceeded, but the struggle to keep it up, and the watching how it narrowed, had for him all the zest of the race-course. "I shall be lecturing," he writes in March, "for six weeks yet, and am very nearly from hand to mouth with my preparations. I have the prospect of winning the course, though it will be by no more than the length of half a neck: but I like the employment vastly." Of the lectures thus hastily prepared a large portion have been given to the public—almost without correction—just as they flowed from his quickly running pen. How like and yet how different this first session of Dr. Chalmers in the moral philosophy chair at St. Andrews, and the first session of Dr. Thomas Brown in the same chair at Edinburgh. Both began their winter labours almost wholly unfurnished with written preparations; but the one came to them from the retirement of the country, and after a summer of quiet reading and reflection; the other from the whirl of city life, and from the tumultuous occupations of a different and most engrossing profession. Both under the excitement of the occasion, and with the same rare facility of rapid composition, threw off writings which scarcely required or admitted of emendation, in which speculations the most original and profound were invested with all the charms of a fascinating eloquence. But Dr. Brown trusted much more than Dr. Chalmers to the spur of the moment. He seldom began to write his lectures till late in the evening of the

day which preceded their delivery. Upon the subjects of many of them he had not reflected till he sat down, and many of his most ingenious theories occurred to him in the course of composition. Dr. Chalmers seldom began to write without a distinct and matured conception of the topics which he intended to discuss, and with certain broad outlines of thought laid down, which he seldom if ever traversed. From an early period in the morning he studied at regular intervals throughout the day, and the hour which saw Dr. Brown fastened to his midnight task found Dr. Chalmers relieved and at leisure to enjoy, with all the freedom and freshness of an unburdened mind, the society of his family and friends. One cannot follow the progress of either throughout their first season of professorial toil without the feeling that we are contemplating a singular intellectual feat performed by a marvellously gifted operator. Yet to the mode of operation there attaches in the one instance a natural healthiness of tone and manner which belongs not to the other; and if to the *opus operatum* in the latter case there belongs a scientific completeness and finish which the other cannot claim, this may be attributed to Dr. Brown's greater antecedent familiarity with his subject, and to the well-digested plan upon which his labours were commenced and carried through. His own state of unpreparedness was so great as to make Dr. Chalmers at the opening of the session not a little sensitive as to the result. He could not but be aware that his reputation for eloquence would attract many auditors to his class-room. Desirous, however, to deliver a strictly scientific course, and prepared to sacrifice everything to promote the intellectual training of his students, he could not help at the close of his Introductory Lecture lifting up for behoof of stray visitors, this salutary note of warning. After adverting to the favourable influence which his want of preparation might exert in giving zest and animation to the labours of the class-room—"But however favourably," he added, "I may be inclined to think of our present condition, as perhaps the very best for scholarship, I at the same time have no hesitation in saying, that it is the very worst for spectatorship. In this respect I can see no difference between the teaching of moral philosophy and the teaching of music. The lovers or the proficients of this noble art resort for their kindred gratification to the performances of a concert-room, but none, so far as I can understand, to the performances of a school. The ear that would be delighted with the flowing succession, with the lofty and

unimpeded flights, with the free and the full outgoings of melody in the one, would be annoyed, I should imagine, beyond all sufferance, by the stops and the trials, and the tuning of instruments, and the whole tribe of hideous discordancies that go to make a very Babel of the other. Yet meanwhile this is the way in which pupils are formed, though most assuredly not the way in which proficients can be at all fascinated. It is therefore but common honesty to give warning upon this subject. My business is not to serenade the connoisseurs, but to school and to practise the learners; and if after this any of the former description shall persist in honouring me with their attendance, I must only be upon my guard lest their presence should seduce me by a single hairbreadth into any deviation from the principle that I have now set forth to you. It is not an exhibitional course on which I now enter, but wholly an exegetical one. In the prosecution of it I have to deal with youthful understandings, with conceptions that are yet in embryo and are but struggling for development, with the trembling and unassured energies of those who need to be guided by short and numerous footsteps along the process of an argument; and were I capable of such an elevation, yet did I quit this humble task for a lofty flight to charm the eye of idle beholders, then should I feel that I had made a dereliction from the work of a professor, and incurred the disgrace and the derision that are due a mountebank."

The warning given was but little heeded; the crowded benches of the class-room exhibiting many an amateur spectator, amongst whom one or other of his brother professors might not unfrequently be seen. In that brilliant series of expositions, the listener familiar with the lessons of the science was often at a loss whether most to admire, the subtlety of the analysis or the splendour of the illustration. With his youthful auditors the impassioned fervour and high philosophic enthusiasm of their professor became contagious. The repose of the class-room was broken up. Quickened by new impulses, the juvenile spirit burst the bonds of collegiate decorum, greeting the eloquent passages of the lecturer by rounds of applause. As the session drew near its close, this spirit attempted another method of expression. It was proposed by his students that a piece of plate should be presented to Dr. Chalmers. This was an unseemly and unacademic step, and he hastened to check it. On the day when he heard of the intended presentation, the class-room had suffered a strange disturbance; and when the students assembled

in it on the following day, it must have surprised them not a little to be thus addressed:—

"I have heard, gentlemen, only yesterday, of your meditated kindness, and I can assure you that I speak on no light grounds when I say, that there are substantial reasons why it should not be persisted in. It is not that I undervalue your good-will, or that I am capable of aught so harsh and so ungracious as to lay a forcible arrest on the outgoings of human cordiality; but you have already made full conveyance to my mind of the whole *morale* of this intended honour, and I entreat you to believe me when I say, that it does not lie within the power of any *matériel* to enhance the impression of it. In this state, therefore, I beg that it may be left; and I have only to assure you, that so far from any indifference on my part to your manifested regard, I shall ever feel it to be a most precious and powerful affinity both to that place which is dear to me as the remembrances of early boyhood, and to that profession in the labonrs of which I should like to spend the remainder of my days.

"There is one topic more which I shall advert to, and that is, to certain liberties which some very few of my visitors have indulged in amid the general propriety that has characterized their attendance. I acquit my stated attendants indeed from the charge altogether; but there have been occasional hearers who, by coming in late, have inflicted a sore annoyance on the business of the class. It is too late now to set up any practical check against an inroad so unseemly, but I hold it of importance to the cause of academic discipline, that even now I should make averment of the principle, that not one freedom can be tolerated in a visitor which ought not also to be permitted to any of the regular students.

"And on the same ground, gentlemen, I must allnde to the further indecorum of yesterday. It is not of a certain obstreperousness of yours that I now speak, against which I have already made my remonstrances during the progress of our course, and which perhaps, if permissible at all, might, by way of easing the restraint under which you have been laid, be humoured with one tremendous bellow at the termination of it. But what I speak of is the presence of a certain noisy admirer, who added his testimony to the general voice, and whose presence within these walls was so monstrously out of keeping with the character and business of a place of literature. The bringing in of that dog was a great breach of all academic propriety.

I dared not trust myself at the time with the utterance of the indignation that I then actually felt, but it might be lowering your sense of those decencies that belong to a university were I to pass it unnoticed now. A visit from the first nobleman of the land were disgraceful to us all, if it turned out to be a visit from the nobleman and his dog."

At length the labours of this busy and triumphant session closed; and as if gathering a lesson at once of encouragement and warning from his own well-regulated and sustained habits of industry, he dismissed the students with these farewell words of advice :—

"It were a most grievous injustice to the noble subject of our course did I send you away with the delusion that in the course which has been actually described I have done anything like justice to it. You have received little more from me than a series of passing notices—the rough and unfinished sketches of one who had to travel with rapidity over the land, and who, as he hurried onwards from one topic to another, can truly say that in no instance has he left so much as one of them in the state in which he should desire to leave it conclusively. A meagre and unsatisfying outline is all that I have yet been able to render; and I feel that to make a full and deliberate survey of the whole territory would be to me at least the work of many years. You are not therefore to estimate the fulness or the glory of our theme by the yet partial and torn and broken reports of him who hath propounded it. And you would bear away a most inadequate sense of Moral Philosophy, both as to its worth and its magnitude, did you look only to the few superficial touches that we have yet been able to bestow, or listen only to our embryo speculations.

"I cannot pretend to summon, as if by the wand of a magician, a finished system of moral philosophy into being in one or even in two years. There is a certain showy and superficial something which can be done in a very short time. One may act the part of a harlequin with his mind as well as with his body; and there is a sort of mental agility which always gives me the impression of a harlequin. Anything which can be spoken of as a feat is apt to suggest this association. That man, for example, was a thorough harlequin, in both senses of the word, who boasted that he could throw off a hundred verses of poetry while he stood upon one foot. There was something for wonder in this; but it is rarely by any such exploit that we obtain deep,

and powerful, and enduring poetry. It is by dint of steady labour—it is by giving enough of application to the work, and having enough of time for the doing of it—it is by regular painstaking and the plying of constant assiduities—it is by these, and not by any process of legerdemain, that we secnre the strength and the staple of real excellence. It was thns that Demosthenes, clause after clause, and sentence after sentence, elaborated, and that to the uttermost, his immortal orations;—it was thus that Newton pioneered his way, by the steps of an ascending geometry, to the mechanism of the heavens—after which, he left this testimony behind him, that he was conscions of nothing else but a habit of patient thinking, which could at all distinguish him from other men. He felt that it was no inaccessible superiority on which he stood, and it was thus that he generously proclaimed it. It is certainly another imagination that prevails in regard to those who have left the stupendons monuments of intellect behind them—not that they were differently exercised from the rest of the species, but that they must have been differently gifted. It is their talent, and almost never their industry, by which they have been thought to signalize themselves; and seldom is it adverted to, how much it is to the more strenuous application of those commonplace facnlties which are diffused among all, that they are indebted for the glories which now encircle their remembrance and their name. It is felt to be a vulgarizing of genius that it shonld be lighted np in any other way than by a direct inspiration from heaven; and hence men have overlooked the steadfastness of purpose, the devotion to some single bnt great object, the unweariedness of labour that is given not in convulsive and preternatural throes, but by little and little as the strength of the mind may bear it, the accnmulation of many small efforts, instead of a few grand and gigantic but perhaps irregular movements on the part of energies that are marvellous. Men have overlooked these as being indeed the elements to which genius owes the best and the prondest of her achievements. They cannot think that anght so utterly prosaic as patience, and painstaking, and resolnte indnstry, have any share in the upholding of a distinction so illnstrious. These are held to be ignoble attribntes never to be found among the demigods, bnt only among the drudges of literature; and it is certainly true, that in scholarship there are higher and lower walks. But still the very highest of all is a walk of labonr. It is not by any fantastic jugglery, incomprehensible to ordinary

minds, and beyond their reach—it is not by this that the heights of philosophy are scaled. So said he who towers so far above all his fellows; and whether viewed as an exhibition of his own modesty, or as an encouragement to others, this testimony of Sir Isaac may be regarded as one of the most precious legacies that he has bequeathed to the world.

"Before I recall myself from this digression, let me endeavour to guard you, gentlemen, against this most common error of the youthful imagination, and into which you are most naturally seduced by the very splendour and magnitude of the work that you contemplate. The 'Principia' of Newton and the 'Pyramids of Egypt' are both of them most sublime works, and looking to either as a magnificent whole, you have a like magnificent idea of the one noble conception or the one mighty power that originated each of them. You reflect not on the gradual and continuous, and I had almost said creeping way in which they at length emerged to their present greatness, so as now to stand forth—one, the stateliest monument of intellectual, and the other of physical strength which the world ever saw. You can see palpably enough how it was by repeated strokes of the chisel, and by a series of muscular efforts, each of which exceeded not the force of a single arm, that the architecture was lifted to the state in which, after the lapse of forty centuries, it still remains one of the wonders of the world. But you see not the secret steps of that process by which the mind of our invincible philosopher was carried upward from one landing-place to another, till it reached the pinnacle of that still more wondrous fabric which he himself has consummated. You look to it as you would to a prodigy that had sprung forth at the bidding of a magician, or at least of one whose powers were as hopelessly above your own as if all the spells and mysteries of magic were familiar to him. And hence it is that nought could be more kind, and surely nought more emphatically instructive, than when he told his brethren of the species wherein it was that his great strength lay—that he differed not in power, but only differed in patience from themselves, and that he had won that eminence from which he looked down on the crowd beneath him, not by dint of a heaven-born inspiration that descended only on a few, but by dint of a home-bred virtue that was within reach of all.

"There is much of weighty and most applicable wisdom in the reply given by Dr. Johnson to a question put to him by his

biographer, relative to the business of composition. He asked whether, ere one begin, he should wait for the favourable moment, for the afflatus which is deemed by many to constitute the whole peculiarity of genius. 'No, sir, he should sit down doggedly,' was the deliverance of that great moralist. And be assured, gentlemen, that there is much of substantial and much of importantly practical truth in it. Whether it be composition or any other exercise of scholarship, I wonld have you all to sit down doggedly; for if you once bethink yourselves of waiting for the afflatus, the risk is that the afflatus never may come. Had your weekly or your monthly essay not been forthcoming, I should scarcely have deemed it a satisfactory excuse that you were waiting for the afflatus. With this doctrine of an afflatus I can figure nothing more delightful than the life of a genius, spent as it would be between the dreams of self-complacency and those of downright indolence. For I presume, that during the intervals between one attack and another of this mysterious affection he may be very much at ease, living just as he lists, and for all his rambles and recreations abroad having this ready explanation to offer, that he had had no visit this day from his muse to detain him at home. Existence at this rate were one continued holiday; but be very sure, gentlemen, that it is not the existence by which you ever will be guided to aught that is substantial in the acquirements of philosophy. It would be a life of illusion—an airy and fantastic day that should terminate in nothing. And we again repeat, that if at all ambitious of a name in scholarship, or what is better far, if ambitious of that wisdom that can devise aright for the service of humanity, it is not by the wildly even though it should be the grandly irregular march of a wayward and meteoric spirit that you ever will arrive at it. It is by a slow but surer path—by a fixed devotedness of aim, and the steadfast prosecution of it—by breaking your day into its hours and its seasons, and then by a resolute adherence to them; it is not by the random sallies of him who lives without a purpose and without a plan—it is by the unwearied regularities of him who plies the exercises of a self-appointed round, and most strenuously perseveres in them. It is by these that mental power, I will not say is created, but it is by these that mental power is both fostered into strength and made tenfold more effective than before; and precise and methodical and dull as these habits may be deemed, it is to them that the world is indebted for its best philosophy and its best poetry."*

* MS. Lectures.

CHAPTER II.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1824—ADMISSION OF PRINCIPAL MACFARLANE AS MINISTER OF THE HIGH CHURCH IN GLASGOW—BILL OF MR. KENNEDY FOR THE ABOLITION OF POOR-RATES—COURSE OF STUDY FOR STUDENTS OF DIVINITY—SKIRMISH WITH DR. INGLIS—GAELIC CHAPEL IN GLASGOW—MR. LEONARD HORNER AND THE SCHOOL OF ARTS—DR. CHALMERS AND SIR WALTER SCOTT.

THE fortnight which followed the breaking up of the classes at St. Andrews was devoted to preparation for the approaching General Assembly of the Church. On his arrival in Edinburgh Dr. Chalmers became so involved in the vortex that he was only able to transmit the following brief notices of passing events:—

"*Thursday, May* 20.—I found four clergymen from Aberdeen in the steamboat. There had a whole cargo of them gone up on the Tuesday. One of the four fell foul of the Macfarlane cause, but checked himself in a few minutes, and we became very good friends. We arrived about six o'clock. I found a line from Mr. Oswald inviting me to dinner on the Friday and Saturday with Lord and Lady Elgin. I shall go to-day, but do not promise for to-morrow. After tea I sallied forth first to 17 Howe Street, where I found Mr. Robert Paul. I got him to take my commission* over to the Committee, and have since got a ticket as member of the General Assembly. The commission, however, may still be questioned; and I understand from Sir Harry and others that some of the more violent were disposed to do so, and had been talking of it, though it is thought too glaring a thing to be ever attempted. I went to Sir Harry Moncrieff's, where I found Andrew Thomson and Dr. M'Gill. With the latter I went to Mr. Cockburn the advocate, where we had a long conversation about the order of our proceeding.

"*Friday.*—Started at eight. Preached:† an enormous crowd. Collection £143. Sadly annoyed after sermon by my acquaintances and others, male and female. The minister of D. insisted

* Dr. Chalmers had been elected as an elder by the burgh of Anstruther to represent it in the Assembly, and his commission was the document which entitled him to take his seat.

† This sermon was preached in the West Church on behalf of the Scottish Missionary Society. The text was Acts xiii. 40, 41.

for a sermon for some schools there. He put his arm under mine, and meant to overbear all my negations. His last argument for a sermon was that I was *fat*, on which I wrenched my arm away from him, and came off. Had a call from my successor, Mr. Macfarlane of Polmont. A cordial talk with him. Hear that there is an overture about the Poor-laws before the General Assembly, so that the matter will come regularly before us.

"*Saturday.*—Started between seven and eight. After breakfast called upon by Mr. H. Paul and Dr. M'Gill. Had a long conversation with the latter; he tells me that Dr. George Cook will in all probability be for us in the Macfarlane cause. Do not mention this, however, *as yet* in St. Andrews. Things do look a little more hopefully, and Dr. M'Gill says that the computation now of the other side is that they will gain the cause by a majority of twenty. Dr. M'Gill however says that we shall certainly lose it. Attended the Assembly. Engaged in formal and preparatory work, and I was not called upon to make any appearance.

"*Sunday.*—Heard Mr. James of Birmingham preach in the forenoon: a superior cast of oratory and genius. Annoyed by the number of people who knew and buzzed about me on leaving the chapel, many of whom I did not know. Heard a most admirable and truly evangelic sermon from Dr. Gordon in his new chapel. Saw him afterwards. I verily believe that he is sinking under an excess of humility, and that he imagines himself quite tame and useless, when all are delighted and all are impressed by him.

"*Edinburgh, May* 26, 1824.—Before I begin my journal, I think it right to give the information that we have lost the question by a majority of eighty-five against us. I spoke with great comfort to myself, and found all my apprehensions as unfounded as formerly. I am to speak to-day on Pauperism; and on the whole am so engrossed and jaded that I find I cannot write you so fully or frequently as I otherwise would.

"*Monday.*—Breakfasted with Sir Harry Moncrieff; saw there a M. Alexandre perform ventriloquism in a style the most marvellous; but I must reserve the description of it till we meet. Went over to the General Assembly, where I sat three hours. Returned to prepare for the morrow. Attended a meeting at Sir Harry's at six o'clock of the friends of the cause.

"*Tuesday.*—Had an early breakfast; had to attend a committee at nine. The business of it lasted till the time of the

Assembly, which was eleven. A most tremendous crush; a number of the west country brethren; among others Mr. Smyth, who was most cordial. The police were called in to clear the galleries. All the gentlemen behoved to be turned out, and a number of them who had squatted down on the floor of the gallery on being raised to the view of the Assembly by the policemen, all dusted from head to foot, raised the most tremendous peals of laughter. Dr. Haldane was not one of the squatters, but somehow his dusty back got into the view of the audience, to their no small amusement. I was shockingly squeezed at the bar. The business did not begin till one o'clock. I went out to a coffee-room between three and four, and had to wait till after eight ere I spoke. The speakers were restricted to three on each side. Cockburn's speech on our side was one of the finest I ever heard. Dr. M'Gill spoke two hours. I came off after speaking to prepare for the morrow on pauperism. I did not know that it was coming on so soon till this day. I learned afterwards that after the reply of the Counsel at the bar, there was just one speech on the side of our people, and a motion, after which a few words were spoken, and then a loud call for the vote. This total want of speaking argues that, while sure of the vote, they felt the weakness of their cause. The Assembly separated at twelve o'clock.

"*Wednesday.*—Got up at seven: prepared a little on pauperism. Called on Henry Paul to learn from him the news of yesternight. The galleries, it seems, had mistaken the side on which the majority lay, and ruffed most tremendously, to the great delight for the time being of the Moderates; but when the mistake was found out, there was an instant conversion of the testimony into a universal hiss. We had tough work at the Assembly, but on the whole we gained a very great deal. We set aside the motion of the opposite party, and made a very fair compromise between the one motion and the other. On the whole I am sure a great good has resulted to the cause; and Mr. Cockburn, with many others, are highly satisfied. Lord Elgin speaks most favourably of the impression that has been made; and altogether I am sure that we are on better ground than we should otherwise have been. Dr. Baird wants me to second a motion to-morrow anent his overture, to be made by the Solicitor-General, and he has made an arrangement for me to meet the Solicitor to-morrow in the Parliament House.

"*Thursday.*—Breakfasted with the Moderator, where Mr.

Smyth was. Went over to the Parliament House, where I arranged the business with the Solicitor. Was astonished to find, on going to the Assembly, a most determined attack upon my overture of three years back, mixed up with most pointed allusion to myself and the speech that I delivered upon that occasion, all followed by a motion that the overture should be instantly quashed. This of course brought me up in a state of total unpreparedness. A most vigorous skirmish ensued. Dr. Inglis was rude, Dr. Chalmers was indignant, Dr. Nicoll endeavoured to bring about a mutual explanation. The charge of overbearing was brought forward by me in a style that brought down a tremendous ruff from the galleries, and brought up a no less tremendous resentment from the body of the house. I kept my ground, and as my friends say without going too far, left on the head of the aggressor the full weight of the correction that was administered to him. But the most decisive and gratifying proof of the sense of the Assembly being with me is, that I persisted in my motion, notwithstanding the urgency of Dr. Nicoll and others that I should withdraw it, and carried it over Dr. Inglis by a majority of 117 to 74. This has revived our spirits somewhat; and what ought to gratify us still more, a most Christian discussion took place about missions afterwards. Supped in Sir Harry Moncrieff's, where Dr. Andrew Thomson was, quite delighted with this day's skirmish."

The great debate of this Assembly was that which took place on Tuesday the 25th respecting the admission of Principal Macfarlane as minister of the High Church in Glasgow. In opening this debate, the leading counsel for Dr. Macfarlane had quoted and laid much stress upon the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1592, by which Presbyteries were "bound and astricted to receive and admit every qualified presentee." Among the leading ecclesiastical authorities it had not hitherto been doubted that, in the exercise of her own inherent authority, either by a general law or by specific enactment, the Church could prevent such union of offices as that now contemplated. High legal authorities, however, now began to hint it as their conviction that the Church could not do so without acting illegally, by violating the statute above alluded to. To the doctrine thus newly broached Dr. Chalmers alluded in the close of his speech in words upon which after events impress a peculiar significance:—

"I do not at all enter into the question of your power to lay

a veto on the presentation in this instance, for there can be no doubt of it: that presentation has had every justice done to it. The presbytery received it to their notice, and with all the forms of court; they admitted it to lie upon their table, and then gave their full and deliberate regards to the fitness of the presentee. On the question that is always put and always must be pronounced upon in one way or other, whether the presentation shall or shall not be sustained, they did, but not till time and argument, and a fair and free debate were allowed to the consideration of it, come to a negative. For reasons strictly ecclesiastical, and for which these ecclesiastical guides and guardians can hold up an unabashed face in society, they laid their arrest upon the presentation by refusing to sustain it. They were reasons that bore to be canvassed before one of our superior judicatories, and for which that judicatory confirmed our decision. We now wait the sentence of our ultimate Court; and we can never once dream that this final sentence, if given in our favour, is not to be effective. But if it could possibly be otherwise—if, on the plea that the Church hath overstepped her boundaries, it is found that there are a right and a force in the mere presentation which shall carry it over all your resistance, then I cannot imagine a feebler instrument, a more crippled and incompetent machinery, than our Church is for the professed object of its institution; nor do I see how, if struck with impotency like this, it can lift an arm of any efficacy to protect our Establishment from many great evils, or to stay the progress of a very sore corruption within our borders."

The reforming party in the Church were not discouraged by the largeness of the majority in favour of Dr. Macfarlane's settlement. Although the vote was against them, the general impression of the discussion in the House, which had been left very much in their own hands, was much in their favour; and when the question was relieved from the apparent invidiousness of resisting the claims of an individual, and put upon its broad and general grounds, they were more hopeful than ever of success.

The subject of pauperism came before the House upon a motion that the General Assembly should petition against a bill then in dependence before Parliament, introduced by Mr. Kennedy of Dunure, the object of which was, by one summary act of abolition, to do away with all existing poor-rates. Whilst cherishing strongly the conviction that the Poor-laws had increased the evil they were meant to cure, Dr. Chalmers was not

prepared for so hasty and so sweeping a piece of legislation, and willingly seconded the motion that the General Assembly should petition against the passing of such a bill. "I should have been happy," he said, in doing so, "to have observed a distinction in the bill between the *imperative* and the *permissive*. When a law is given with permission to adopt or reject its sentiments as the objects of its solicitude shall see meet, it is then that the mind receives a warm impression of the benevolent intentions of such a proposal, and though slowly, yet surely, becomes sensible of its worth, and gradually slides into its adoption. On the contrary, when a change of our system is proposed, and a compulsory enactment made that such a change *must* take place, it is then that the mind, little dreaming of such alteration, becomes startled and alarmed, and almost involuntarily rejects the innovation. Legislation should not obtrude herself, like an unwelcome guest, upon our ancient and almost idolized laws and usages. In doing so, she will be flouted like a testy foe, or shrunk from like a pestilential whirlwind. She should knock gently at the door, and wait till the inmates of the house sanction her admission, in which case she will find herself at all times a welcome and respected guest." When the great opponent of Poor-laws objected thus to this bill of Mr. Kennedy, there was no difficulty in persuading the General Assembly unanimously to petition against it.

The Thursday's skirmish which Dr. Thomson had enjoyed so much arose upon the giving in of the report of the committee upon the course of study to be pursued by students of divinity. An overture which went only the moderate length of insisting upon *one* year's *regular* attendance at the Divinity Hall had been transmitted by the preceding Assembly to the different presbyteries of the Church. The convener of the committee in giving in his report stated that only six presbyteries had given in returns. This arose, it was alleged, from the slight interest taken in the matter by the Church at large. And as the proposed change appeared in itself undesirable, it was moved that the overture should not be retransmitted to presbyteries. Dr. Cook, Dr. Inglis, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Mearns, were all in favour of this step. It came however by surprise upon Dr. Chalmers; he was not prepared for the question being thus finally set aside. The fewness of the returns, he was inclined to believe, arose from the overture having been sent down to presbyteries mixed up with the general Acts of the Assembly, and having escaped ob-

servation. He proposed, therefore, that it should be retransmitted, as was sometimes done, in a separate form. This was strongly resisted; and when in the keen discussion which ensued Dr. Chalmers had risen to answer an appeal made to him about the withdrawing of his motion, he was interrupted by Dr. Inglis, who rose to order. Dr. Chalmers, he said, had already spoken twice upon the subject, and should not be heard a third time. No indulgence could be awarded to him that was not allowed to every other member of the House. Dr. Chalmers upon this sat down. Being however again appealed to, he rose, he said, to give the very explanation he was about to give when he was *borne down* by the Rev. Doctor within the bar. Dr. Inglis rose in great indignation. He had been charged with *bearing down* a member of that Court. This was language to which he was unaccustomed, and to which he would not submit. He had called Dr. Chalmers to order only because he was infringing the ordinary rules of debate. They were met there on the terms of Presbyterian parity, and it was the farthest thing from his wish to bear down any member so long as he did not transgress the bounds of their constitutional equality. He demanded an explanation. Dr. Chalmers assured him that he had no wish to monopolize the time or patience of the House, that he desired nothing more than Presbyterian parity, but that this parity was never in greater danger than when the orders of the House were prematurely and overbearingly enforced. At the expression of this sentiment a peal of applause burst from the students' gallery. The whole House was instantly in a whirlpool of confusion. Dr. Inglis, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Brunton, started to their feet and attempted in vain to address the House. Loud cries of "Clear the gallery!" "Officer, officer, clear that gallery instantly!" prevented for a time all audience of any speaker, leaving those who could not be heard to express their indignation by vehement gesticulations. Silence was at last restored. The students took Dr. Brunton's advice to retire before the civil force had interposed, and the House was at leisure to return to the topic which had originated the disturbance. Dr. Mearns and Dr. Nicoll urged on Dr. Chalmers the necessity of explanation. Dr. Chalmers rose. "The term," he said, "which he had employed might be interpreted either in a physical or moral sense. It was certainly in its physical sense that he had used it, for he had actually felt at the time as though he had been borne down by physical force. How far the term was applicable in its moral

signification as implying a disposition to bear him down was a secret that might have remained in the breast of that Reverend Doctor, with whom he acknowledged that he was physically unable to contend. But since he had told the House that he had no disposition to bear him down, he was sorry that he had used any expression which could prove offensive to him." Dr. Inglis shook his head—somewhat in doubt, as he well might be, about the character of the explanation. Murmurs that it was not satisfactory rose here and there throughout the Assembly. The ingenuity and the manifest good humour of Dr. Chalmers prevailed. The murmurs subsided, and the stream of the debate returned to its natural channel. At last the vote was taken, when, to the surprise and delight of Dr. Chalmers and his friends, it was resolved to retransmit the overture by a majority of 117 to 74.

There was still another triumph gained in this Assembly. A petition very numerously signed had been presented, praying for the erection of a new Gaelic chapel in Glasgow. It was opposed by the managers of the other Gaelic chapels in that city. In these chapels it was alleged there were many unlet sittings —upon some of them there were heavy debts. Until these sittings were occupied it could not be said that there existed any necessity, and while these debts existed it would be prejudicial to the interests of those who had incurred them, for the Assembly to allow the erection of an additional chapel. Such arguments found favour in the sight of the chief leaders of the ruling party in the Assembly, who were in fact rather fastidious about such erections. A chapel minister with an inferior salary and without any place or status in the Church Courts was an anomaly which they did not wish to see multiplied beyond what was absolutely necessary; and in this particular case they were somewhat difficult of persuasion that such necessity existed. In the present instance, Dr. Inglis, Dr. Mearns, Dr. Nicoll, Dr. Cook, all opposed the prayer of the Glasgow petitioners. It had not however been in vain that Dr. Chalmers in his eight years' labours had exposed the spiritual necessity of thousands of the population, and pleaded for the multiplication of spiritual labourers among them. His words in the Assembly were few but weighty. The argument from unlet sittings he dealt with when urged by those within the Establishment in the very way in which he dealt with it afterwards when urged by those without. The broad outstanding fact—the true and firm basis of the peti-

tioners' plea—was, that if they erected the new chapel, and filled it to overflow, there would be still a great overplus of Highland population in Glasgow unprovided for. There was no want of materials for crowding this and all the other chapels. To wait till all the existing chapels should be filled ere you raised another were to take the surest way to augment indefinitely the numbers of those who lived wholly neglectful of all ordinances. To send another zealous labourer among that neglected and neglectful population were to employ one of the most hopeful expedients for lessening the evil which of late years had been growing so rapidly.—The question, grant or refuse the petition, was at last put, when it carried—grant, by a majority of ninety-nine to seventy-one.

Soon after he arrived in Edinburgh, Dr. Chalmers had been earnestly solicited by Mr. Leonard Horner to attend and take part in the annual meeting of a then infant institution, the first of the kind established in this country—the School of Arts, which was to take place on Tuesday, the 1st of June, the day after the close of the General Assembly. He yielded to the solicitation, and consented to move the approval of the Report which Mr. Horner was to read. "I cannot tell you how much I am obliged to you"—Mr. Horner writes to him on Saturday the 29th—"for your kindness in acceding to my wish. I speak with perfect sincerity when I state my belief that you will confer a most essential benefit not only upon our institution, but at this important period when so many new institutions of the sort are in agitation, do a great public service by expressing your sentiments upon these schools. For obvious reasons I have not adverted in our Report to that unhappy circumstance of the mechanics throwing off the assistance of the better educated classes, from a most mistaken idea of independence. It seems to me to be missing a great occasion of bringing the upper ranks in contact with the lower orders, which ought to be cultivated by every possible means. As I know you agree with me on this point I am very anxious that you should advert to it on Tuesday." On Monday evening Dr. Chalmers supped with Mr. Horner, when all was arranged between them for the meeting of the following day. At that meeting, after adverting to the general character and drift of the Report, Dr. Chalmers took occasion to remark that "it was not wise to disturb the platform of society, and to bestow upon those who formed the basis of the pyramid, qualifications costly or difficult in the acquisi-

tion and unprofitable in the use. The Directors had shown their prudence in giving the artisans what was really useful, and in not attempting more. He rejoiced when he saw a Watt or a Rennie surmounting the difficulties of humble birth, and raising himself by his talents or industry to a level with the most learned and noble in the land. But he did not admire this Institution because it put such distinction within the reach of some individuals, whose number must always be small, but because it brought down the torch of science to guide the hand of the artisan—because it raised the status and character of this class of persons generally, made them more intelligent and moral, more rational and orderly, better satisfied with themselves, and better members of society. To do this was to raise the platform of the social edifice, and to knit its parts more firmly together, not to disturb its order or lessen its strength."

The motion made by Dr. Chalmers was seconded by Sir Walter Scott, who expressed his high approbation of the principles which had been so eloquently explained. This was the only occasion on which Dr. Chalmers and Sir Walter met on the same platform and were associated in the same work.

CHAPTER III.

SIX WEEKS IN GLASGOW—VISITS TO PERTH, GASK, AND FREELAND—TO MOUNT-GREENAN—NEW LANARK AND COSTERTON—PREACHING AT STOCKPORT.

A FORTNIGHT'S leisure at St. Andrews was all that Dr. Chalmers allowed himself to recruit after the fatigues of the General Assembly. In leaving Glasgow, the interest which lay nearest to his heart, and which excited his chief solicitude, was that of the new chapel he had erected in the parish of St John's. His feeling towards that chapel was very much that of a parent torn away from his first-born amid all the exposure and weakness of its infancy. So soon as his college session closed, and his other public engagements permitted, he hastened back to watch over its progress and to promote its growth. The General Assembly had scarcely risen when he announced his intention to visit Glasgow immediately—to preach for six successive Sabbaths in the chapel, and to hold meetings during the intervening weeks with all the different branches of the parochial agency. Twelve large folio journal letters, addressed to Mrs. Chalmers, each page densely covered in small characters, detail the extraordinary achievements of these six weeks in the West. "I think," he says himself, in reviewing it at its close, "that I never spent a season of more crowded occupancy." Visitations and compositions and preachings so accumulate in the narrative, that the bare reading of them—making us feel as if we were sharing in all the labour — excites a sense of fatigue. What in physical strength and in capacity for sustained and excited mental activity must he have been who accomplished the whole, and at the close was as vigorous as at the beginning. The following extracts will enable the reader to follow him pretty closely in his career. It is only of a single day or two that the entire proceedings are given, but it will be understood that the days which appear the blankest in these pages were in reality as well filled up as those of which the entire details are given. Having promised to preach a missionary sermon in Perth, Dr. Chalmers

went to Glasgow by that route, and it is in Perth that we now join him :—

"*Tuesday, June* 22.—Arrived before eleven. Mrs. B.'s oldest son is on a sick-bed, and very unwell, but nothing would prevail upon her to let me go to some other place, and she behoved, in the face of its obvious impropriety, to have a dinner and a party for me. This is Scotch kindness carried to such an aggravated degree that I have not been angry at it all along, but have been solemnized into a sort of wonder. I had three hours before me till sermon time, which I gave to composition. The church was full, but not overcrowded; the collection, I hear, was the largest ever known in Perth, £81, 8s.

"*Wednesday.*—I had a walk up the river with Mrs B. When I offered her my arm, she declined, saying that it would be 'o'er grand.' She has got a most magnificent conception of me, but carries her kindness to a degree that is truly laughable. I should however be grateful for it. The gig came to her door after one, and I was driven to Gask, where I got a warm reception from Mr. James Oliphant. It is a very splendid mansion, and is situated in a beautiful country. There are four young ladies, but only three of them I suppose to be his sisters;—all of them cultivated in a very high degree, and their decided tendencies are towards serious conversation. Mrs. Oliphant appears a most admirable person; I should imagine sixty, but still in full activity. The elder brother is confined to his room, but I have seen him, though only for a few minutes. He is evidently failing very fast; but his whole heart seems to be set on right subjects. I had not time to come far on with him, but perhaps will make progress. They dine early; and here I am after tea, having written all that is on this page down to the present time. Called to supper and family worship about nine, and retired between ten and eleven, delighted with the quiet regularities of a pleasant and cultivated family.

"*Thursday.*—Got up between eight and nine. Family worship and breakfast. Have rather fallen behind in my pulpit preparations, but I hope to do something to-day. After breakfast I wrote a little. The chaise came to the door, and took me and two of the Misses Oliphant to Freeland, where we called on Lady Ruthven. Lord R. was at Perth. Her Ladyship is remarkably clever, and was remarkably kind. She has been much in Greece, and showed me many admirable drawings. Her mother, Mrs. Campbell of Shawfield, was there, who ap-

pears a remarkably wholesome and well-disposed person; but the most interesting of the whole was Miss Ruthven, a sister of his Lordship, and a most saintly and admirable person. She lives in Perth, but was at Freeland for a day or two. Freeland is quite a paradise of beauty.

"*Friday.*—Got up at eight. Expounded at family worship for the first time. After breakfast, two horses arrived at the door for an equestrian excursion between me and Mr. James. Previous to that, however, I composed somewhat, and had an interesting conversation with Mr. Oliphant, the invalid, more satisfactory than before. Were soon overtaken with rain, and so stopped in our excursion, but had a very good refuge in the manse of Mr. Young the clergyman, with whom we sat an hour. As the rain continued, we walked home with umbrellas, and sent a servant from the house for the horses. On our arrival, found Mr. and Mrs. Willison of Forgandenny, who had come to dine, and Mr. Robertson, minister of Forteviot, soon joined us. The latter very interesting, though hitherto of the Moderate party; but I do think that a vast deal is to be made of such, and we should rather court the opportunities of intercourse with them. Willison is an exceedingly good and holy man, and has a most suitable helpmeet in his wife. Spent the afternoon and evening very much in society, and got to bed about twelve.

"*Saturday.*—Started at seven; breakfasted at eight. The main duties of the family worship are all laid upon me, even in the presence of clergymen, and this is somewhat delicate and disagreeable. Walked about a mile from Gask to the place where the coach took me up, and entered it between ten and eleven. I took an affectionate farewell of the family, and I am commissioned to inquire about Dr. Stewart of Erskine in behalf of their poor invalid. They, one and all of them, have a consumptive hue, and I felt quite softened by such an exhibition of the fragility of our mortal nature. We averaged about three passengers inside all the way to Glasgow. I dined at Stirling, and reached Glasgow between six and seven.

"*Sunday, June* 27.—Catherine* came in after breakfast. I delivered to her the parcel, the letter that came to her by post, and Anne's letter. This last she did not read in my presence, for it would have completely overset her, it being just touch and go with her. She did ask for Grace, and would have burst forth into a paroxysm had she not been restrained by a certain awe

* A faithful nurse, who joined the family afterwards at St. Andrews.

and awkwardness from my presence. This ought not to be encouraged. The greetings in St. Andrews on the one hand, and the greetings in Glasgow on the other, may certainly be carried too far; and you may tell Anne that though George Rex, when he addresses his loving subjects, sends to them a greeting, she is not to send any more greetings, or any more accounts of greetings, to this quarter of her correspondence. Our noddy came up for us twenty minutes before eleven. When we got to the chapel, I found policemen, with the captain at their head, very busy at the gate, which is now completely inclosed and railed in. None were admitted but with tickets. Mr. Paul was peculiarly active. Some of the crowd got over the wall, but were stopped at the church-door, where the tickets were shown a second time. Mr. Paul incurred great obloquy and displeasure. He told me, in a very amusing way, the dialogue that took place between him and the folk. There was a very loud altercation at the middle of the sermon. However, the business was most thoroughly done, not a creature, save perhaps one or two, being there who had not either a regular or a stranger's ticket. The consequence was, that the chapel was not absolutely full, there being room in it for perhaps about two or three hundred; and these were suffered to remain empty, it having only the effect to encourage a crush in the future Sabbaths, and also to spoil the future seat-letting, to let any unticketed people in, even after the prayer is over. The delightful thing is, that four hundred additional seats have been let in consequence, and Mr. Paul expects to let more. It is this which determines me to be strenuous in my exertions while here—that is to say, in my pulpit preparations, and therefore I began with my sermon instead of a lecture; and though the general expectation be, that I am only to preach all the forenoons, I shall, if possible, and I further think that I may be able, by the help of God, to add the afternoons also. From the pulpit I saw many St. John's faces, some of them I thought a good deal affected; and I myself was nearly as much so as at leaving them.

"*Wednesday, June* 30.—Got up at six. Charles stayed all night. After my morning modicum of composition, sauntered in the garden with Charles and Mr. Paul. It is all in a glow with white roses. They left us after breakfast, and I betook myself to composition again, and by one o'clock finished the sermon which I had begun on Monday. I am wanting to acquit myself in Glasgow of many of my friends on the strength of

breakfasts, and have fixed already a good many for next week; but I find a strong preference for dinners, of which I have very few to afford, having fixed myself for two evening parties next week in Mrs. Charles's, and will have, besides, two evening meetings with my agency. Mr. Walkinshaw consents to give me a breakfast, but hopes for a dinner also; and my very dear and excellent friend, Mr. Montgomerie, will not let me off with anything short of a dinner, when I had offered him a breakfast; so that with him I even consented.

"*Friday.*—After breakfast, I was very sorry to receive from Craig Park an intimation of the death of Miss M'Kenzie. I perceive, therefore, that it is the eldest daughter of the family, of whose health I had indeed heard very unfavourably before. This is a death that will interest Anne, who must both recollect her, and feel for the grief of her acquaintance Louisa on the death of her sister. I beg that Anne may think seriously of death, and of the need of preparation; and let her be well assured, that if she neglects the work now, she will ever find herself, as she gets on in life, more and more averse to it. Do have an earnest and right conversation with her and Eliza and Grace upon the subject. I walked to Shieldhall, where I paid a very delightful short visit to that old and respectable lady, Mrs. Oswald. It has been the most delightful thing in the way of intercourse that I have met with since I came west; and one great charm of it is, the gratitude that was expressed for the *honour* of so small an attention, and at the same time the expression of a hope, but without the slightest urgency, that my multiplied avocations might permit of a longer visit before I leave the country. Mrs. D. took me to a beautiful eminence adjoining the house, and whence I had a very open and extensive prospect. Her chief talk was of the Craig Park family. Young Miss M'Kenzie was in a very happy state of her mind ere she died, and expressed her whole dependence to be on the finished work of the Saviour. Tell Anne that Louisa has also had a scarlet fever, and though she is getting better, they are not free from all apprehension regarding her. Let us walk softly, and be humble and mindful of death. Anne ought to recollect that God's very purpose in these examples is to warn others, and to put seriousness into their hearts; and if they are not the better of such warnings, they will become worse.

"*Saturday.*—Started after eight: lost my modicum in the morning, but must try two during a long forenoon. Had to

write a letter for the patrons, who meet this day, and in which I express my satisfaction with the present method of admittance into the church, and my desire for its continuance. It has been much misconceived by the public, and has been quite the topic it would appear.

"*Sunday, July* 4.—We were just late enough, but I found great order at the door of the chapel-court, where, though there was a crowd, yet none were admitted even to this outer door but in virtue of tickets. I feel myself in great vigour, and am preaching with far greater comfort and clearness than I at first anticipated. After dinner at Mr. M'Vey's, Mr. Paul produced a note that had been put by some wag into the plate, along with his collection, which ran as follows—'Remember in prayer those who are with us in spirit, but have not money to purchase the privilege of being also with us in person, and who not only are not permitted standing-room in the inner court, but are hindered from treading the outer courts of the sanctuary.'

"*Tuesday.*—Started between six and seven. Composed a modicum of my lecture. John came with letters and parcels, and among other things brought a very handsome note from Professor Buckland, accompanying a small work of his. The others related to reports and invitations to preach. The noddy drew up at nine, and Charles and I went in it to breakfast with Mr. Roberton Smith, Wellington Place. Here, too, I have been furnished with a room, and I have just now finished a lecture and Professor Buckland's work, written him a note, and also thrown off a letter to Mr. Paul. In the Institution Rooms I saw a great number of reviews of my last volume of sermons, all highly favourable. They have been accumulating through the winter, and never reached me in St. Andrews. My habit this week is that of studying before breakfast in Charles's house, breakfasting out, and requesting a prophet's chamber afterwards for a spell in the forenoon.

"I beg that you will watch over the souls of our children: we are answerable for them. Do betake yourself to Christ, and take instant refuge in the blessed hopes and offers of His gospel, and do not linger at the threshold when such spiritual and encouraging invitations are given to you.

"*Wednesday, July* 7.—The noddy drove up at three, and I performed a number of parochial calls, among others, upon Thomas Lilly, who, after much resistance on my part, gave me six guineas for parochial objects. The money was rent

which he had considered desperate, paid to him by a runaway husband, whom our agents had reclaimed, and he therefore considered it as ours, and as due to the support of our parochial system.

"*Thursday.*—Dressed for dinner. Have got a new method of folding up my coat, which I shall teach you when I get home, and is of great use to a traveller. I am about as fond of it as I was of the new method of washing my bands.

"*Saturday.*—This festivity is now beginning to tell. Spent a sick and sleepless night, and the suffering aggravated by the thought that after all I make no progress in satisfying my friends. Those with whom I have not yet been insist upon their day, and those with whom I have been once insist upon a second visit.—'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.'

"I did not rise till between eight and nine, and was rather late for breakfast at Mr. Naismith's, where there was a great party. I ate very little, and am much the better of it. I believe that temperance greatly alleviates the fatigues of conviviality.

"It is now Sunday morning, and I do not mean to journalize, and it is likely that one letter may be the whole produce of next week. I am aware of the spiritual desolation that surrounds you. I am aware of the exceeding deceitfulness of our own hearts, and how readily they accord with an atmosphere of worldliness. Neither you nor myself do I hold to be so alive to sacred things as many of those who profess to be serious: we may have a name to live, but let us fear that we are dead. Think of the denunciations poured upon those who are neither cold nor hot, and let us at the same time think of our own lukewarmness. Oh! let us, under the weight of all these considerations, betake ourselves to Christ, to Him who counsels us, in Rev. iii. 18, 19—and having first taken of the pure gold of His righteousness, and covered ourselves with the white raiment of His putting on, let us pray for light to know His will, and be zealous and repent. I am much more comfortable than I have been for some days, and I think that much is due to the temperance of yesterday. Nevertheless my tendencies are all homeward, and I am not displeased to think that on this day three weeks I shall, if God will, turn my face to the east."

"*Mosshouse, Tuesday, July* 13.—It has just occurred to me as an admirable arrangement in all time coming, that the six weeks' vacation at St. Andrews should be my six weeks' visit to

Glasgow, and that on that occasion you and the family should accompany me to furnished lodgings in the neighbourhood. I shall not ask your consent to this, but satisfy myself with enacting that if you are in health so it shall be. It would save me the life of a wandering Jew whilst I am in this part of the country.

"*Wednesday*.—Embarked in the Largs steamboat between two and three. The boat carried us on to Fairlie at seven, where we landed in a little boat on the projecting wooden pier. We saw the efflux of Mr. Parker's whole family from the windows of the drawing-room. George came out for us in the little boat. Himself, James, and Pat met us on the further extremity of the wooden pier. The Misses Parker, Miss Babington, and Anne, received us upon the rocks, and so we proceeded with great joyousness and cordiality to the house. A most delightful family, where the kindnesses and the elegancies of hospitality are most perfectly blended. I had real pleasure in seeing them all.

"N.B.—I want each letter you receive from me to be signalized by a feast of strawberries to the children on the day of its arrival: therefore, I expect that on Saturday, which will be the day of your receiving this, these strawberries, with a competent quantity of cream and sugar, shall be given accordingly, and given from me the papa of these said children, each and all of them being told that he is the donor of the same."

"*Saturday*, *July* 17.—Rose at seven. Revised my preparations for to-morrow. Breakfasted at half-past eight, and the carriage drove up after nine, when I bade a tender and most friendly adieu, that was felt on both sides, to the family. Mr. Parker's farewell was particularly affectionate. Mrs. Parker and Mr. Tennent, senior, were in the chaise along with me. Miss Hutcheson was in waiting to bid me farewell at her gate. At the Broomielaw found dear Mr. Falconer awaiting, who had a number of letters for me, none of them of much consequence, however. He conducted me by a short and recently opened way to his own house, where I met with a most bland reception from Mrs. Falconer.

"*Sunday*, *July* 18.—Enjoyed the beauty of the morning in Mr. Falconer's grounds. Breakfasted, and had family worship at nine. On our arrival at the chapel gate was met by my old friend the daft woman, who used to pursue and annoy me, and at one time presented me with a sheep's head and trotters. She got hold of my legs as I was stepping out of the noddy; she

has been urging me in this way for several Sundays. A great press of people, but the ticket system operates admirably. We had a special collection this day for the chapel funds; it amounted to £58. I do not think it much; but altogether I hold it well that in increased collections on the ordinary Sundays, in seat-lettings, and the collection of this day, the whole parochial concern is already about £200 the better of me. Is not this of itself worth the coming for? Went to the noddy by aid of my daft friend, who ran after the noddy with all her might, but could not overtake it."

"*Saturday, July* 24.—Started about seven. Had no modicum this day. Wrote a few lines or letters. The noddy came at half-past eight, and I got into it for Meadowside, about two miles down the river from Glasgow, where Mrs. Smith, formerly of Jordanhill, now resides. Mrs. Grant of Laggan is there.* Called at Blochairn. Had a walk round the garden with Mr. Parker. Had much pleasure in recognising all the old objects —as the hat-holder and umbrella-holder in the lower lobby, the clock in the upper, the bronze nymphs with candle-sockets in their hands on the mantelpiece of the drawing-room, the pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Parker and of Sir William Wallace in the dining-room, the fog-house in the garden, the rock-work there, and more especially for the information of Miss Grace Chalmers, the sheep's head still in its old place, but without the flowers that formerly occupied its eyes and nose.

* "You ask me to tell you about Dr. Chalmers. I must tell you first, then, that of all men he is the most modest, and speaks with undissembled gentleness and liberality of those who differ from him in opinion. Every word he says has the stamp of genius; yet the calmness, ease, and simplicity of his conversation is such that to ordinary minds he might appear an ordinary man. I had a great intellectual feast about three weeks since—I breakfasted with him at a friend's house, and enjoyed his society for two hours with great delight. Conversation wandered into various channels, but he was always powerful, always gentle, and always seemed quite unconscious of his own superiority. I had not been an hour at home when a guest arrived, who had become a stranger to me for some time past. It was Walter Scott, who sat a long time with me, and was, as he always is, delightful; his good nature, good humour, and simplicity are truly charming: you never once think of his superiority, because it is evident he does not think of it himself. He, too, confirmed the maxim, that true genius is ever modest and careless; after his greatest literary triumphs he is like Hardyknute's son after a victory, when we are told,—

'With careless gesture, mind unmoved,
On rode he o'er the plain.'

Mary and I could not help observing certain similarities between these two extraordinary persons (Chalmers and Scott): the same quiet unobtrusive humour, the same flow of rich original conversation, easy, careless, and visibly unpremeditated; the same indulgence for others, and readiness to give attention and interest to any subject started by others. There was a more chastened dignity and occasional elevation in the Divine than in the Poet; but many resembling features in their modes of thinking and manner of expression."—"Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan," vol. ii. pp. 167-169.

"*Sunday.*—Started about eight. Threw off a last paragraph for the chapel people, this being my last day there. An immense number of carriages, and by far the fullest day that had yet been. The Lord Provost there among others, the Colquhouns of Killermont, &c. &c. A good many standers owing to a slight relaxation of our strictness, it being the last day. I lectured at great length. I have now finished the eighth chapter of the Romans.* Went with Mrs. Glasgow in her own carriage. I had the benefit of the daft wife's attention and civilities as usual. She got hold of me by the hand, and I was with very great difficulty extricated. Instead of taking Paisley on my return, Mrs. Glasgow judged much better for me by offering to take it on our way; so, after a short dinner at the Black Bull with her, we set off for Paisley before six, and arrived there at seven. I was conducted to Mr. Barclay's, and found poor Mrs. Collins evidently dying; but I can assure you that I do not recollect having ever made a more pleasant visit. She is in a very happy spiritual state; took me by the hand, and kept hold of me for a quarter of an hour; talked a great deal, and all in a way that was most encouraging. Her whole dependence is on Christ's righteousness and blood, and I did feel gratified when she spoke of the remembrance that she had of my sermons in Glasgow. I prayed, and left her after having remained half an hour. She told me that she had made over her husband and children to God, and was free from all her anxieties. It was really a pleasant visit, and exceedingly well taken by her brother and sister. I left her with much emotion, and took coffee in the inn with Mrs. Glasgow. We set out before eight, and did not reach Mountgreenan till between ten and eleven. Found Mr. Glasgow there, and a General Wallace who had come from Galloway, upwards of sixty miles, for the purpose of seeing me.

"Might have mentioned that I was somewhat annoyed with Miss —— saying that when you come back next year we take you engaged to spend a great deal more time with us than you have done this year. I hate all distant engagements, and shall

* He had resumed his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans at the place where he had left off at the time of his removal to St. Andrews. As it may interest some readers to know which were the lectures and sermons that he composed during this round of convivialities, I give the following extract from the record of his preaching:—

St. John's Chapel, June 27, Romans xi. 22.
" " July 4, Romans viii. 31, 32, and Psalm xix. 11.
" " July 11, Romans viii. 32, 33, and Galatians ii. 19.
" " July 18, Romans viii. 33, 34, and Romans xiv. 17.
" " July 25, Romans viii. 34, 37, and Romans viii. 38, 39
" " Aug. 1, Luke xxiv. 49.

never take on any more. I will do anything, however, for the public and parochial interest of St. John's.

"*Wednesday.*—This turmoil must enfeeble my writing.

"*Thursday.*—Started after seven. Neither this day have I had any modicum, there being a vile speech to make and to remember for this day's public dinner. It kept me anxious all day, and the discomfort was aggravated by the heat and thundery feeling. I drove to Barrack Street, where I alighted, and found my way to St. John's vestry, where the Presbytery were assembled. Then to the church, where Mr. —— presided over the admission of the two Macfarlans.* Mr. —— was not half so extravagant or hostile as I feared. His chief philippic was against dissenters; and he has given satisfaction by the recommendations that he bestowed upon the order of deacons. It was on the whole, however, a very *outré* rigmarole and feeble piece of senility. On being ushered to the dining-hall, the names of the grandees were called out who should go first. I had the honour of being about the fourth or fifth. Things went on very well. A short speech from Dr. Macfarlan, a longer one from Mr. Macfarlan, and a very Christian and good one. He went further than I would have counted safe in his approbation of my parochial system, and spoke of the assistance that he had derived upon the subject from my last pamphlet. Some of the old stagers looked very blue upon the occasion. He was very complimentary to me, as was the Lord Provost, who shortly after proposed my health, which called me up, and delivered me of my speech. I abstained from all public and general toasts, and gave my main argument to a eulogy on Dr. Burns, the venerable father of the Presbytery of Glasgow. It was very well taken.

"*Friday.*—The carriage drove up at four, and took me to Rosebank, the summer residence of Mr. and Mrs. Middleton. Here we dined. I feasted upon its beauties. It is upon the Clyde, and is of great loveliness. Walked in great delight through scenes of fair enchantment. Came off about nine. I must preach at Lanark; and while I am on this side of the Forth, it is of great importance that I should make out Costerton. It may save more movements south. It is most desirable to cultivate and be well with Dr. Nicoll; and indeed there is a business necessity for meeting him on account of the projected dinner to Dr. Hunter."

* The Rev. Dr. Macfarlan as minister of the High Church, and the Rev. Mr. P. Macfarlan afterwards of Greenock, as minister of St. John's.

"*Saturday, July* 31.—After supper I sat up till between one and two in the morning working at a special reference to the settlement of Mr. Macfarlan, wherewith I should conclude to-morrow's sermon.

"*Sunday.*—Descended from the pulpit after one. Went through the church in the afternoon to the vestry. Found Mr. Macfarlan, and got from him in the afternoon a very good sermon, full of soundness and good sense and the best spirit. The congregation was very numerous, and the impression, I understood afterwards, favourable. I sat at the bottom of my own seat, and had very many handshakings from the people as they went out, and also in the vestry. Mr. and Mrs. Thomson of Camphill came round to the vestry door, and expressed their affectionate regrets because of missing me yesterday. Mr. James Menteith, at present with them, also came; so did Mr. and Mrs. Walter Wood, to the latter of whom I expressed the very great regard that I bore. Mr. Dennistoun, her father, that friendliest and finest of men, came also to bid his adieu. A deputation from the Renfrew Bible Society were also in waiting to wile me into the promise of a sermon, and my prompt and summary negative brought out a loud bass laugh from Mr. Paul, who was looking on. Mr. Bain's carriage came at eight, and took me and him to his house at Morriston, about four or five miles up the Clyde from Glasgow. Walked about Morriston in a cool and beautiful evening. Mr. Bain raised the tune at family worship; and I felt exceedingly delighted by the termination of my fatigue at Glasgow.

"*Monday.*—Left my kind friends at eleven, and took in the coach with me about two miles up a young Englishman, cousin to the Urquharts, and of their name, who is going to study for the English Church. It was merely to have a little talk with me that this arrangement was made. I let him down at the gate of Professor Jardine of Hallside, on whom I called. The Duke of Hamilton wanted to see me on the subject of pauperism, and wanted me to dine with him. This I would not do; but told the Professor that I would call upon him, and have an hour's conversation with him to-day; on which the Professor resolved to accompany me to Hamilton Palace in my open noddy; and while he was dressing I sat in the dining-room with his daughter-in-law and granddaughter. We reached the palace about one, and remained a long while in the dining-room and magnificent picture-gallery, till the Duke made his appear-

ance. He was somewhere about his grounds, and the servants went in quest of him. Meanwhile there came down to us Mr. Skinner, the tutor of the young Marquis, an English clergyman, who seemed very intelligent and very pious. He heard me in St. John's Chapel, and was very unreserved in his compliments. Besides him there was a most interesting young man, apparently of seventeen or eighteen, who told us that the Duchess had a most severe headache, and could not see us. She regretted very much that she could not fulfil her purpose of hearing me in St. John's Chapel from the same cause. The young man afterwards made up to me, and said that I knew his mother, Lady Dunmore, on which I imagined him to be our old friend, Lord Fincastle, grown very tall, but it turned out to be the second son. He talked much of his mother's Sabbath-schools, and altogether impressed me with the conception of one of the most amiable and pleasing young men whom I had ever met with. About two o'clock the Duke made his appearance, and shook hands very cordially with Professor Jardine and myself. We all retired to a smaller room, and had a conversation of nearly an hour on pauperism, during which, though somewhat flurried, I flatter myself that I did make some impression. Reached Lanark between eight and nine. Got a man with some difficulty, and who was half-drunk, to carry my luggage to Smylham Park. He dropt it once or twice: and I walked behind him somewhat uncomfortably. The distance was a mile: we made it out by ten, and I was kindly received and entertained by the family of Sir William Honeyman.

"*Wednesday.*—Lady Honeyman of great sense and homely vigour, like her father, the old Lord Braxfield. Mr. Menzies and two dissenting clergy came to breakfast, and about sixteen honest men, Sabbath teachers, who stood up at the end of the drawing-room while I addressed them on the subject of local schools. Walked at eleven with one of the ministers to New Lanark, where I visited Mr. Owen. I was delighted with the Rev. Mr. Harper following up Mr. Owen's speculation about the great moral revolution that was at hand, with his about the earthquake in the book of Revelation. I meant to have gone back to the works and witnessed the singing and the dancing; but Sir William came for me with his two daughters in his carriage and took me away. Called on Mr. Menzies the minister by the way. Dined at four. Driven to the church at six: preached to nearly three thousand people."

"*Edinburgh, Wednesday, August* 4.—Started between six and seven. The eldest son of Mr. Menzies came to Smylham Park at half-past seven, agreeably to a previous arrangement, with his father's gig, which I entered, and was driven by him to Carstairs House, the new and magnificent abode of Mr. Menteith, where I sauntered with the gentlemen till after twelve o'clock. Drove through a new country. The first stage very wild. The last, near Edinburgh, particularly beautiful.

"*Thursday.*—Started between six and seven. Took an early breakfast. Went to the North Bridge on chance, and with a great feeling of lightness because of having got quit of my luggage and being weighted only with two neckcloths. Found two coaches at eight o'clock on the start for Costerton, and had an inside berth in one of them for four shillings and sixpence. Rode on about fourteen miles, and landed after ten. Had then a long mile to walk, and got at length to a beautiful sylvan recess, at the bottom of which I descried an irregularly-shaped house, and on my approach could distinguish Dr. Hunter's white head through one *lozen* of an end window and Mr. Duncan's profile through another *lozen* of it. Dr. Nicoll came out and gave me a bland and cordial reception. It was exclusively an academic party, Dr. James Hunter being also there, and Mr. Gillespie having joined us about three o'clock. Mr. Duncan annoyed me by the affirmation that I am sensibly and considerably fatter since I left St. Andrews. There must be serious measures taken to keep me down. Had cordial greetings with the gentlemen in the library, then we sallied out to the premises, and had a very delightful forenoon saunter through the woods and lanes of Costerton. We fixed the situation of a future moss-house, for which Dr. Hunter I hope will write an inscription; and I have left the fragment of a knife, broken by Mr. Duncan, in a spot which overhangs a bath to be made in a linn. By the way, I am not altogether fond of the Stockport business. I hope that you and the children went to see M. Alexandre, and that he called upon you. His exhibition in private is, I understand, still more impressive than in public. Before dinner we had a game at bowls in a green before the house. I and Mr. Duncan against Dr. Nicoll and Dr. James Hunter. We had the best of three games. Mr. Gillespie afterwards took up Mr. Duncan and was beat by him. With all the convivialities of the west I have seen no such guzzling as to-day with my St. Andrews' friends, and told Mr. Duncan so. They are rare lads these

*Lee*terati or *Ea*terati. Before supper there was family worship, when I was asked to officiate. We were shown to our beds about twelve. I got the large bedroom in which Mr. Duncan was the night before, and he had a closet with a small sofa-bed that communicated with the room. This arrangement was vastly agreeable to me; and we tumbled into our respective couches between twelve and one. I like him.

"*Friday.*—Got up about eight. Went to Mr. Duncan's closet and got behind him in his sofa-bed, where I had a good purchase for jamming him out, and did so accordingly. Had cordial talk with him. Had a turn before breakfast, and agreed to find my way with him to Edinburgh by the help of coaches which go past this way. Dr. Nicoll, however, traversed this arrangement, he having so ordered it as to go to Edinburgh in his own carriage—to take Dr. Hunter and me along with him, and offered a place in the dickie to any other. I offered to take the dickie, but he would not hear of it; and as Mr. Duncan professed himself liable to giddiness, Dr. James Hunter sat beside the driver, and in this style we drove to Edinburgh. I had to explain and half apologize to Mr. Duncan for having deserted him, and he instantly saw that such an exclusive preference on our part for one another might hurt the feelings of our elders, and that it was far better to acquiesce in their plan. We set off between ten and eleven. But between that and breakfast, Mr. Gillespie, who is somewhat of a bluster, challenged me to a game at bowls, when, to the great satisfaction of all, I beat him, by thirteen to eight. On our way to Edinburgh, got in two newspapers at Dr. Nicoll's post-office, which we read in the chaise.

"*Anstruther, Sunday.*—Got up at nine, a good deal recruited, yet with the sensation that one good sleep required another. Had family worship after breakfast, and enjoyed my walking in the garden on the Sabbath morning. It recalled other days. The evening sermon began at six. The church was completely full, and many standers. Some had to go away. I preached the same missionary sermon that I had revised in the session-room, and which I have preached in Cupar, Perth, Edinburgh, Lanark, and Anstruther. It has done very well in that it has got £300 for the cause. I was very much tired."

In the midst of his Glasgow labours, a call had been made upon Dr. Chalmers to preach for the Sabbath-school at Stockport. So early as the year 1805, a few zealous and liberal

inhabitants of that town, at a cost of upwards of £4000, had raised an edifice capable of accommodating, with every convenience for instruction, upwards of 4000 children. Large as this building was, it was soon filled to overflow. To raise the funds necessary to liquidate a debt still remaining upon it, and to meet the current annual expenditure, the managers had established an anniversary celebration at which many eminent clergymen officiated, and at which, in order to increase the attraction, select and varied pieces of vocal music were performed. In ignorance of these musical accompaniments Dr. Chalmers engaged to preach the anniversary sermon. Of the Institution itself he had the highest estimate. The call, however, to plead for it had come at a very inopportune time. The General Assembly and Glasgow had together consumed nearly half of his summer vacation, and little time was left to complete the preparations for his second session at St. Andrews. Nevertheless, as a promise was pleaded, he resolved to comply. Perhaps, however, the reluctance with which he was dragged away may have whetted a little the edge of that feeling as to the musical accessories of the celebration which breaks out in his amusing record of this hurried visit to Stockport.

"*Edinburgh*, *Oct.* 5, 1824.—*Tuesday*.—Did not land at Newhaven till after five. In our drive up, fell in with two young gentlemen with whom it is possible that I may form an arrangement for posting it to Manchester. Most kindly received by Miss ——. After tea, the young gentleman called to whom I had proposed to post it to Manchester. He turns out to be the son of Dr. Stewart of the Canongate, and brother of Alexander now in Cromarty. He and his brother go out to the East Indies, and go up to London by Manchester. I breakfast with them on Thursday, to arrange matters.

"You would be amused with the state of matters here: Miss —— evidently making a great effort both to accommodate me and to abstain from pressing. She makes open proclamation of my freedom, protests that she will make no infringement thereupon—is determined to act up strictly to the principle of leaving me to myself; and if she would simply and silently do so it were most delightful. But she is so very loud in the profession of this her new system, and withal so very fearful, and so obviously so, of even the slightest encroachment upon it, that while she studies to abstain from all restraints upon me, she gives me a feeling that I am a very great restraint upon her.

She is a truly kind and pleasant person notwithstanding, though her treatment is calculated to give a bystander the impression that I am a very sensitive and singular personage withal. She never asks the same thing twice of me, but she makes up for this by the exceeding multitude of these things, such as—if my tea is right—if I would like more sugar—if I take cream—if I am fond of little or much cream—if I would take butter to my cake—when I take to loaf, if I take butter to my white bread—if I move from one part of the room to another, whether I would not like to sit on the sofa—after I have sat there, whether I would like to stretch out my legs upon it—after I have done that, whether I would let her wheel it nearer the fire—when I move to my bedroom, whether the fire is right—whether I would like the blinds wound up, &c. &c. She at the same time most religiously abstains from repetitions, but to reply even once to her indefinite number of proposals is fatigue enough, I can assure you; nor is the fatigue at all alleviated, when, instead of coming forth a second time with each, she comes forth with a most vehement asseveration, accompanied by uplifted hands, that she will let me do as I like, that she will not interfere, that I shall have liberty in her house; and when I said that it behoved me to make calls immediately after dinner, she declared that I would have leave to go away with my dinner in my mouth if I so chose. I have got the better of all this by downright laughing, for I verily think now that the case is altogether desperate.

"*Thursday.*—Had a conversation with Miss —— before breakfast. Find that she is as much aggrieved by her servant as we are by ours. Let us not think that any strange thing has happened to us, or that any affliction hath overtaken us which is not common to our brethren in the world. Breakfasted with Mrs. Stewart, to whom I went in a hackney, it being a pour of rain. Arranged our journey with her and her two sons. Left them after breakfast, as I did not choose to be present at the parting scene. They came at two, and we drove on at the rate of six miles an hour or so. The posting is 1s. 3d. a mile, and I do not think we shall be much dearer than in the mail. I meant to have slept at Wilton with Dr. Charters, and to have let the young gentlemen go by themselves to Hawick, which is only half a mile further. But I found that the poor Doctor had been struck, though slightly, with palsy some little time before. The chaise stopped at the door while I stood at the bedside of the venerable man. I only remained two or three minutes with

him. His memory is entire, although his spirit is somewhat affected. Came on with the young gentlemen to Hawick between eleven and twelve at night."

"*Lancaster, Oct.* 8.—*Friday.*—Started from Hawick at half-past six in a post-chaise. Left Langholm between eleven and twelve. A most beautiful stage to Longtown, where we found all the horses out, and therefore took on our Langholm horses to Carlisle, where we arrived between two and three. Anxious to get on, we pushed forward to Penrith, then to Kendal, where we arrived before ten; far too jaded, however, for calling on Mr. Pearson or any of my other friends. Here we got tea, coffee, and solids, and combined three meals into one. Went to bed at half-past eleven, after a journey of eighty-six miles.

"*Saturday.*—Got off in a post-chaise after six. Far more rapid driving in England than Scotland: took two stages before breakfast—first to Burton, then to Lancaster, twenty-two miles in less than three hours. Posted southwards to Preston, Bolton, and Manchester, where we arrived at six. Had a solid tea at Manchester. Wrote Mr. Grant of my arrival. This was followed up by the appearance of Mr. Robert Dalgleish, our young St. Andrean, who came it seems from Liverpool to-day for the purpose of seeing me. I went over with him to Mr. Grant's, where I was most kindly received. They have got the sermon into the newspaper, and on reading the advertisement I was well-nigh overset by the style of it. They are going to have a grand musical concert along with the sermon, to which the best amateurs and performers of the neighbourhood are to lend their services. This is all put down in their gaudy manifesto, and to me it is most ineffably disgusting. You know that I am to be very guarded; but I could not perfectly disguise my antipathies to this part of the arrangement. I asked Mr. Grant if I might take the paper with me for the amusement of my Scotch friends. He asked if I disliked music. I said that I liked music, but disliked all charlatanry. Thus far I went; and it was perhaps too far, but this is really making it a theatrical performance, and me one of the performers. But let me be patient; I am jaded and overdone, and reserve my further writing till Monday. Mr. Grant is very peremptory on the subject of my spending some days, but I must be off on Monday night, or very early on Tuesday morning. Went to bed about eleven.

"*Sunday.*—Sadly annoyed all last night with the quackish advertisement, and spoke further of it at breakfast. About

twelve Mr. and Mrs. Grant came in their carriage, and the former accompanied me in a chaise to Stockport. I was to visit the school at one, and the sermon was to begin at half-past five. My other friends from Manchester were to come in the evening in two carriages, and one of them a chaise and four. I reached Stockport at one with Mr. Grant. Could see a certain hard and ungracious reception of me, perhaps from the consciousness of something wrong on their part. Mr. M——, my correspondent, did not appear for some time, and when he did, there was a blush in his countenance and a tremulousness in his voice. I was in the midst of managers, and the stairs to the different rooms of their immense fabric were crowded with scholars. I asked what they were about; and with some hesitation and difficulty they told me that they had been practising for the music of this evening. When I went to the great preaching hall, I found that there was just this practising before an immense assemblage, on which I called out, in the distinct hearing of those about me, that there was an air of charlatanry about the whole affair, and that I did not like it at all. I would stay no longer in that place, and went along with them to the committee-room, where there were about twenty managers and others. I said that I had come from a great distance on their account, and had therefore purchased the privilege of telling them plain things; that they should have consulted me ere they had made their arrangements—that I was quite revolted by the quackery of their advertisement—that they had made me feel myself to be one of the performers in a theatrical exhibition—that what they had done stood in the same relation to what they ought to have done, that an advertisement of Dr. Solomon's did to the respectable doings of the regular faculty, &c. &c. I was firm and mild withal—they confused, and awkward, and in difficulties. I said, that still I would preach, but that I thought it right to state what I felt. On the other question of urgency, and the pleading a promissory obligation on my part, I have as yet had no reckoning. I left there in the carriage with Mr. Grant and Mr. Marsland, for the magnificent place of the latter gentleman on the banks of the Mersey. He introduced me to his two daughters, who, I thought, had that peculiar stiffness and ceremony which I have often noticed in English ladies of high breeding. I was there shown to my room, when I got a second letter from a minister on the subject of the indecent exhibition of Stockport. I had got one the night before from

another minister on the same subject. It seems that many serious people here are scandalized at it, and that many eyes are fixed upon my conduct in regard to it. Mr. Marsland told me in his carriage, that he had forewarned the managers that they were carrying the matter too far, and that I would probably decline preaching altogether. My feeling is, that this would have been too violent, and I have several reasons for not carrying my resistance this length. However, I begged Mr. Marsland to send for Mr. M——, that I might hold conversation with him. Mr. M—— sent back word that he could not possibly come,—and why? because he was presiding at a dinner given before sermon to the *Gentlemen of the Orchestra*, and he was just in the middle of a speech to them when my message came. On this Mr. Marsland and Mr. Grant walked down to Stockport, and told Mr. M—— of my difficulties and wishes; that I would not comply with their arrangement until it was altered. They wished my prayers and sermon to be mixed up with their music, me all the while in the pulpit. I said, that I would not be present at their music at all, that my service should be separated altogether from their entertainment*—that I should pray, preach, and pray again *in continuo*—not entering the pulpit till the moment of my beginning, and retiring from it so soon as I should have ended. The gentlemen had their interview with Mr. M——, and he was very glad to comply. I dined at half-past two—retired for an hour to prepare—drank coffee after five. The two gentlemen walked before, to be at the music. The two ladies went down with me in the carriage at six. Will you believe it? an orchestra of at least 100 people, three rows of female singers, in which two professional female singers, so many professional male singers, a number of amateurs: and I now offer you a list of the instruments, so far as I have been able to ascertain them—one pair of bass drums, two trumpets, bassoon, organ, serpents, violins without number, violoncelloes, bass viols, flutes, hautboys. I stopped in the minister's room till it was over. Went to the pulpit—prayed, preached, retired during the time of the collection, and again prayed. Before I left my own private room they fell to again with most tremendous fury, and the likest thing to it which I recollect is a great military band on the Castlehill of Edinburgh. I went

* Amongst those whose performances were to be mixed up with the sermon and prayers, the name of a Miss Cheese had been announced, and Dr. Chalmers good-humouredly reinforced his argument with the managers by telling them that in his country the cheese was never served till the solid part of the entertainment was over.

up with the ladies again in the carriage. They were far franker and pleasanter than before. Supped after Mr. Marsland's return. He told me that the collection was £398. Went to bed between eleven and twelve. I forgot to say that the number of my hearers was 3500.

"*Monday.*—I am told that the Stockport people, suspicious of my dislike to exhibitions, blazoned and advertised much less than they would have done; and the interpretation given by some to this is, lest it should meet my observation too soon. Found a company in David Grant's, and he kept me up till two in the morning. A kind-hearted, rattling fellow.—N.B. The collection is now £401."

CHAPTER IV.

THE SESSION OF 1824-25—SUBJECTS AND ORDER OF THE COURSE—THE INTERIOR OF THE CLASS-ROOM—PEDESTRIAN APPROBATION—POETICAL QUOTATIONS—LECTURES ON POLITICAL ECONOMY—HUMOROUS ILLUSTRATIONS—CLASS EXERCISES—GENERAL RESULTS.

The session of 1824-25 was the most brilliant epoch in Dr. Chalmers's academical career at St. Andrews. The dark clouds which shadowed the after period of his residence there had not yet arisen. The pressure of the preceding winter was removed. An auditory unparalleled both as to its numbers and its intelligence arrayed itself before him in the class-room. More than double the number of students that had ever in the days of his most famous predecessors attended the Moral Philosophy class stood enrolled, nearly one-half of whom either came by what he denominated a lateral movement from the other universities of Scotland, or were furnished by England and Ireland. Many who had advanced much further in their university curriculum returned upon their earlier studies, while the presence of one or two still older but amateur students, who consented to take part in all the exercises of the class-room, raised still higher its intellectual tone. The superior character and capacity of the students told upon the spirit and efforts of their professor. It was throughout one busy season of animating and most productive labour. His course of lectures on Ethics was carried a stage further towards that condition of completeness, which however they were destined never to attain. In reviewing the topics which according to the existing practice of the Scottish Universities were treated by the professors of moral philosophy, he became convinced that a twofold error had been committed. There had been an undue expansion and there had been an undue limitation of these topics. The writings of Hume, in which the very foundation of morals was threatened by a purely metaphysical scepticism, had drawn after him, into a region which was not properly their own, the professors of moral science in Scotland. Metaphysics and moral science had become so allied and inter-

woven that it was imagined that the one could not be rightly discussed without a preceding and enlarged treatment of the other. While entering into such close conjunction with one science from which it should have kept itself distinct, moral philosophy had been refusing all recognition of another science to which by certain very peculiar ties it was intimately related. Taking every benefit from the researches of the mental physiologist it refused all aid from the peculiar discoveries of revelation. Into the investigation of the great question as to man's duty here and his destiny hereafter, it advanced with an eye almost as blind as if the heavens had never opened—with an ear almost as deaf as if the voice of the Eternal had never been heard on earth. From both the evils thus inflicted on her Dr. Chalmers endeavoured to rescue the science committed to his care. Examined before the Royal Commissioners appointed to visit the Universities of Scotland, he gave the following account and vindication of the subjects and order of his course of lectures:—

"In regard to the topics of my lectures I do not proceed on the very extended sense which has been given to the word *moral*. The academic sense of this word in Scotland is *mental*. The moral world is the world of mind, in contradistinction to the world of matter. This has given rise, I think, to an unwarranted extension of our subject, and I have endeavoured to reduce it within its primitive and what I hold to be its proper boundaries. Moral philosophy is with me the philosophy of morals—the philosophy of duty. My course is purely an ethical one, and I draw upon the doctrines of mental philosophy only when I judge them to be subservient to the establishment and the illustration of ethical principles. In regard to the particular order of the course, I divide it into two general parts—*first*, the moralities which reciprocate between man and man on earth; and, *secondly*, the moralities which connect earth with heaven. In the first of these divisions I take occasion to discuss the elementary questions of morals, the different theories which have been propounded upon virtue; and I conclude with what may be regarded as the most arduous discussion in the course, but in which I am supported by the intelligent sympathy of my pupils as much as in any other part of it. I endeavour to demonstrate, that even were the doctrine of Necessity admitted, the distinctions of morality would not be overturned by it. I pass over from the first to the second division, I think, about the beginning of March. I here endeavour to elucidate the distinction between

the ethics of the science and the objects of the science; the ethics being the moral properties which belong to certain relations, whether there are actually existing beings to exemplify these relations or not; the objects, again, of the science are the actually existing beings who stand in those relations to which the question of ethical propriety is applicable. There is no difficulty in regard to the objects in our first division: the beings who exemplify the relations are palpable to the senses—they are our fellow-men. There is a difficulty in regard to the second, because the beings who stand in the relations which call forth the moralities that connect earth with heaven are invisible; and upon that, therefore, I claim it to be within my department to demonstrate the existence and the character of a God so far as the light of nature will carry me—in other words, I give a course of natural theology. I beg leave to state here, however, that I consider it the most important service which a professor of moral philosophy can render to his students, to make palpable demonstration of the insufficiency of natural religion, so as to save them from the delusion that he has conducted them to a landing-place in which they might enjoy all the repose and the complacency of a finished speculation. Instead of which I endeavour to impress upon them that I have only conducted them to a post of observation whence they have to look most anxiously and earnestly forward to the ulterior region of the Christian theology. I endeavour to demonstrate that our science is a rudimental and not a terminating one; that is, a science not of *dicta*, but a science of *desiderata;* and I state to them that those *desiderata* can only be met and satisfied by the counterpart doctrines of the Christian theology. I beg leave to make use here of an illustration: If natural philosophy were divided into two professorships, one of which related to the whole of terrestrial physics, and to that portion of celestial physics which is accessible to the unassisted observation of man; and the other of which related to that department of celestial physics the informations of which are brought home by the telescope; then if the professor of the former were to make no allusion either to the power of that instrument by which these further informations were brought home, or at least to make no general allusion to the magnitude and importance of the informations themselves, although he did not enter into a detail of them, he would be doing a most grievous injustice to the noble science of astronomy. And in like manner I feel that I should be doing the utmost injustice to

what may be considered as the science of celestial ethics, if I were to make no reference to that department of it which is beyond the ken of the natural powers, but within the ken of the Christian revelation; and therefore I advert in the class, towards the conclusion of my course, to the strength of the evidences of Christianity; and I endeavour to make it palpable that the philosophy of a true Baconian mind is that philosophy which would lead us to cast down all our antecedent conceptions, and to sit down with the docility of little children at the bar of an authentic communication from heaven, provided that its authenticity has been established. I do not enter into the detail of the Christian evidences, but I give a general view of them. Neither do I enter into the detail of the doctrines propounded in the records of the great Christian embassy that took place two thousand years ago, but I give a very general sketch of these doctrines, and endeavour in this way to send away my students who are destined for the Church in a state of preparation for the lessons of theology, and to send away my general students in a right state of preparation for the study both of the evidences and contents of the Christian revelation. I may just add, that I know of nothing more important than that part of the subject which I call the outgoings of moral philosophy to the Christian theology; and the one subject bears so closely upon the other, that it weighs very much with me in the recommendation which I have already ventured to submit, that moral philosophy should be the terminating subject of the course, and come immediately on the year before the entrance of the students into the theological college."

The most valuable of these lectures were those which treated of natural theology. They were afterwards remodelled so as to suit the theological chair to which Dr. Chalmers was transferred, and will be found in the first and second volumes of his published works. In the fifth volume of the same series, the reader is presented with as many of the lectures in the first or strictly ethical division of his course as their author thought fit to publish. They are detached from the connexion in which they originally stood, and do not therefore give any distinct idea of the nature or order of that part of his course. Under it the discussions which their author most prized, and in which he believed that he had been most successful, were those occupied with laying open the distinction between the voluntary and the purely and passively sentient or emotional in our nature; with the

power and functions of the former in giving its character of rightness or wrongness to moral action; with the vast importance of the faculty of attention, both as the intermediate link between the moral and the intellectual parts of our nature, and as the great instrument for the cultivation of the heart; with the vindicating for the moral principle a separate and superior rank, as wholly underived from those emotions from which many eminent writers have attempted to trace its descent; and with the clear and broad distinction between the virtues of Beneficence and Justice, or more generally between the virtues of perfect and imperfect obligation, and the application of this distinction to the practice of legislation.

Dr. Chalmers's treatment of these topics from the chair was diffuse and illustrative. To facilitate the remembrance of his lectures, to give his students a distinct conception of the ground actually traversed, and to prepare them for that examination to which they were afterwards to be subjected, he dictated a few succinct sentences, containing the leading topics of each lecture, so as to furnish his students with a condensed syllabus of his course. It would not have been easy for them amid the excitements of that class to have followed the old practice of the Scottish Universities by taking notes during the delivery of the lecture. The very manner of that delivery would have been sufficient to have kept their eye fixed upon the lecturer. There was, besides, the novelty of many of the speculations, as well of the garb in which they were presented; while the interest was at once deepened and diversified—at times by some extemporaneous addition or illustration, in which the lecturer springing from his seat, and bending over the desk, through thick and difficult and stammering utterance in which every avenue to expression seemed to be choked up, found his way to some picturesque conception and expressive phraseology, which shed a flood of light on the topic in hand; and again, by some poetic quotation recited with most emphatic fervour, or by some humorous allusion or anecdote told with archest glee. It was almost impossible in such a singular class-room to check the burst of applause, or to restrain the merriment. The professor did his best, and used many expedients for this purpose. Lecturing on the difference between the solitary and tranquil emotions of the intellect, and the more turbulent emotions of the theatre—"There is a practice," he continued, "which is now making sad desecration in some of our most famous universities, in some

of which, I understand, every eloquent passage, every poetical quotation, or, what is more ridiculous still, the success of every experiment—and especially if any flash or explosion have come in its train, is sure to be followed up by so many distinct rounds of pedestrian approbation. Even the cold and unimpassioned mathematics, I have been given to understand, are now assailed with the din and disturbance of these popular testimonies; and on asking a professor of that science, whether it was the trapezium or isosceles triangle that called forth the loudest tempest of applause, I learned that the enamoured votaries are after all not very discriminating, but that they saluted each of these venerable abstractions with equal enthusiasm. It is a new and somewhat perplexing phenomenon in the seats of learning; and whatever diversity of taste or of opinion may obtain as to the right treatment of it, my friend and I agreed in one thing, that if any response is to come back upon the professor for the effusions poured forth by him, it is far better that it should come from the heads than from the heels of the rising generation." We fear that the judge had scarcely pronounced the sentence when the crime condemned was recommitted; nor, putting ourselves into their position, can we severely blame the culprits.*

After a profound analysis, in which the moral sentiment was carefully discriminated from all the other affections of our nature, the professor proceeded in one of his lectures to mark off the distinction between it and the emotions excited by the sublime and beautiful in nature. As instances of this last class of emotions were quoted and described, he kindled into poetic fervour at the recital, till he broke forth at last into the declaration, that though still his philosophic spirit could not abandon the conviction that no moral quality attaches to that region of human feeling, yet he could scarcely repeat the verses of Beattie without joining in the sentiment of the last line :—

* The pedestrian approbation accompanied Dr. Chalmers through the whole of his academical career. After the Disruption, temporary premises were taken for the classes in connexion with the Free Church. These premises were immediately adjoining to the house of an eminent dentist—a thin partition wall dividing the room in which he operated upon his patients, from that in which Dr. Chalmers lectured to his class. The ruffing of the one room penetrated into the other, and disturbed at times its delicate and nervous operations. Mr. N. at last, and in the gentlest terms, complained to Dr. Chalmers, asking him whether he could not induce his students to abate the vehemence of their applause. As Dr. Chalmers entered his class-room on the day after that on which this complaint was made, a suppressed smile lurked on his expressive countenance. He rose, told the students of his interview with Mr. N., and, after requesting that the offence should not be repeated, warned them most significantly against annoying or provoking a gentleman who was so much *in the mouths of the public.*

"Oh! how canst thou renounce the boundless store
Of charms which nature to her votary yields!
The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,
The pomp of groves, and garniture of fields;
All that the genial ray of morning gilds,
And all that echoes to the song of even,
All that the mountain's shelt'ring bosom shields,
And all the dread magnificence of heaven,
Oh! how canst thou renounce, and hope to be forgiven!"

Towards the close of the session, and in dealing with Christian truth and the Christian evidences, he recited Cowper's celebrated contrast between Voltaire and the Christian cottager. Never did he repeat any passage of poetry with equal delight or equal fervour. In the chair and in the pulpit he used it more frequently than any other extract from any writer in prose or verse. It had more than its poetry to recommend it. It struck within his heart a chord that vibrated to the last; and we have heard him in one of his latest years, with a voice somewhat weaker, but with a fulness of sympathy as strong and fresh as that manifested before his students at St. Andrews, in sublime recitative, repeat the lines—

"She, for her humble sphere by nature fit,
Has little understanding and no wit;
She knows, and knows no more, her Bible true—
A truth the brilliant Frenchman never knew—
And in that charter reads with sparkling eyes
Her title to a treasure in the skies.
O happy peasant!—O unhappy bard!
His the mere tinsel—hers the rich reward
He praised perhaps for ages yet to come;
She never heard of half a mile from home.
He, lost in errors his vain heart prefers;
She safe in the simplicity of hers."

It was known that in the latter part of his course Dr. Chalmers was touching upon some of those abstruse questions regarding the Christian evidences which the scepticism of Hume had raised and the philosophy of Campbell had attempted to resolve. Principal Nicoll visited the class-room to hear how a discussion so difficult, yet so interesting, would be conducted. Dr. Chalmers entered upon the consideration of our faith in testimony, which he classed with those original and indestructible beliefs which can as little be weakened by assault as they can be fortified by foreign aid. The exposition of the futility of all attempts to improve upon nature's own simple method of sustaining herself in her primary convictions was most philosophically exposed; but we should like to have seen how the grave and benignant countenance of the Principal demeaned itself as the professor went on to say—"Often when I think of these attempts does

it bring to mind a most ridiculous story which upwards of twenty years ago I had from the mouth of Professor Walker of Edinburgh. He occupied the chair of Natural History, and in his introductory lecture he gave an account of all the improvements that had taken place during the preceding vacation. Among the rest there had been invented a new method for the removal of caterpillars from the currant and gooseberry bushes of our gardens. You are aware of the vile and cruel way by which this removal is ordinarily accomplished. Instead of this it was proposed to employ a machine somewhat cumbersome and operose in its operation, which the professor therefore would not recommend. He illustrated his criticism on this new method for the destruction of caterpillars by the anecdote of a quack doctor who went about the country with a powder for the destruction of a still humbler but more agile insect. He was at great pains to demonstrate the virtues of the said application, and the powder was bought by the people in great quantities. In a few days, however, they came back to him complaining that they had made use of the powder, but without any effect. At no loss for his vindication, he replied that it certainly would have had its effect, but that they might not have taken the proper method of applying it; for if you had only caught hold of them, said he, by the nape of the neck, and blown the prescribed quantity of the powder into their mouths and eyes, I assure you it would have killed every one of them. When, in return, they said that could they only get hold of them by the neck, they thought they could manage them without his powder; he drily told them that either way would do."

Dr. Chalmers regularly examined his students upon the lectures which he delivered. The examination was much briefer than he desired, as only one hour was allotted daily to moral philosophy. The importance which he attached to this part of the class-exercises may be judged of by his writing out carefully beforehand the leading questions which he was to put, so as to secure a thorough elucidation of the subject. Notwithstanding this, one who was well fitted to judge—who some years before had passed through the best-taught class in any of the Scottish Universities, that of Professor Jardine in Glasgow—informs us that "the examination was anything but formal. It was enlivened by questions first addressed to individuals, and then, if unanswered, cast abroad on the whole class. Each was anxious to distinguish himself by his replies. The same question found

diverse answers. In that diversity we found a new source of interest, and new lights were struck out. The excitement, the suspense of mind, and the successive approximations of one after another to the true and sufficient answer, created scenes of intellectual animation that I delight to recall. In the midst of these not seldom the professor himself broke in with some extemporaneous or half extemporaneous exposition on the topics that had come up. Nothing could be more genial than these gushes of fresh thought and vivid illustration. We called them his buds, and, like other buds, they were all the more interesting that they were not blown. In these excursions he often expressed himself with all the point, condensation, and terseness which every one must have observed in his conversational as contrasted with his written style. In a few emphatic and impassioned sentences he set before us the whole philosophy of a subject, and that in so compact and portable a form, that it was transferred not only to our note-books, but lodged for life in our minds, under the triple guardianship of the understanding, the imagination, and the heart." *

In the Scottish Universities the professor of moral philosophy had occasionally given a few lectures on political economy in the course of his ordinary prelections. That science was too favourite a one with Dr. Chalmers for him to remain satisfied with the limited space to which it was thus necessarily confined. He announced, therefore, at the close of his first session in St. Andrews, that during the following winter he would open a separate class for political economy. He was not only convinced that there was abundant material for conducting such a class, but that these materials could be so employed as to make it one of the most attractive in the university. The result justified his expectations. In November 1826 he enrolled a numerous class, and by his manner of conducting it excited and sustained such an interest among the students, that when asked by the Royal Commissioners whether he found that political economy was a science that attracted them,—"I think," he said, "that upon the whole it is more attractive than moral philosophy." He did not teach this class by a course of lectures, but by means of a text-book. He prescribed regularly a certain portion of Smith's "Wealth of Nations" to be read and studied, upon which the students were afterwards closely and searchingly examined. In the course of these examinations he refuted or modified, supple-

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. George Lewis.

mented or illustrated the views of the text-book, as they seemed to require it, introducing occasionally a more elaborate treatment of some leading topic; endeavouring in this way, and by references to publications more recent than that of Dr. Smith, to make his students acquainted with the latest and most approved doctrines of the science. The beneficial effects of this method were so apparent that after describing it to the Royal Commissioners he added,—"I must say, that I feel great comfort in it, and am sensible of its great efficacy. I find that coming to close quarters with the juvenile mind upon subjects which they have previously read upon, is a very effective method of teaching them, insomuch that were I furnished with an unexceptionable set of text-books on moral philosophy, I should feel strongly inclined to adopt the same method in that class too." Besides its other and higher advantages this method gave scope for the indulgence of his taste and talent for humorous anecdote, the occasional interjecting of which must have been an agreeable relief to the laborious investigations of one of the most abstract of the sciences. In treating of the different standards of enjoyment existing among the working-classes in different countries, "I remember," said the professor, "hearing while I was in Glasgow of a Scotchman and an Irishman getting into converse and comparing notes with each other about their modes of living. The Scotchman, with a curiosity characteristic of his nation, asked the Irishman what he took to breakfast—the answer was, potatoes; he next asked what he took to dinner—it was the same answer, potatoes; he finally asked him what he took to supper—there was still the same unvarying answer, potatoes. 'But have you,' said the wondering Scotchman, who could not altogether comprehend the mystery of such a diet and regimen, 'but have you no *kitchen** to your potatoes?' At no loss for a reply, and determined not to be outdone, 'Any kitchen!' said the Irishman, 'to be sure I have; why, don't I make the *big* potatoes kitchen to the *little* ones!'" On one occasion, however, the merriment of the class-room did not originate from the chair. A raw-boned student from the wilds of Ross-shire was called up for examination. "Who," said the professor, about to plunge with all eagerness into the discussion of the Malthu-

* When telling this story afterwards to a Committee of the House of Commons, Dr. Chalmers said,—"Perhaps it may be necessary to explain the term *kitchen*. With our Scottish peasantry the substratum of the meal is either potatoes or bread; and if there be anything wherewith to season it in the shape of butter or cheese, or any coarse preparation of animal food, this, in the humble nomenclature of our poor, is called *kitchen*."

sian doctrines, "who was the father of the correct theory of population?" At once, and in the strongest northern accent, his young friend answered, "Julius Cæsar." The gravest students were overset by this incongruous reply, and for a few minutes nothing was seen of the Professor himself but his back rising and falling above the book-board as he struggled with the fit of laughter into which he had been thrown. When at last he was able to command himself, he courteously apologized for his untimely hilarity to the poor student who still stood in confusion before him, and without the least allusion to the answer, expressed his great regret that he could never hear that peculiar dialect without his risibility being affected.

In addition to the prelections and examinations, the students both of the moral philosophy and political economy classes were required to write essays. On each Friday a topic was prescribed to a certain portion of the class. The essay was to be brief, occupying not more than eight or ten minutes in the delivery, and to be ready on the ensuing Friday, when it was read by its author publicly in the class, and criticised by the professor. In this way each student was obliged to write and read three or four essays during the session, while an opportunity was given to all the students of bestowing their own independent treatment upon about twenty of the most important subjects of the course. Besides their regular weekly essays, the subject for a prize essay was announced at Christmas, to be ready in the month of April. A great latitude was allowed to the students as to the subjects of the ordinary weekly essays; they might either take the topic suggested, or any other connected with that part of the course which was then before them, and they might either adopt the views of the professor, or they were left free, and even invited to adopt and defend their own, though they should be different from or opposed to those promulgated from the chair. Few availed themselves of a privilege so hazardous; but it was on one occasion signally abused. "Most of Dr. Chalmers's students," says Mr. Lewis, "will recall his triumphant overthrow of Adam Smith's unfortunate distinction between productive and unproductive labour, in which the statesman, the judge, the lawyer, the teacher, the clergyman, and the man of science, are all classed among the non-producers, the '*nati consumere fruges*,' because they do not create any tangible commodity; while the pastry-cook, the squib manufacturer, and the vender of quack

medicines, are exalted to the rank of productive labourers because they create tangible commodities. To rivet on our minds the absurdity of this distinction we got it as the subject of an essay. All the essayists echoed the views of the professor, varied only with such illustrations, grave or humorous, as occurred to them—all save one, who stood forth as the champion of Dr. Smith, and not content with maintaining his own views, he termed those of his professor Quixotic, and characterized the distinction that he had drawn as a *fantastic* distinction. This was too much. The Doctor felt it, and coloured deeply; replied by a profusion of argument and illustration, and after thrice slaying the slain, he returned next day to the charge with an elaborate written defence, until we roared out our convictions in unmistakable sounds; and the champion of squibs, and crackers, and puff-paste, was fain to hide his head amid the general uproar." Dr. Chalmers was far more indignant at the violence done to truth than to the invasion of his personal dignity. The latter he did little apparently to protect, but it abundantly protected itself. No stringent methods of discipline were adopted, yet, bating an occasional outbreak of applause, the order preserved in his classes was perfect. During one of his sessions he was considerably annoyed by two or three young men of superior rank who were frequently late in coming to the class, and when challenged gave rather dubious excuses. His patience was exhausted, and addressing himself to the class, he said, "I do confess that I have my jealousies about these explanations, and they never met with more to awaken them than this session, in consequence, I believe, of a certain systematic defiance of authority on the part of certain foolish young men who seem totally to have misunderstood the place which belongs to them, and whose manner not only makes them contemptible in youth, but, if persisted in, will make them odious in manhood. When academic proprieties are infringed upon, and the respect due to academic station is violated, no rank and no fortune shall shield it from the chastisement of my scorn. These distinctions are proper in general society, but within the walls of a university they should ever be unknown; and when the offending student stands before me with all the carelessness and complacency of a *petit maître*, I must confess that the very circumstance of his rank only whets my inclination to deal out the full measure of severity, and to blast his paltry insignificance into atoms."

It was but very rarely that Dr. Chalmers had to discharge so disagreeable a duty. The general tone and spirit of his whole intercourse, both public and private, with his students, was that of the kindest and most familiar cordiality. "Besides being repeatedly invited to his hospitable table, I remember," says Dr. Lorimer, "shortly after the session had begun, receiving a call from him at my lodgings. The forenoon class was over, he said, and he had come to see whether one or two of the students would take a walk with him. I was too happy to accept the invitation, and accordingly, in company with a fellow-student, I had soon the rare happiness of a familiar walk with him along the beach of St. Andrews on a bright winter day."

Classes conducted by such an instructor, in which the methods now indicated were so vigorously prosecuted, could not but be effective. When he accepted the appointment to St. Andrews, many a misgiving had been expressed as to his fitness for the new office, and many a sage reflection had been thrown out as to the opposite qualities that were required for the pulpit and for the chair. His lectures soon gave evidence that he could be profound as well as popular; and as to his mode of training the young, if the highest end of all good teaching be to awaken intellectual impulses and stimulate to intellectual activity, that end was gained in a pre-eminent degree. An indescribable impulse was excited and sustained among the students. There was not a latent spark of intellectual enthusiasm in any breast that was not kindled into a glowing flame. It was impossible not to follow where such a leader led the way, and with many, as with himself, the pursuit became a passion. There was but one other professor in the Scottish Universities who had been equally successful, though in a very different way, in calling the youthful intellectual energy into action, and he was now sinking into the sear and yellow leaf. "If Professor Jardine of Glasgow," says one who was a student under both, "had the art, above most men, of 'breaking the shell,' to use Lord Jeffrey's phrase, Dr. Chalmers excelled in tempting those whose shell was already broken to prove their wings—in teaching them how to fly, and whither to direct their flight. Under Jardine we learned that we had an intellectual life; at St. Andrews we were provoked to use it; and in the joy of its exercise, though we often mistook intellectual ambition for intellectual ability, time corrected that mistake, and meanwhile whatever was in us

was drawn out of us by the intensive and enthusiastic spirit of our intellectual chief."*

* "A very interesting part of Dr. Chalmers's conduct of his class, and to me entirely new, in the philosophical department, was daily prayer. The exercise was very short, like the brief prayers prefixed to some of Calvin's Lectures in his Commentaries, consisting of a few sentences, but, like the Reformer's, always impressive, and sometimes very sublime. The adorations and petitions were frequently suggested by the matter of the preceding lecture, which added to their interest. The virtual recognition of Divine Revelation in this form was very salutary to young men engaged on themes which, at their age, frequently suggest sceptical thoughts. I have often wished that the record of these devotional introductions to the lectures had been collected and preserved."—MS. Memoranda by Dr. Lorimer. These prayers are preserved, written in short-hand by Dr. Chalmers, and, along with the syllabus of his course, and a few of the most valuable of his lectures, are reserved for future publication.

CHAPTER V.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1825—DR. ANDREW THOMSON AND DR. CHALMERS —NOTICES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY—DR. CHALMERS PRESENTS HIMSELF AS A REPENTANT CULPRIT AT ITS BAR.

THE General Assembly of 1825 brought once more into collision the two great parties into which the Church of Scotland was divided. From the deep depression into which it had sunk at the close of the preceding century, the evangelical interest had been rapidly ascending till it had gained strength enough to cope with its opponent even in the arena of the General Assembly. For its position in that venerable court it was especially indebted to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson. Placed in the most prominent pulpit of Edinburgh, this eminent minister had preached evangelical doctrines in so manly and vigorous a style as thoroughly to vindicate their advocacy from the reproach of feebleness or puerility. Mixing largely in society, his varied information, his fund of anecdote, his readiness at repartee, his masculine good sense, his musical taste and talent, his broad and genial humanity, had conspired with his great Christian worth to confer upon him extensive social influence. That influence added largely to the weight of his Sabbath discourses, and he had not long been minister of St. George's Church till he fairly turned the tide in favour of evangelism in the most influential circles of the metropolis. But it was as a debater in the ecclesiastical courts that Dr. Thomson shone pre-eminent. He had studied the constitution and made himself familiar with the practice of these courts. Prompt, self-possessed, and furnished with almost every kind of needful weapon, he varied the closest and most crushing argument with sallies of broad humour and shafts of playful satire. He rushed into debate as the war-horse into the battle, rejoicing in the conflict, merciless indeed in his onslaught, but generous to the honourable foe. "In the business of debate," said Dr. Chalmers, speaking of him after death had laid him low, "though great execution is often done by the heavy artillery of prepared speeches, yet the effect of these is incalculably aided by the well-timed discharge of those smaller

fire-arms which are used in the skirmishings of extemporaneous warfare. I only knew one individual in our Church who had this talent in perfection; and in his hands it was anything but a small fire-arm. Would that there were twenty alike able and intrepid and as pure as I judge him to have been, on many of the great questions of ecclesiastical polity. The very presence of such would have resistless effect on the divisions of our judicatories. But it forms a very rare combination when so much power and so much promptitude go together, or when one unites in his speaking the quickness of opportune suggestion with the momentum of weighty and laborious preparation." *

In the two leading discussions of the Assembly of 1825, Dr. Thomson and Dr. Chalmers stood side by side, Dr. Thomson throwing his chief weight into the one debate, Dr. Chalmers throwing his into the other. The Highland parish of Little Dunkeld had from time immemorial enjoyed the benefit of a Gaelic ministry. A presentation, however, had recently been issued by the Crown in favour of an individual wholly unacquainted with the Gaelic language. The Presbytery refused to sustain this presentation; the Synod of Perth and Stirling affirmed that decision; and the matter was brought up for final settlement to the Assembly. Dr. Thomson moved, and Dr. Chalmers seconded the motion, that the Presbytery should be instructed not to proceed with such a settlement, and that this decision should be respectfully communicated to the officers of the Crown, in order that another and properly qualified individual might be presented. Rarely, either in the Senate or at the Bar, has a higher display of argument and eloquence been witnessed than that exhibited by Dr. Thomson on this occasion; and at the close of the debate he had the extreme gratification of seeing his motion carried by a majority of 107 to 89. Dr. Chalmers was not so successful in the motion which he presented to the House. His case was not perhaps so strong; long usage, at least, had been in favour of that union of offices which it was the object of his motion to abolish. In a church which does not permit any of its ministers to discharge their duties by deputy, it was not difficult to establish the impropriety of committing to one individual a city parochial charge and a university chair; and while Professors Stewart and Playfair, animated with the love of science, had sought some years before to protect the chairs of the University of Edinburgh from falling into the hands of city

* See Dr. Chalmers's Posthumous Works, vol. ix. p. 34.

clergymen, it was not unnatural that Dr. Chalmers and his friends should endeavour to protect another and more sacred interest. They were destined, however, on this occasion to suffer another defeat; but defeat brought no discouragement, as appears from the following broken and hurried notices of this Assembly, which were all that Dr. Chalmers could find time to transmit from Edinburgh to St Andrews:—

"*Wednesday, May* 18, 1825.—After leaving you, had to stop a quarter of an hour on the pier; rowed over to the east pier after the blowing of the horn, and sheltered ourselves there for some time; at length went out of the harbour, where the sea was really tremendous; and when at length we got alongside of the boat, the dashing of our skiff against the ladder, we lifting it up, and it pressing us down, was truly dangerous. Got to Mr. Tennent's after eight. Dr. Andrew Thomson, Mr. William Paul, and two other gentlemen came to supper; had a deal of Assembly talk.

"*Thursday.*—Walked to Newhaven; got into the 'Lady of the Lake' at Trinity Pier; a pleasant passage of an hour and a half; still an east wind, however, which on your account I dislike; reached Broomhall at twelve; had a long talk with Lady Elgin and Lady Matilda in the drawing-room; the rest of the elder part of the family not at home; a lunch; went to my bedroom, where I conned and wrote a little for the Assembly; also conned on my walk to Newhaven and in the steamboat; walked out in the policy and conned. Lord Elgin is quite indifferent as to the mode of the baptism: I managed it in this way; both stood up, that is, Lord and Lady Elgin, and I addressed them both as sponsors for the child; Lord Elgin, it is true, held it up—but still Lady Elgin, a Presbyterian, became a sponsor, and this I think should satisfy the most scrupulous; much agreeable conversation; went to bed before twelve o'clock; the child had on the same christening dress that Lord Elgin himself had worn at his christening.

"*Friday.*—I found yesterday a new waistcoat among my clothes which I did not commission; however, I put it on with the rest of my new suit, and being a good day came yesterday to Broomhall without luggage. My *braws* are not the worse. Started this morning after seven; had an early breakfast; Lady Matilda poured it out to me—she is a most devoted Christian; Lord Elgin and she went a great way with me to the boat; took my leave of them about nine; conned all morning and in the

steamboat; arrived at the Trinity Pier about eleven; walked to Mrs. Tennent's, whom I found at home; she had occasion to go off, however, and I had two hours for Assembly preparation and conning. Dr. Andrew Thomson called, and I had a good deal of Assembly conversation with him. It is still an east wind, and I think much of you, my dear G.

"*N.B.*—On looking towards St. Andrews from Leith Walk I perceived a dense cloudiness all along the horizon; this I have no doubt was your easterly haar, at the very time that we were in brilliant sunshine and were oppressed with heat. I further saw that Burntisland and Kirkcaldy were completely free of the haar. I would therefore most seriously advise you to come to Burntisland, or what perhaps would be still better, to Kirkcaldy, till the season of the obstinate east wind is over. May the God of all grace be with you and my dear children. Travel not unless you are quite able; but I am persuaded that it will be of great consequence for you to make your escape for a fortnight from these fogs and chills of the German Ocean.

"*Friday, 27th.*—We have done great things, but not carried the Plurality question, it being lost by the small majority of twenty-six. We did gloriously on Tuesday with the Dunkeld cause."

"*Edinburgh, May* 31, 1825.—This has been a glorious and very hopeful Assembly. I spoke seven times in it, and everything has gone on well. The division on Pluralities is felt to be a thorough defeat by the opposite party. We had a majority of clergymen who voted with *us*, although *they* had six or seven pluralists on their side, beside the friends and dependants of pluralists, and the whole tribe of expectants. Their nominal victory has been altogether due to the packing of elders; and there is not now a doubt that the sense both of the Church and of the public is altogether against a system which must sooner or later come down.

"You know that it requires forty presbyteries to make any overture pass into a law. The overture for the attendance of students has just had thirty-seven, within three of the number. I threatened them with a speech if they would not re-transmit the overture. This was instantly complied with, and there can be no doubt of our obtaining three more in the course of a twelvemonth.

"A number of acquaintances here, but I have just got a glance of them. Our Assembly closed yesterday—the most

bustling that has been held for a very long time. I am still in great exhaustion."

"*Kirkcaldy, June* 2, 1825.—I went to Dalry House on Tuesday. It was fortunate, for yesterday (Wednesday), after the excitements of the Assembly had ceased, its fatigues told upon me, and I spent the day in a state of great exhaustion and drowsiness. Nothing could exceed the attentions of Lady Carnegie and Captain Wauchope, who with his lady is now at Dalry. At seven at night I found that I could keep up no longer, and was necessitated to go to bed. During the whole Assembly I have slept but little, and very irregularly, but last night I slept profoundly and almost perpetually for ten hours. I am now certainly much refreshed, but in that state when one good sleep requires another."

It is curious and characteristic that no allusion is here made by Dr. Chalmers to what was not only the most striking incident of this Assembly, but was perhaps, externally, the most imposing single passage in his life. The discussion on Pluralities having lasted till midnight on Wednesday the 25th, was adjourned till the following day. Late in the afternoon of the second day's debate, a speech on the opposite side had been closed by a quotation from an anonymous pamphlet, in which the author asserted that, from what to him was the highest of all authority, the authority of his own experience, he could assert that, "after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage." As this passage was emphatically read, no doubtful hint being given as to its authorship, all eyes were turned towards Dr. Chalmers. The interposition of another speech afforded him an opportunity for reflecting on the best manner of meeting this personal attack. At the close of the debate, and amid breathless silence, he spoke as follows :—

"Sir, that pamphlet I now declare to have been a production of my own, published twenty years ago.* I was indeed much surprised to hear it brought forward and quoted this evening; and I instantly conceived that the reverend gentleman who did so, had been working at the trade of a resurrectionist. Verily I believed that my unfortunate pamphlet had long ere now descended into the tomb of merited oblivion, and that there it was mouldering in silence, forgotten and disregarded. But since

* See vol. i. of these Memoirs, pp. 64-66.

that gentleman has brought it forward in the face of this House, I can assure him that I feel grateful to him from the bottom of my heart, for the opportunity he has now afforded me of making a public recantation of the sentiments it contains. I have read a tract entitled the 'Last Moments of the Earl of Rochester,' and I was powerfully struck in reading it, with the conviction how much evil a pernicious pamphlet may be the means of disseminating. At the time when I wrote it, I did not conceive that my pamphlet would do much evil: but, sir, considering the conclusions that have been deduced from it by the reverend gentleman, I do feel obliged to him for reviving it, and for bringing me forward to make my public renunciation of what is there written. I now confess myself to have been guilty of a heinous crime, and I now stand a repentant culprit before the bar of this venerable Assembly.

"The circumstances attending the publication of my pamphlet were shortly as follows: As far back as twenty years ago, I was ambitious enough to aspire to be successor to Professor Playfair in the mathematical chair of the University of Edinburgh. During the discussion which took place relative to the person who might be appointed his successor, there appeared a letter from Professor Playfair to the magistrates of Edinburgh on the subject, in which he stated it as his conviction, that no person could be found competent to discharge the duties of the mathematical chair among the clergymen of the Church of Scotland. I was at that time, sir, more devoted to mathematics than to the literature of my profession; and feeling grieved and indignant at what I conceived an undue reflection on the abilities and education of our clergy, I came forward with that pamphlet to rescue them from what I deemed an unmerited reproach, by maintaining that a devoted and exclusive attention to the study of mathematics was not dissonant to the proper habits of a clergyman. Alas! sir, so I thought in my ignorance and pride. I have now no reserve in saying that the sentiment was wrong, and that, in the utterance of it, I penned what was most outrageously wrong. Strangely blinded that I was! What, sir, is the object of mathematical science? Magnitude and the proportions of magnitude. But *then*, sir, I had forgotten *two magnitudes*—I thought not of the littleness of time—I recklessly thought not of the greatness of eternity!"*

* Report of the Debate, &c. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1825.

For a moment or two after the last words were spoken a death-like stillness reigned throughout the House. The power and pathos of the scene were overwhelming, and we shall search long in the lives of the most illustrious ere we find another instance in which the sentiment, the act, the utterance, each rose to the same level of sublimity, and stood so equally embodied in the one impressive spectacle.

CHAPTER VI.

JOURNAL OF 1825-26.

The delightful transition from the turmoil of Glasgow to the tranquillity of St. Andrews had certain weighty penalties attached to it. "It will give you, I am sure," Dr. Chalmers wrote to an old Glasgow friend, "great pleasure to know that I am in great health and physical comfort in St. Andrews. It were ungrateful to my dear friends in Glasgow to expatiate upon this topic, but the truth is, that I was upon a most violent and unnatural strain there, and that though there is necessarily much of effort requisite here for the preparations of my new office, yet from my comparative states now and formerly, I am positively at this moment, and have been for many weeks, in the feeling of a most delicious repose. I know well at the same time that this may alienate from God, and that health and friendship and the enjoyment of old associations, and congenial literature, and animating success in labours which are light and exhilarating—that these may take possession of the heart as so many idols, and bring it altogether under the power of ungodliness. Do let me have an interest in your prayers."* The first entry in a journal, resumed after more than a year's interruption, is—"Danger of many withering influences in St. Andrews; on the other hand, I have less of bustle and distraction. I pray that God would strengthen in me the things which remain, and which are ready to die." The alarm felt thus at the commencement of his residence in St. Andrews, time did nothing to mitigate. It was aggravated by the isolated position which he occupied, the spirit of Moderatism being dominant both in the university and in the town. "Perhaps," he writes in February 1824, "there is no town in Scotland more cold and meagre and moderate in its theology than St. Andrews." And when the isolation passed into opposition, and he was involved unwillingly in controversy with his colleagues, it would seem as if he had been more forcibly thrown back into that secret place where the

* Letter to Mrs. Henry Paul, dated January 12, 1824.

deepest fountains of his comfort and his strength were lying. His journal, often relinquished previously for long intervals, and broken and fragmentary in its general character, expands now for a single year in its dimensions, permitting us to trace the most secret exercises of his mind amid uncongenial and conflicting elements:—

"*Sunday, June* 26, 1825.—After the interval of more than a twelvemonth have again recurred to my journal. Have not made progress during this interval, and find that I must just recur, as at the first, to the blood of Christ as my atonement—to the righteousness of Christ as my plea; but, oh! that under these principles I experienced more of the spirit of Christ in my heart, and anything like the satisfactory evidence of my having become a new creature. I have had recent visits from Mr. Babington and Mr. Erskine.* The impulse of these visits remains; and this day I have proposed a more distinct and strenuous work of sanctification, and shall allow, if God will, much larger space than before for the employment of daily and direct communion with Himself.—Had great freedom and facility this evening with my Sabbath-school. In a state this day more of purpose and desire than of pleasurable manifestation.

"27*th*.—Rose at seven. Wrote the journal of the preceding day. Read a little of Romaine on 'Faith,' and two chapters, one of the Old and the other of the New Testament. Intermingled the reading with devotional exercises; then read and prayed with my girls. Went about nine to the newspaper room. Breakfasted—I should have preceded it with family worship. Composition till between one and two; walk with Mrs. Chalmers; again composition till dinner—had prayer before it; letter-writing and reading till ten; then perhaps a little composition; walk

* "I have heard to-day that Mr. Erskine is staying now with Dr. Chalmers, and as we are to have a Missionary meeting this evening, he is to be one of the speakers, as well as Dr. C. I probably may find an opportunity of speaking to him, and getting some information concerning Geneva. Since finishing the last sentence I have both heard and conversed with Mr. E. He gave the meeting some account of the state of religion on the Continent, Germany, France, and *notre Suisse*, through which he has been travelling. This morning I was quietly taking my solitary repast, when my reveries were broken in upon by the sudden entrance of the Doctor, who had heard I was partially acquainted with Mr. E., and came to invite me to breakfast. He is truly a most delightful man, and the conversation carried on between him and the Doctor was most instructive; I was a privileged hearer, and merely from time to time put in my word of assent. The current of discourse ran upon the Mosaic account of the creation—the discoveries of modern geologists—the state of Italy and Geneva—and the place sanctification holds in the scriptural system. These, though various, were all interesting topics; and upon the last it was concluded, that it is good to consider holiness as a part of the salvation brought to light by the gospel, the superstructure which the divinely appointed mechanism of doctrines and promises is to rear. This is a happy way of silencing those reiterated objections, that we encourage to sin because grace abounds."—"Memoir of John Adam," pp. 91, 92.

and family worship; supper, but before it retired meditation and self-examination; after it a little composition, which I often find more vigorous than at other times. Go to bed between eleven and twelve.

"The above a slight sketch of what I aim at filling up. This amount of composition proceeds from my desire to complete speedily my third volume of the 'Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns.' I am composing rather plainly.

"Kept by this outline pretty well to-day. Made progress in devotion, and felt a peace and a charity afterwards. Had some religious conversation with my children. O that God would effectually influence their hearts to turn to Him, and to choose Him as their God!

"28*th*.—Had less of light and life in my devotional exercises this morning. Waited for some time but without success. Surely in the absence of conception there may be faith and principle, and let me follow up a morning of darkness with a day of close and conscientious observation. Keep alive in me, O God, the love of Thyself, and the love of my neighbour, and all will be right. Have gleams of sunshine in the reading of Romaine, and find that I can get better on through the medium of tangible remarks and doctrines; and in what other way indeed but by the presentation of truth can good feelings be awakened? O that I could appropriate Christ more simply, and then should I experience Him to be the power of God for both a present and a future salvation!

"Have to record some aberrations of spirit, in addition to a great want of positive love for those among whom I move, and who come within my notice and conversation in society. Impatient at the want of what I conceive equal and fair attention in company. Have to remark, that in proportion as I am engrossed with my daily literature, in that proportion I am exiled from God, and let this endear to me the more our Christian Sabbath, and lead me diligently to improve it.

"29*th*.—Find that the sederunt after breakfast is, in respect of composition, far the most productive. Somewhat more successful in my morning exercise, but find that allied with my want of spirituality there is the working of a strong legal spirit. I feel myself knocking at a door which I cannot open, but let me continue to knock and the door shall be opened to me; meanwhile there are states of mind and behaviour which cannot be acquiesced in, else surely I am no true seeker—such alienation

from God for hours together, a grievous want of any feeling of the second law, a readiness to coalesce in spirit and humour with people whose conversation at least is wholly irreligious, an impatience under the crosses of my daily and domestic history, and a grievous dereliction from the meekness of wisdom when soured by the perversities of my own household. Perhaps somewhat too light and familiar with my visitors; had a slight mortification in consequence of pushing my attentions to an injudicious excess. O my God, suffer me not to fall away from earnestness. Find Romaine delightful at certain places.

"30*th*.—No study after supper. Four gentlemen at breakfast. Had the usual family worship, which Miss L—— thought of great importance to the students who were admitted to it. In the forenoon was made acquainted with the resolute opposition of Dr. H. to our mode of collecting for the Missionary Society, and which might come to exercise my charity and firmness and wisdom in future. May God assist me in this and every other controversy on the side of truth and righteousness. Perhaps more successful in my morning exercise: satisfied with an exhortation I gave to my girls. Have still to record a dreary absence of God and of the Spirit from my soul. The want is, that I do not feel its dreariness, I live in comfort without God, and can enjoy humour and conversation with ungodly people. There is no such thing as laying a charge at any time through the day upon my conscience; an act of self-recollection, that now I am in the presence of God, and I must not forget that I am His servant. Might not this be a good expedient, and when doing so if I vent forth my aspirations for present grace, will not this be a combination of watchfulness with prayer? O my God, enable me to spread a savour of divine things around me. Let my life be a perpetual testimony for God.

"*July* 1.—A little better this morning in my devotional exercises, and did recur more to the things of God and Christ through the day, but have daily experience of my carnality and of my need of keeping in memory the truths by which I am saved. If the element in which I naturally breathe be not one of antigodliness, it is at least one of ungodliness. Let me try the expedient of habitual and hourly recurrence to sacred things as a defence against the engrossing spirit of my present pursuits. On the whole I am overdoing study. But let my morning before breakfast be consecrated to intercourse with God. It is, after all, by conforming to an economy of grace, and not of

works, that one attains to life and to fruitfulness in all holy obedience.

"Find my habitual frame to be that of ungodliness. I am far from God, but I do find along with this the absence from my thoughts of Christ through whom I was brought near. O God, give me to experience the power of the gospel pardon in causing me both to come and to keep nigh. Felt not the positive force of the second law in my heart when with my colleagues. A good deal of discussion and of right arrangement about Degrees. It is my prayer that self may be denied, that the cross may be taken up daily, that I may live a devoted servant of Him by whose blood I am purchased. I desire an increased faith in its efficacy.

"*Sunday*, 3*d*.—Rose at seven, after an hour of reading at the 'Life of Philip Henry.' This at present my Sunday book. After an hour of devotion and devotional reading, prepared for my Sabbath-school, and completed the preparation by various efforts through the day. Heard Dr. Haldane, I trust with impression, in the forenoon, and Dr. Buist in the afternoon.—O God, enable me to keep my feet when I go to Thy house. It requires a watch upon myself to keep my thoughts from wandering. Dr. L. drank tea. It were an exercise of the second law to call for its operation when he or any one else appears. Somewhat shocked at the notions which I was told of respecting the adequate treatment by her friends of a dying young lady in town. Had an interesting transaction with little Grace. I should have mentioned that I prescribe tasks to my children which I hear at five, and that my Sabbath-school meets at six and lasts till eight.

"4*th*.—Employed this day in drawing up a defence of our method of collection for the Missionary Society, which I read in the evening to the Committee, and which they request shall be printed. My morning devotions were carried on pleasantly, but when I look back to the day I may well say, what has been their power? It is quite melancholy to observe my utter destitution of sacred feeling through the hours of common life. Is there no way by which I can keep up communion with God all the day long? Let me do it by duties. O God, assist me. Spoke with specific earnestness to Mr. Duncan in the reading-room, but no recurrence of it afterwards when I walked with him and Mrs. Chalmers; let me recur to it by myself. At dinner was very irritable and impatient with my children: let

me be firm but gentle in my family discipline. Erred too in giving way to much irritableness with Mr. Duncan about college matters; let this remind me to be on my guard when these are afterwards referred to.

"*5th.*—Mr. Dwight, son to the President, called on the moment of our going off to Lathallan; asked him to remain in St. Andrews while Mrs. Chalmers and I went there in a gig; glad to acquit ourselves of this incumbent attention. Perhaps a little more strenuous and successful this day, but feel that I live as if in exile from God, and in a dry and thirsty land where no water is. Erred in levity with Mr. Duncan in our reading-room; more kind and hospitable to Mr. Dwight than formerly on a similar occasion; marvellously little of God when moving through His delicious air upon our ride and in the midst of His unnumbered beauties. O that I could associate with everything the first great Cause of all things; absolutely nothing of the serious or the sacred in me when sitting amongst eighteen immortals in the evening. What an exclusion of religion from this world's companies! Give me wisdom and principle, O God. Mr. Dwight on the whole interesting: I was much struck with his description of his visits to his people in America. O let me redeem the time, and give myself to the work of an entire and spiritual Christianity!

"*6th.*—Better I trust all this day; took the more objective view in the morning, and let me never lose my hold of it. My mother and aunt came up from Anster in a chaise. My poor mother had fallen in Anster, and I was affected by the swelling that in consequence arose in her forehead and other marks. O my God, pardon all my peculiarities of temper towards her. Give me to honour her during the remainder of her days. Continue to her the blessings of faith and peace and piety. Speak powerfully of this world's worthlessness to my aunt; and, oh guide me to the right Christian way of holding intercourse with all my friends.

"*7th.*—Have certainly a calmness and comfort in my morning exercises which I wont not to have; my physical state is pleasant, and this is promoted by bathing occasionally; a sort of general sensation of piety which I wont not to have, and certainly my more deliberate and lengthened morning exercise contributes thereunto; I however do lose my hold, and that often. On going into company I should have a preventive and preparatory mental exercise. Should I ever be exposed to annoyance

from Dr. B. (and I have been threatened therewith), let patience have its perfect work; should maintain this quality in my family, whereas I transgressed it on perceiving the disorderly state of A.'s and E.'s room. I spoke a little more to Mr. Duncan. O my God, direct me aright, and set my heart upon the enterprise of doing him a Christian good.

"8*th*.—Still in a state of spiritual exile—very pleasant, however, and had powerful impressions too in my morning exercise; why not a more frequent recurrence to its topics through the day? Erred in my walk with Mr. Duncan, and vented forth outrageous expressions about college matters. Let me be guarded; and, oh for love to others! Was visited at my devotions with the vast importance of the second law and of its satisfactory evidence as to our love of God. I would give a body and a reality to our religion.

"*Sunday*, 10*th*.—Preached all day for Mr. Watson.

"11*th*.—Rose at half-past seven; little of godly exercise. Breakfasted at Pitlethie, studied in Leuchars manse; made a short call on the schoolmaster; came in at night—had some communings of a heavenward nature on the road.

"12*th*.—Feel a heaviness and incapacity; fear that my power both of conception and of language are forsaking me. I pray for deliverance from all earthly ambition, and that I may have grace to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness. Surely, in the absence of prosperous literature, there is enough to fill the heart in the preparations of eternity, and when retired from the general world there is enough to stimulate in the Christianization of those around us, and let me not forget that every human being presents a call for the exercise of right principle. O my God, teach me what the work of the Lord is, and give me to be steadfast and unmovable, always abounding in it.

"13*th*.—Give me wisdom among those who are without, and keep alive in me a sense of eternal things. Always read Romaine with great and ready coalescence. O let me experimentally realize the effects of that trust which he recommends for sanctification as well as righteousness.

"14*th*.—Rose before eight. I had a full modicum of composition, with the quality of which, however, I am not at all satisfied. The subject too engrosses me, so as to make me feel that my 'Political Economy' is a thorn. Direct me, O God. Had pleasure, as I always have, in Romaine, and long for the freeness of an evangelical obedience. Give me sight of Thy

mercy in Christ, O God, and let me steadfastly and at all times look thereunto.

"15*th.*—Delighted more and more with Romaine, particularly with his remarks on free obedience, or the service of love, or the evangelical service which is rendered in the spirit of adoption; but I let slip the thoughts which comfort as well as those which stimulate. I pray for Thy Spirit to bring and keep things in my remembrance, O God. I also have been asking what is the work of the Lord, in which I ought to be steadfast and unmovable. An obvious reply is that of laying myself out for the salvation of myself and others; and what a field is around me and my children, household, friends, neighbours, and all who come within reach of my influence! I feel the engrossing influence of my studies, and I pray for direction in them.

"16*th.*—Still the same glow of delight with Romaine, but the same dissipation thereof and of all seriousness amongst the occupations of study and of society. What an argument for the Sabbath, for a day set apart to God's peculiar work, seeing that throughout the vast majority of the six days on which we do our work, we forget Him altogether. But should it be so? Should not this tendency be prayed against till it is prevailed over? Should not life be a perpetual Sabbath? Is there no way of impregnating all work with godliness? and is not the Lord's work that in which we should always be abounding?—O God, teach me this way and this work. Erred in inattention to Dr. B., of whom I am too impatient; perhaps, too, in pertinacity at the college meeting. But I must stand up for what is right, though let me do it with meekness. Erred somewhat in the general levity of my converse with Mr. Duncan, whom I love so much in the flesh. I had one serious remonstrance with him, however, and was made to feel the difficulties of making an effectual impression upon him. O my God, aid me in this. Forbid that so much intercourse with him should be all in vain; nay, perhaps to my condemnation. Give me wisdom, but withal earnestness and perseverance. Went to bed at twelve.

"*Sunday*, 17*th.*—This on the whole a prosperous day. Felt the charm of Sabbath, although perhaps too much taken up with Sabbath *business* to the exclusion of meditation and prayer. Read the sermon on the death of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Henry. Went to bed at eleven. I need more of unction in my Sabbath-school, and a more thorough earnestness about the conversion of souls. Had some delicious and animating retirement in the

evening, when I thought I could descry what is meant by the glorious liberty of the children of God.—Let my regards be more cast henceforth on the things to be believed, and less on the act or manner of believing.

"19*th*.—Must aim at the sense of a free pardon, and at living in the light of it. What could I do, if God did not justify the ungodly? I shall need wisdom among my colleagues. I feel the secularizing effect of worldly company, and besides am rather overwrought with study; it distances me too much from my family.—Enable me, O God, to be effective in the work of promoting their Christianity.

"20*th*.—I enjoyed very much Dr. Thomson's garden, and such a view as I could have of the other gardens in that part of the town. I feared that I erred with Miss L. to-night in my vehemence about the exactions of attention on the part of Mrs. ——. I see that by a law of our sentient nature love cannot be bidden, and whenever attentions are demanded I do feel a very strong repugnance, so that it is working against a moral impossibility to attempt the affection; and without the affection I feel it very painful to be working at the required attentions in the spirit of bondage. But let me be silent on these occasions; aim at charity and never be diverted from the meekness of wisdom. The accustomed interest and warmth felt in the morning, and then followed up by a general character of ungodliness all day; had a glow of heavenliness at night. The doctrine of free grace would overcome all, if habitually present to the mind.

"21*st*.—Mrs. Chalmers and I both feel very much the pressure of the society that crowds about us, though we do not well know how to help ourselves. It is a very indiscriminate society, too. We must not, however, forget the special direction of being given to hospitality, and the more general one of taking up the cross daily. The misery is that I do not turn it to Christian account. Have little or no affection for souls; and though I have the daily strengthening conviction that it is due to the non-entertainment of the free grace of the gospel, I still feel day after day a rooted and obstinate ungodliness.—Let me admit and cherish that theme which can alone turn it away from my heart, even a simple faith in the offered mercy of the New Testament. We keep this habitually away from our thoughts; and this very day, though my text was, 'Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not sin,' yet neither in comfort nor conception

was at once present with me. I was made to see the misery of deviation from pure correctness of conduct, and the peace and independence of its opposite. Still breathe with delight in the element of godly books, and do fondly hope that this savour, at one time wholly unfelt by me, argues well for my regeneration.

"22*d*.—A University meeting about a Degree. Felt a distaste at the indelicacy of avarice in an acquaintance, but should not have spoken of it afterwards. Called on Miss H., and succeeded in introducing some religious conversation. Visited the sick woman in the East Knowe Wynd. Dined in Dr. Jackson's; far too impatient at the violation by others of the equities of conversation; whereas I should scrupulously observe them myself, and bear with the violations of others.

"*Sunday*, 24*th*.—Rose about nine; went immediately to the composition of my sermon. Could not attend church in the forenoon; preached in the afternoon. Have reason to question myself seriously as to my spirit in regard to all public services. Do I seek the glory of God? Have I no secret longings after my own glory? Have I greater desire to ascertain the good I have done to souls, or the good I may have done to my own reputation? Do I not feel the impression of the splendid auditory that comes to hear me? Let me set myself in good earnest to quell this humiliating affection. O my God, let me lie low, and know what it is to be divested of self.

"25*th*.—I have to record this day, that I am not mortified to the love of praise. I did feel an anxiety that Miss L. should speak of the sermon of yesterday when we walked. I did feel interested and gratified when she did speak. Still more, I did feel the gratification of Mr. Duncan's compliments, and of the yet fuller testimonies which were reported to me in the evening; and I do much fear, or rather I certainly know, that I feel a complacency in all this—and what if it be not superior to the pleasure I should feel in having been the instrument of a saving and spiritual impression? This is so distinct a preference of my own glory to that of God, so obvious a preaching of self instead of the Saviour, so glaring a preference of the wisdom of words to the simplicity which is in the cross of Christ, that my carnal tendencies in regard to this matter should be the subject of my strictest vigilance and severest castigation.

"Do not speak enough in society of these things. I am complained of on that account. O God, keep me from the guilt of denying Christ by my silence.

"26*th*.—Give me to feel my duty to St. Andrews; let me not be ashamed or afraid.

"29*th*.—The extreme heat of the weather has made me very bilious, and thrown me sadly aback in regard to composition. I have the feeling that it hazards character greatly to signalize my first authorship as a professor by a hasty and imperfect work, and, besides, I have got myself involved in a subject that I feel to be unwieldy, and for which my readers are unprepared till I have delivered myself on the general principles of political economy. I feel strongly inclined, in these circumstances, to defer my present work, and to take myself to one of a more doctrinal and abstract nature in the meantime. In my incapacity for exertion I have begun to read the 'Antiquary.'

"30*th*.—Helpless with bile. More resolved on the plan of yesterday, and with this view took up Ricardo with a view to the thorough examination of his principles. I certainly have overdriven my studies of late, to the great detriment both of my personal and family religion. My wish is, to deliver myself in a complete way of my political economy, and then to give all my strength to theology. O my God, let me seek first Thy kingdom and Thy righteousness; let not my order of study be a reversal of this holy commandment of my Saviour. May I seek Thy glory, and give myself most assiduously to the cultivation of my heart and of my religious habits. O my God, enable me to subserve every speculation of mine to the interest and the advancement of our Redeemer's kingdom. If Thy presence go not with me, take me not hence. I would trust in God, I would lean not to mine own understanding.

"*Sunday*, 31*st*.—So bilious that I did not go to church. Let me not, however, lapse into a negligence in this respect, but follow the example of good Philip Henry. I finished this day his 'Life,' and began to that of Bernard Gilpin. Prepared for my Sabbath-school, where two ladies I did not know attended. Had to dismiss one of the scholars for bad behaviour. Did not give their wonted tasks to my own children.—Let me, O God, rule over them with wisdom and gravity, and bring them up in Thy fear. Aid me with Thy counsel in this; and, O my God, give me a living faith in those truths which are unto salvation.

"Had my mind directed occasionally to my purposes of future study. O my God, counsel me aright. Let my adoption of Political Economy, if Thou indeed permittest it, set me to the

vigilance of one who is fearful of and resolved in the strength of Thy grace against all secular contamination.

"Was called out to Betty Miller, who was conceived to be dying. This was between ten and eleven at night.

"O my God, preserve upon my spirit an unction from Thy sanctuary. Give me spiritual wisdom, and let me grow every day in the knowledge and experience of divine things.

"*August* 1.—A longer and better morning of devotion than usual. Find a little meditation previous to prayer highly useful. O God, bring me forward in this exercise, in which I am capitally defective, and which is fitted to give a more heavenly and spiritual frame than any other direct service whatever—truly when I prosper in this work I shall have prospered in the heart-work of Christianity. O my God, therefore help me.

"Engaged in writing and preparing for the Missionary Meeting; finished the paper regarding our weekly contributions; called for Miss Hutchison, but found her at dinner; walked on the links by myself; then began in good earnest Ricardo's work on 'Political Economy,' comparing him with Malthus and others as I go along. Miss Mowat at tea and supper. A brilliant assemblage, contrary to expectation, at our Missionary Meeting; I must really prepare for it.

"2*d*.—Rose between seven and eight; began to write my lectures for St. John's Chapel, on the ninth chapter of the Romans.

"4*th*.—Very much impressed with the rapidity of time in consequence of a thought suggested by this being the marriage day. I desire, O God, to be effectually awakened now to make the decisive movement, now to give up all for eternity. O let the very circumstance of my being engaged with political economy make me the more watchful against the encroachments of earthliness. My God, I turn to Thee, and pray that Thy Spirit may be poured forth. Disenchant me from the vanities of time, and oh, enable me to live by the powers of a coming world!

"5*th*.—Had certainly on the whole a pleasurable day, with some gleams of spiritual light. O that God would uphold me in the walk and the way everlasting! Find the consideration of the shortness of life of use to me. Had an exercise in the evening of religious contemplation, and this should be studiously observed. All is little enough to make head against the carnality of nature. Let me not leave my hold of Christ and His righteousness, and possess myself of the belief of the great love wherewith God hath loved the world.

"6*th*.—Pleasurable certainly, and with a mixture too of devotion and thought on sacred things. The difficulties of Ricardo engross me too much; and while I still feel called upon to prosecute political economy, I must beware of suffering it to be a thorn. Rather let me be now more on my guard than ever against the encroachments of a worldly spirit; and lest I should have indulged myself by the adoption of this as a study, let me be all the more jealous of myself, and that with a godly jealousy. Be Thou, O God, ever in my heart, and let Thy glory be the principle of all my doings.

"8*th*.—Delighted, after tea, with the appearance of Mr. Gilfillan, a man of great humour, but withal of piety and spiritual tenderness, a dear friend, of whose labours in Glasgow and letters from South America I have the most interesting remembrance. He and Miss Collier are now with us. I mean to exercise him well on the subject of exchange, wherewith he is practically conversant. A very pleasant glow of kindly recollection all evening.

"10*th*.—A full house at present: I take my full proportion of study notwithstanding. Certainly not alive habitually enough to a sense of God; not jealous of myself; not working out my salvation with fear and trembling; not keeping my heart in the love of God; not walking as a stranger and a pilgrim upon earth. I desire to do all these things. Holy Father, thou seest me to be vile, yet I would lay hold of Christ as a sanctifier.

"12*th*.—Much jocularity between Mr. Gilfillan and the ladies in reference to the market. I have remitted the reading of Ricardo till my present sermon is completed. It turns out to have a text that I had already published on.*

"*Sunday*, 14*th*.—Heavy and heartless all day. Feel more than ever the uncongeniality of St. Andrews.

"16*th*.—An excursion to Dundee under the management of Mr. Gilfillan. I hope that amid all the fluctuations of my heart and fancy, I am adhering to God in Christ; but oh, what sad deviations of spirit from Him!

"17*th*.—Began the composition of a new sermon on 1 Peter i. 17. Trust that I have made some spiritual progress this day. My desire is to prosecute with all diligence the work of sanctification, to make an hourly business of it, and to work for the

* On comparing the two sermons, the one written in forgetfulness that the other had been previously composed and published, they were found not in thought only, but in language also, to be almost exact copies of one another—a curious instance of the fixture of his phraseology.

light and manifestation of the gospel. I am particularly destitute of charity: have made many discoveries of my own selfishness. I pray to be delivered from vanity, and that more especially in the preaching of Christ I may do it with simplicity and earnestness.

"19*th*.—A quiet day at home. I feel heaviness, and there mingles with it a certain sense and feeling of decay, as if my imagination was less vivid, a haze overspreading all the objects of my contemplation, and far less both of interest, and I fear of power, whether in the walks of pathos or fancy, or even intellect. A fine topic this for religious exercise. Let me cultivate a closer fellowship with God, and be weaned from my own glory. O heavenly Father! fill me with the desire of living altogether to thine; extinguish vanity, and the sinful lust of human applause.

"30*th*.—Fatigued with my late exertions, yet began a sermon and made tolerable progress in it, on Jeremiah vi. 16.* Have remitted for a little my economical reading, but am more and more convinced of the necessity of great and systematic exertion. Visited with melancholy thoughts when I dwell on the uncongeniality of my present neighbourhood, on the prospect of next winter, on the fancied decay of my talents, on the decline of my circumstances (my regular income not being adequate), and on the review of my splendid correspondence a few years ago. Against all this I desire to be fortified by the sublimer hopes and associations of eternity. I desire, O God, to lift my thoughts to Thee, and to have my conversation in heaven. Do give me direction—I pray for counsel. I am sorry in having so vastly little of Christian talk: guide me in this, O God. A certain feeling of gravitation in my mind towards its one object, creating a darkness of sensibility to all others. A very great want of congenial society.

"31*st*.—Heavy till Mr. Collins came. Much interested in his visit, and desire to be humbled that I find not an ever present God enough for me. Let me at the same time thank Him for all His creatures. Mr. C. has enlivened my prospects as to my future condition. But why should I lose faith?—O my God, guide me through my approaching difficulties as to college matters. Let me not suffer this visit of Mr. Collins to pass away without spiritual benefit. Much interested by what he relates to me of Foster's complaints of himself. There seems a hebetude with him too.

* See Works, vol. xi. p. 125

"*Sept.* 5.—I pray God to sanctify me wholly. In the evening I composed a little, and desire to keep steadfast in this exercise. I have suspended my reading for some time, but must look onward to greater works than any I have yet composed. But, O God, may I remember that one thing is needful.*

"*Nov.* 2.—The recent impression of Foster's 'Preface to Doddridge' will, I trust, not speedily subside. Visited in the morning with pretty strong feelings on the subject of my eternity. I desire, O God, to live by the powers of a coming world.

"4*th.*—Give me to have life in Christ, and to live to Him by whom it is that I live.

"*Sunday*, 6*th.*—Have begun Leighton on 'Peter.' Must give myself more to the work of meditation—to the exercises of spiritual-mindedness. Declined teaching my Sabbath-school this night because of heaviness and drowsiness. Must struggle against my tendencies to sloth, and make a strong effort to recover the activities of my nature.

"9*th.*—Began this day to my preparation of a third volume to the 'Christian and Civic Economy' for the press.

"12*th.*—I feel colded to St. Andrews by the high church spirit which pervades it. This, combined with the falling off in the number of my students, leads me to seek for resources more within myself, and I fondly hope that it may shut me up into more abundant and useful authorship.

"*Sunday*, 13*th.*—A better Sabbath than I have had for a long time, even though I did attend the College Church all day. Much benefited by Owen on 'Spiritual-mindedness;' I am also reading Leighton on 'Peter.' Resumed my Sabbath-school. Mr. Fox and Mr. Urquhart drank tea and supped with me. I desire to grow in a capacity for thinking of spiritual things.—Aid me, O God, in my attempts at communion with Thyself, and enable me to convert Thy Sabbaths into the instruments of preparation for my eternal rest in the mansions of sacredness.

"21*st.*—Mr. Duncan called, and I erred by the unbridled utterance of my unbridled resentments on the subject of college affairs. I must restrain myself. I should be still and know that God reigneth. The wrath of man worketh not His righteousness.—O my God, forgive this bitterness, and give me the meek-

* On the 7th September Dr. Chalmers went to Glasgow, residing with his family at Blochairn till the close of the following month. On the 22d September he preached the sermon and took part in the procession connected with laying the foundation of a monument to John Knox.—See "Memoir of Dr. Macgill," p. 291.

ness of wisdom. Let me not be fretful or anxious because of evil-doers. I want the union of firmness and charity. Let me not give way to the fear of man, which is a snare.

"*Sunday*, 27*th*.—My exercises sadly interrupted this day by the constant visitations of indignancy on the reflection of college matters. This exceedingly wrong. There is not a greater foe to spirituality than wrath; and wrath even in a righteous cause distempers the heart. Let me profit by the indications of this day. O my God, give me to hush these broodings of a too effervescing spirit. Pity and pardon me. Mr. Urquhart supped.

"28*th*.—Dull and dispirited all day—the fruit, I verily believe, of my agitation of spirit. I suddenly bethought myself of sending to Dr. Hunter for the Minutes, and I find that nothing will more effectually cure me of my broodings than explicit communications with my fellows. O my God, deliver me from all rancour and much irritableness, and so delivered may Thy countenance look out upon me in the light of a powerful yet pleasing manifestation.

"29*th*.—Called on Dr. Hunter anent college matters, and find how much better it is to face men than to brood in secret over the unexplained delicacies which are betwixt us.

"*Dec*. 3.—Dined with Dr. Nicoll. Must resist even kindness when it would lead me astray.

"4*th*.—At the college meeting made known my rejection of the Candlemas dividend.

"10*th*.—Met with the professors this day at one of their ordinary meetings, and made an interim adjustment with them in regard to my Candlemas dividend.

"*Sunday*, 11*th*.—A delightful evening with my more advanced student class.

"17*th*.—Two meetings—a college and a university one—in both of which the business was painfully interesting. I suffer myself to be too much engrossed with them when away from the scenes of operation. O my God, dispossess every undue affection by means of the growth of that affection in my heart which is supremely due.

"14*th*.—O my God, give me a realizing sense of Thyself. Be no longer a wilderness or a weariness to me. Thou peopledst this region of sense with all its interests. Thou comprisedst then this whole interest and variety in Thine own mind. O Lord, I would follow after Thee, I would follow on to know Thee.

"*Jan*. 8, 1826, *Sunday*.—Heard Mr. Menzies in the forenoon,

and Mr. Campbell afternoon. The latter vigorous, and with a very firm staple of composition. O my God, do Thou evangelize the rising talents of our Church.

"9*th*.—Met Dr. Nicoll in the Library, and am more and more confirmed in the impression, that there is nothing to be made towards the reform of the college by conversation with him.

"12*th*.—Had a long conversation afterwards with Mr. Duncan about college matters. Err in impetuosity. Dislike excessively the whole spirit of my colleagues anent this matter of the division; but wander sadly from God, and fail in my attempts at holding habitually upon Him.

"14*th*.—Thronged with college and university meetings. Can imagine a rising storm. O my God, may I quit myself like a man, and yet do all my things with charity.

"*Sunday*, 15*th*.—Let me dedicate the whole of Sabbath to God, and not give myself, as I did to-day, to the discussion of college matters with Mr. Duncan.

"16*th*.—Mr. Duncan supped. Began the composition of my Preface. Perhaps am on the eve of a more habitual godliness, but certainly it does not appear either in my domestic or social intercourse. Quicken and direct me, O God.

"19*th*.—About finishing my third volume of 'Christian and Civic Economy.'

"20*th*.—Busy with a sermon on Cruelty to Animals.

"*Feb*. 2.—Attended Mr. Lothian's week-night service,* and mean to continue it. Had a walk with Mr. M'Vicar.† Wrote Mr. Duncan anent the distressing business of our college affairs.

"11*th*.—College and university meetings. Let me be firm and temperate withal. O my God, suffer not the triumph of wrong to disturb me away from the triumph of the gospel. I owe much gratitude to the professors here for having chosen me, and I should not forget this in the heat of opposition.

"18*th*.—A most stormy college meeting on the subject of the 'Star.' I dined with Mr. Duncan. A party of students drank tea with me, and Mr. Craik supped.

"21*st*.—Two college meetings. The whole previous time spent by me in great anxiety, and yet, as far as it has gone, I never felt so much the power of truth over a body unanimously

* The Rev. Mr. Lothian of the Independent Church at St. Andrews, on whose ministry Mrs. Chalmers and part of her family frequently attended.

† The Rev. Mr. M'Vicar, now of Ceylon, who at this time taught a class of Natural History in St. Andrews, which Dr. Chalmers regularly attended, taking notes like any other student, and being greatly interested in the lectures.

against me; nor had I ever such delightful experience, and in a way quite simple though decided, of a triumph. But the matter is not yet ended; and, O Father in heaven! enable me to blend charity with firmness, and to commit all my ways unto Thee that they may be aright ordered.

"22*d*.—A sad reverse from yesterday. There was an attempt at a compromise, which failed—and with some dread ebullitions of rage from my adversaries. I believe that I must act calmly and firmly, and withal charitably aloof from them. We cannot, I fear, amalgamate, and all discussion is vain. What I need, O God, are courage, conduct, and withal the kindly and pacific virtues of the gospel. O direct me, Almighty Father. Let me be still and know that Thou art God. I erred in my own temper; and I pray for the spirit of forgiveness and forbearance under every provocation.

"*March* 1.—I have this day sent my dissent from the published act of our college to the newspaper, and am more at rest since the decisive step has been taken. And now, O God, give me calmness and charity.

"*Sunday*, 5*th*.—Preached in the High Church;* very crowded.

"7*th*.—A college meeting about accounts, and an extremely unpleasant one, in regard to the cool and contemptuous insolence of one member towards me, whose former injustice ought to have abashed him. Things are fast working towards a crisis in regard to the Candlemas dividend. The other question is still in a state of menace and uncertainty in regard to the part which my adversaries shall take in it. Meanwhile, my whole feeling in regard to the college is of a most unpleasant nature. I am heavy and engrossed thereanent. O my God, let it not altogether unspiritualize me.

"8*th*.—Enable me, O God, to consider Him who endured the contradiction of sinners, lest I be weary and faint in my mind. O loose me from the bonds of sin and selfishness. I want that Thy glory should have all the practical force of an object of desire and pursuit with me. In a state of depression all day, arising partly from fatigue, and partly from the feeling of that uncongenial atmosphere by which I am surrounded.

"16*th*.—Feel sober and somewhat depressed in regard to college matters, and have very great reason for casting this and all other cares upon God.—Do, Almighty Father! keep me in

* The High Church at Edinburgh, in which the sermon on Cruelty to Animals was preached.—See Works, vol. xi. p. 249.

Thy love and fear all the day long. Let me die unto the world. Let me live unto Him who made the world.—I am printing a small paper on the Abolition of Slavery, and perhaps rash in doing so.

"17*th.*—Entered this day on my forty-seventh year. I desire to live henceforth unto God. O guide me in the way of true wisdom! Suffer not the distractions of an evil world to take off my heart from Thyself. Give me the life and peace of those who are spiritually-minded, and may I give up all for eternity.

"21*st.*—Was bustled with the work of correcting proof-sheets and a little thrown agog by the news from Glasgow of the success of my sermon. Have also thrown off a few thoughts on the Abolition of Slavery.*

"31*st.*—Have begun this morning to read Howe's 'Redeemer's Tears,' having finished Owen on 'Spiritual-mindedness.' O my God, give me the life and power of those who have made this high attainment.

"*April* 10.—I find that controversy is sorely against the soul. O that I was rightly directed!

"11*th.*—Made frequent visits to the operations at the Cathedral.

"18*th.*—Walked with Professor Wallace. Dined in Mr. Duncan's. Heard of Lady Powerscourt and Mr. Gordon's arrival. Waited on them at the inn, and brought them to our house, where we spent a very interesting evening. O God, surround me with that Christian society which Thou knowest I need. Clear away all my perplexities, and give me to cast on Thee all my confidence.

"19*th.*—I feel a stricture upon my spiritual faculties which I ascribe to the want of single-heartedness. There are idols which I must cast away. There are things which I must do ere I can experience the light and the enlargement of a devoted Augustine. O my God, aid me for Christ's sake.

"*May* 7, *Sunday.*—Officiated in taking the charge of Hope Park Chapel sacrament, Edinburgh.

"*June* 29.—An invitation from Dr. Jackson to breakfast with Professor Malthus. He came with the Bruces of Grangemuir, under whose guidance he was. Mrs. Malthus and two of his friends along with him. He made explanations to me about his not knowing that I was in St. Andrews at present. This was

* See Works, vol. xii. p. 397.

so far well; but considering that I was his correspondent, and had been his visitor, I was not altogether pleased. The tone of our intercourse was altogether frank, natural, and easy. Yet I have to record a dependence upon man, and upon man's regard, which gives me still more convincing views of my spiritual destitution than before. O heavenly Father! guide and sanctify all my doings for Christ's sake. Amen.

"*July* 4.—Mr. Duncan supped. A prosperous day rather; but a good deal of intense and as yet unsatisfying thought on a position of Ricardo.

"*August* 26.—Finished a manifesto on the subject of Dr. Thomas Brown's monument.

"*Sunday, Oct.* 1.—Heard Dr. Haldane in the forenoon, and Dr. Buist in the afternoon. Fasted somewhat this day, and, in obedience to Baxter, had a self-examination after dinner. It lasted an hour and a half. I tried myself by John i. 12; Phil. iii. 3; Rom. viii. 9, 16; Gal. v. 22-24; 2 Cor. v. 17; 1 Pet. ii. 7; and find myself miserably wanting, particularly in regard to the spiritual interests of my own children, wife, and other friends. I am destitute of that spirit which prompted Christ to seek and to save that which is lost, of His compassionate zeal for the souls of men, of the patience wherewith He endured the contradiction of sinners *against Himself*, and altogether of love either to God or men. Old things are not wholly passed away: the love of literature for *itself*, and the love of literary distinction, have not passed away. Let me love literature as one of those creatures of God which is not to be refused, but received with thanksgiving. Let me desire literary distinction—but let my desire for it be altogether that I may add to my Christian usefulness, and promote the glory of God;—then, even with these I would be a new creature. The impression of my defects is not such as to overwhelm me, but to stimulate. Objective Christianity mixed its influence with the examination. The defects of my subjective should just lead me to cling faster to the objective; and I did feel a peace when I tried myself by the verse, that to them who believe He is precious. I was moved even to tears by a sense of my deficiencies; and, O God, let my peace be that of faith and not of carnality. Let it be my incessant endeavour to heighten the characters of grace within, and then self-examination will become easier and more encouraging. Let me observe the temperance of this day, and that will make me more vigorous and unclouded in all my mental exercises."

CHAPTER VII.

COLLEGE CONTROVERSIES—ENFORCEMENT OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE UPON THE STUDENTS—MANAGEMENT OF THE COLLEGE FUNDS—LETTER TO THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS.

In the autumn of 1824 Dr. Nicoll resigned the living of St. Leonard, one of the city parishes of St. Andrews, which he had held in conjunction with the Principality of the United College. By ancient law and usage the students of the United College were obliged to give regular attendance on the ordinary Sabbath services in St. Leonard's Church. The vast importance of a right appointment to such a vacancy was so strongly felt by Dr. Chalmers, that—what he had never ventured to do before—he forwarded an earnest remonstrance to Lord Melville, then Chancellor of the University, in whose hands the patronage of the living was understood to be virtually vested. This remonstrance was unheeded. A professor, whose hands were already full of his own proper work, and who was otherwise unacceptable, received the presentation. The session which immediately succeeded this appointment brought to St. Andrews a large number of "talented and aspiring young men, accustomed to the methods of other universities, and who along with their ardour in the pursuit of literary and scientific instruction, had a decided predilection for Sabbath services of deep and earnest piety." Unaccustomed at the other universities to have any restraint imposed upon them as to Sabbath attendance, they felt the hardship of the St. Andrews regulation. A sense of dissatisfaction spread among the students, and a petition was at last presented by them to the Senatus, praying to be relieved from compulsory attendance in St. Leonard's Church. Dr. Chalmers took no part either in originating or supporting this petition. He thought that some relief should be afforded to those whose conscientious convictions or religious feelings were thwarted by the rigorous enforcement of the existing law; but he did not think that it would be right to yield to the mere wish or choice of youths, many of whom were of very immature age. When the Senatus

however, not only peremptorily refused the prayer of the students themselves, but refused to concede to the expressed desire of their parents, he warmly espoused the students' cause, "both acts being alike revolting to him—that by which the Chancellor forced a minister upon the College, and that by which the College forced an attendance upon the minister." He stood alone among his brother professors, and his position was all the more painful as one of them was the very person from attendance upon whose ministry the students were craving relief. Nevertheless he stood forward unflinchingly to vindicate what seemed to him the natural right of the parent to direct and control the religious education of his children. To that right the University authorities had already made a large concession. Originally, when almost the whole Scottish community were of one faith and form of worship, there was comparatively no hardship in the law which required from students attendance at church. When dissent, however, became a large and growing interest in the country, the other universities of Scotland met it in a spirit of liberality, and by relieving their *alumni* from all compulsion as to church attendance, threw their classes open to all sections of the community. In St. Andrews the old law was not abrogated, but it was so far relaxed that a dispensation from attendance on the College Church was given to all students who had been educated as Dissenters. Dr. Chalmers thought that the spirit of this relaxation should have led the college to defer to the expressed wishes of parents within, as well as the parents without the Establishment. His colleagues thought otherwise; and after much argument, in which he had to sustain single-handed the whole brunt of the conflict, they refused to yield. Besides the painfulness of being thrown into opposition with those to whom he was much attached, and from whom he had received so many marks of confidence and esteem, Dr. Chalmers's conduct, both personally in allowing some of his family to attend a dissenting place of worship, and publicly in endeavouring to obtain a licence for the students to worship wherever their parents pleased, was interpreted as extremely hostile to the interests of the Established Church; and as a very strong feeling of attachment to that Church existed at St. Andrews, a corresponding sentiment of irritation and offence was excited by the course which he thought it his duty to pursue. How very strongly he felt this appears from the extreme pains he took to vindicate himself when he appeared before the Royal Commissioners.

When asked at the close of his first examination whether he had any other observations to offer—"I am desirous," he replied, "of saying one thing more upon the subject of the church attendance. I think that were the establishment of parish schools done away from the land, it would operate most prejudicially to the cause of popular education; and therefore I would do all I could to uphold the scholastic system of Scotland, so that it might **not** be brought to an overthrow. But I regard it as quite consistent with this principle, that if I happen to reside in a place where a subscription school offers better education for my children, to send them to that subscription school; and I hold that there is no hostility in this to the established system of parish schools in Scotland. So far from hostility, I think it conduces to the strengthening and upholding of that system; because if, in point of fact, during the incumbency of the parish schoolmaster, a great number of respectable families, dissatisfied with him, have sent their children to subscription schoolmasters, this operates, by a wholesome reflex influence, on the exercise of the patronage—so that, at the termination of his incumbency, a more competent and qualified schoolmaster is chosen. I think that this consideration applies in all its parts to the case of parish churches. I think that if the Church Establishment of Scotland were overthrown, it would operate to the diminution, by nine-tenths, of the Christianity of our land; and yet, consistently with this principle, if I knew of any dissenting chapel where, in point of fact, the members of my family received a deeper, a more powerful, and a more practical impression upon their consciences than in the parish church, I should not feel myself guilty of schism though I recommended and encouraged the members of my family to go to that place where they found the ministration that was most calculated to do them good. And so far from this operating with prejudicial effect upon the Establishment, it just applies to that Establishment the force of a self-correcting principle, by acting with a wholesome reflex influence on the exercise of patronage. It creates a security, at the termination of the existing incumbency, for a better appointment than we had before, when the patronage is thus operated upon by the moral force which lies in the opinion of society. It is for this reason, I think, that the perfection of an ecclesiastical system in a land is first an Establishment, but that followed up by an ample and unrestricted toleration; for the Establishment is apt to be bereft both of its purity and of its power when

it is not stimulated and operated upon by the rivalship of able, serious, and active Dissenters. And in so far as the offence of schism has been ascribed to those parents who have applied for a dispensation from attendance upon the College Church, I would say, that a feeling of hostility to the Church of Scotland is not in their heads. It is just with them a conscientious desire to promote the religious interests of their families. The real schismatics are the schism makers, or they who, by means of a reckless and ill-advised patronage, are the emanating fountain-heads of the whole mischief.

"One word more about the Church of Scotland and its interests. I have no veneration for the Church of Scotland merely *quasi* an Establishment, but I have the utmost veneration for it *quasi* an instrument of Christian good; and I do think, that with the means and resources of an Establishment, she can do more, and does more, for the religious interests of Scotland than is done by the activity of all the Dissenters put together. I think it a high object to uphold the Church of Scotland, but only because of its subserviency to the still higher object of upholding the Christianity of our land; and the measure which I now contend for would only have the effect of bringing the Church into a sort of temporary obscuration in this place, from which she emerges on the moment that we put forth the remedy that is in our hands."

A still more distressing difference between Dr. Chalmers and his colleagues arose in connexion with the administration of the College funds. When the two Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard were united in 1747, the salaries of the professors were fixed by Act of Parliament. In the years 1769 and 1779, the principal and professors taking into account the increased expense of living, and the want of houses and a common table, which had originally been provided out of the College revenues, made fixed additions to their incomes, leaving an increasing surplus for the upholding of the College fabric, and for other general expenses. From the year 1784 and downwards, another increase of salaries took place, effected however in a different mode. Instead of making a fixed addition, the professors sat in judgment each successive year upon the state of the finances, and after laying aside what they deemed sufficient for the current expenditure, they divided the whole remainder among themselves. As this division took place every year at Candlemas, it received the appropriate designation of the Candlemas dividend.

During his first session at St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers was not entitled to this part of the salary. In the course of the winter 1824-25, he was led to inquire into the history of this great yearly appropriation, whence nearly one-third of his whole income was to be derived. That inquiry conducted him unwillingly to the conclusion, that it was made without distinct and explicit legal authority; and that in making it, in becoming the arbitrators who fixed yearly the amount of their own salaries, the professors involved themselves in a very painful conflict between personal and public considerations—the more that they took to themselves, the less being left for the general objects of the society. Dr. Chalmers brought his doubts and difficulties before the Senatus Academicus, desirous to persuade his colleagues that there was a want of a clear and well-defined right to make these yearly appropriations, and that there were collateral evils arising from the practice which made it very desirable that some competent authority, extrinsic from the University, should be invited to interpose. His scruples were not shared in—in some instances they were resented as implying a charge of malversation. He had no alternative left but here also to take up his solitary position, and to keep and defend it as best he could. It was the most painful public duty he had ever been called to discharge, and the entries in his Journal abundantly testify at what cost of feeling it was fulfilled. When the period came for payment of the first Candlemas dividend to which he was entitled, he declined accepting it. Difficulties arose as to the mode in which the sum offered him should be disposed of, which increased the perplexities of this most unfortunate affair. In the summer of 1826 he hailed with great delight the appointment by His Majesty of a Royal Commission for the Visitation of Colleges in Scotland, as affording the very opportunity he so much longed for, of having the matter settled by an authority unconnected with the College. His hopes were disappointed. New embarrassments arose connected with the very investigations upon which the Commissioners entered, till at last Dr. Chalmers left St. Andrews in 1828,—the question as to the authority under which these dividends were paid being still unsettled, and the whole amount due to him on their account, amounting to upwards of £700, remaining in the hands of the College. Six months after his removal to Edinburgh he received the following communication from the Royal Commissioners:—

"College of Edinburgh, *May* 19, 1829.

"The Commissioners took into consideration the state of the question brought before them by the memorial and other communications of the Reverend Dr. Chalmers, relative to the application of the surplus funds of the University of St. Andrews; and understanding that, under feelings of scruple and delicacy, Dr. Chalmers had declined to receive, for the period which he held the office of Professor of Moral Philosophy, the proportion of the sums allotted by the previous Resolutions of the College to that professorship, and that a large sum remained due to him on that account, are of opinion, and hereby resolve, that, under all the circumstances, there is no good reason why Dr. Chalmers, who has now ceased to be a Professor, should not receive and accept of the sums so due to him; and they therefore instruct the secretary to communicate a copy of this minute and resolution to the Principal of the United College, and to Dr. Chalmers."

Receiving this as the award of a competent authority, he accepted the sum that had been accumulating during the five years of his residence in St. Andrews, and thought no more of his old controversies with his colleagues till the publication of the Report of the Commissioners in 1831. That Report awakened his liveliest surprise and indignation. Without any mention of the part that he had taken, after canvassing the whole subject of the Candlemas dividend, it was announced as the grave and weighty conclusion of the Commissioners, that "the Principal and Professors appear to have made these appropriations without any authority." Dr. Chalmers was utterly at a loss how to reconcile such a conclusion with the resolution under which he had been induced to accept of the dividends. The publication of such a sentence by so high an authority, unaccompanied with any explanation as to the course which he individually had taken, placed him in a most embarrassing position before the public, and as another injustice was done him in the same Report, he resolved on a public vindication of himself. In a letter addressed to the Commissioners, and published in 1832, he gave a full narrative of both his St. Andrews controversies. It was not of his colleagues, but of the Commissioners, that in this pamphlet he complained, and his complaint was uttered in a tone of manly and unmeasured indignation. After stating briefly the facts of the case as to the Candlemas dividend, and quoting their own resolution of May 19, 1829, he proceeds to say—"When receiving that money under your sanction, I

did not understand that I had given up to you, in exchange for it, the power of aspersing my character and good name.

"I trust that I have made my own conduct perfectly distinct. The enigma of yours is now darker and more inscrutable than ever.

"I cannot divine what you think of these Candlemas appropriations. If you think them wrong, how is it that to me you have called the evil good? If you think them right, how is it that to your Sovereign you have called the good evil?

"Every public document must now speak the language, and bear upon it the semblance, of public virtue. No other language, no other aspect would, in these days of vigilance and publicity, be at all tolerated. In this respect there has been a mighty change within these few years, almost within these few months. And can this be possibly the explanation? Is it by this I am helped to decipher the inconsistency between your award to myself, and your Report to His Majesty, on the subject of the St. Andrews appropriations? Did you, in May 1829, inveigle the only outstanding professor into the fellowship of these questionable doings, that you may now stand forth in the imposing character of reformers and censors upon us all? Or was it that you felt the question of my unresolved difficulties to be an encumbrance, of which, ere the framing of a Report, you desired to rid yourselves? But when men, to escape from a position of awkwardness, once deviate from the manly and straightforward path, they will often plunge into a state of more inextricable awkwardness than before; nor can I imagine a more aggravated or helpless dilemma than that in which you are now placed. You tell me that I had no reason for my feelings of scruple and delicacy; and, when I compare this dispensation which you have given to myself, with your judgment, now before the Crown and the Commons, on the transactions of St. Andrews—when I bring your resolution of May 1829 into contiguity with your Report of some months afterwards, then, substantially taking your own expressions, I am given to understand that I had no reason for scruple or delicacy in doing what is doubtful—no reason for scruple or delicacy in doing what I ought not—no reason for scruple or delicacy in unfixing what an Act of Parliament has expressly fixed—no reason for scruple or delicacy in making appropriations without any authority—no reason for scruple or delicacy in taking of a fund which law had not granted me the power of touching; but on which an object

of great public utility, the maintenance and upholding of the College fabric, seems to have been devolved. I take your dispensation, gentlemen, at its full value; and I do hope that my good friends, the professors of St. Andrews, will not be too hardly dealt with because of the denunciations which such judges have passed on them.

"After your Act of May 1829, I never once dreamed of any other sentence from your lips than that of a full and open and unqualified justification of the professors of St. Andrews. Such a pronounced opinion upon them was the only consistent and honourable way in which you could follow up the permission you had given to myself; and, for their sakes, I honestly rejoiced in it. I never liked the practice they had fallen into of helping themselves, and was annoyed beyond measure by the obstructions which they threw in the way of my bringing the matter distinctly before you; but, after all, I could not but view the errors into which they had almost insensibly been led as being very much the errors of their position; and, taking into account the exceeding smallness of their incomes, I, from the moment that your Act of 1829 was put into my hand, confidently looked for your declaration of entire acquittal and satisfaction with their conduct. But it appears that you have devised for them another species of consolation. Instead of telling the world that they were right, you have provided them with the comfort and the countenance of a larger companionship in wrong, and to enhance the favour, it is wrong which yourselves have created. You have not taken off the burden from their shoulders, but you have kindly introduced among them another offender of your own making, who, by sharing it along with them, might help to ease them of its pressure. After having vainly tried, among the relics of former visitations, to find for them a precedent, you have done what was next best—you have fastened upon me as the object of your seductions, and endeavoured, by the conduct into which yourselves have misled me, to find for them an imitation. I can observe, gentlemen, that your taste is for uniformity, and that any discrepancy or contrast between me and my colleagues was an obnoxious spectacle in your eyes. To rid you of this, a work of assimilation had to be performed, that you might have the comfort of one simple and harmonious decision upon us all. British honour will know how to view such a proceeding. A British King and British Parliament will know how to appreciate the moral judgments of men, who,

instead of constructing their representation on the materials which they found, first adjusted the materials to suit their representation—who became the tempters first, and the accusers afterwards—who, ere they would tell the fault, took aside the only professor that was free from it, and suggested—nay, authorized, the very deed which numbers him among the defaulters—who, such their love to virtue that nothing less than a monopoly of the article would serve them, cleared the field of its last remnant, that they might become the only examples and only expounders of it themselves."*

* "Letter to the Royal Commissioners for the Visitation of Colleges in Scotland." 8vo. Glasgow, 1832. Pp. 20-24.

CHAPTER VIII.

THIRD VOLUME OF THE "CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS"—REPEAL OF THE COMBINATION LAWS—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—VISITS TO HADDINGTON, DIRLETON, TANTALLON, KELLOE, AYR, COLZEAN CASTLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT, ANWOTH, BIRTHPLACE AND GRAVE OF DR. THOMAS BROWN, BROOMHALL, AND TULLIBOLE.

The Journal of a preceding chapter may have conveyed to the reader a very dark impression of the winter 1825-26, inducing the belief that Dr. Chalmers's time had been largely occupied, and his spirit almost constantly distracted, by college broils. Such an impression would be incorrect. He had the faculty to an extraordinary degree of rapidly transferring his thoughts from any irritating topic and concentrating them upon a different subject: and this faculty was at that period put into busy requisition. Incessant literary labour, with the engagements of the class-room, and daily social intercourse, filled up his time too fully and too pleasantly to allow these college controversies habitually to distract his mind. In addition to his ordinary professorial work he busied himself during this session with the completion of the third volume of the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns." He entered here once more upon his favourite ground, and in his opening chapters dealt another stroke at the Poor-law system of England. In this instance, however, he carried public sympathy fully along with him, as the blow was aimed at that most obnoxious parochial provision by which the poor-rates were frequently applied in aid of defective wages. The effect of this in deranging the labour-market and disordering the connexion between employers and employed was so ruinous, that it needed only to be exposed in order to be condemned. To that exposure Dr. Chalmers contributed so largely that he cannot but be regarded as having lent a most influential hand in the removal of this great national evil. It was, however, to a subject of more temporary interest that the main bulk of this third volume was devoted. The entrance of Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson into office in 1822, had opened a new

era in the mercantile and commercial policy of Great Britain. Under the guidance of the latter of these two distinguished men, that legislation which had been intended to protect, but which in reality had cramped and fettered native industry, began to be relaxed. Dr. Chalmers hailed with delight the career upon which Mr. Huskisson had so auspiciously entered. Among other legislative improvements introduced under his sanction, the numerous and stringent laws against the combination of operatives refusing to work for the purpose of raising their wages, were repealed. For a few months the effects of this repeal were most disastrous. Under the delusion that some new power had been given them of coercing their masters, the workmen formed into monstrous combinations all over the country, ceasing in some instances for weeks and months together from all labour, and not only threatening, but executing violence upon those who consented to work. The alarm excited was excessive. Under its pressure many loudly demanded the re-enactment of the Combination Laws. Dr. Chalmers threw himself as an arbiter between parties driven into a temporary and ill-judged warfare. The occasion offered to him a good opportunity for bringing forward some general speculations upon the proper province of legislation in such questions, and upon the natural and artificial influences by which the wages of labour are regulated. Upon the principle that nothing should be ordained to be a crime by the Legislature which is not felt to be a crime by man's natural conscience—that workmen should be left as free in the employment of their labour as their masters are in the employment of their capital, Dr. Chalmers loudly applauded the repeal of the Combination Laws. But while he strongly urged that no law should be enacted against combinations as such, he as strongly contended that the severest penalties should be visited upon everything, whether in the form of threat or force, by which the perfect freedom of the individual labourer was violated. The Combination Laws were not re-enacted; and we may now point to the predictions made by him while public opinion was as yet in a state of great fermentation, as furnishing one of the many instances of his sagacity and foresight. While principally addressing himself to the question then under general discussion, the public ear was too invitingly open at this time for Dr. Chalmers not to pour into it, as he tried to do in the closing chapters of this volume, some of his own favourite theories as to the effect of manufactures and foreign commerce in adding to national capi-

tal, and thus replenishing the fund by which our domestic industry is sustained.

Released in May from his occupations in St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers took his place once more in the General Assembly of the Church at Edinburgh. He had now at last the satisfaction of seeing his efforts for the improvement of theological education so far crowned with success that it was made imperative on all students preparing for the ministry to give one year at least of regular attendance at the Divinity Hall. This was but a small part of what he had aimed at effecting, and lived to see realized. The difficulty he had experienced in accomplishing this initial step only serves to show with what obstacles the reforming party in the Church of Scotland had at this time to contend. The renewed discussion of the Plurality Question afforded Dr. Chalmers another and final opportunity of pleading for the protection of the Christian ministry from that corruption which the union of offices engendered. Though increasingly hopeful as to the issue, he was doomed to suffer the mortification of another defeat. His disappointment was, however, somewhat mitigated by the nomination, a few months after the rising of the Assembly, of a Royal Commission to visit and report upon the Scottish Universities, with power to remedy all evils alleged to exist in their constitutions or practices. Until this Commission should have issued its Report, the General Assembly deemed it inexpedient to enter upon the question of the union of offices. In 1831 that Report was laid before Parliament and the country, announcing that—

"The Commissioners having had under consideration the proposals contained in a paper brought before them on 17th October 1828, relative to the expediency of prohibiting the union of professorships with other offices, and having deliberated generally upon the whole question, resolved—

"1. That it is not expedient that any person holding a professorship of language, philosophy, mathematics, medicine, or law, should at the same time be a minister of any parish church.

"2. That it is not expedient that any person who holds a professorship of Oriental languages should at the same time be a minister of any parish church.

"3. That for the same reasons, though applying somewhat in a different manner and degree, it is not expedient that any person who is Principal in any of the Universities should at the same time be a minister of any parish church."

During the summer of 1826, Dr. Chalmers had undertaken to deliver a lecture before the School of Arts at Haddington—to visit Mr. Buchan at Kelloe, in Berwickshire—to preach for four successive Sabbaths in Glasgow—and to spend a week or two with a sister who had lately married the Rev. Mr. M'Lellan, minister of Kelton, in Kirkcudbrightshire. He accomplished all these objects in the course of a tour continued throughout the months of July and August. Our space permits only a few extracts from the copious journal letters, in which the minutest incidents are recorded.

At Haddington every arrangement had been made to gratify Dr. Chalmers's strong passion for exploring. On Tuesday the 11th July, the day after his arrival, a party of six had "the tour of a very delightful day. We rode first to Dirleton, where I breakfasted with Mr. Stark, minister, by whom I was cheered on the subject of pauperism, he having adopted my system in his parish and succeeded therein. Saw Dirleton Castle after breakfast—in ruins, and the likest of anything to Kenilworth Castle. . . . We reached North Berwick at twelve, and landed in General Dalrymple's, who kindly accompanied us to the top of North Berwick Law. He carried up a powerful spy-glass, and I cannot tell you how much I was delighted with the application of it along the coast of Fife, from Balcomie eastward, to Wemyss westward. Saw most distinctly Crail, Barnsmuir, Kilrenny Church, the steeples of East and West Anstruther, Pittenweem, St. Monance, &c. &c. I was very much regaled with all this. We had a glorious view of Haddingtonshire, a marvellously rich and cultivated land. . . . Proceeded to Tantallon, a wonderful ruin, massy, strong, and of enormous bulk in its walls and turrets, but without picturesque variety. It stands on the top of a precipice which overhangs the beach, the character of which, alternating between little sandy bays and bold jutting promontories, was very interesting. Here poor Thomson, son of the minister of Prestonkirk, lost his life in bathing. The locality was particularly pointed out to me. I also here renewed my application to the General's spy-glass, and enjoyed exceedingly the well-known objects of my calf-ground."

A speech at a missionary meeting, and a sermon in the afternoon, consumed a considerable portion of Wednesday. Nevertheless Dr. Chalmers found time for a number of calls, including, among others, a visit to "Mr. Samuel Brown the philanthropist, and Mr. Gilbert Burns, brother of the poet, a very respectable

and interesting man." On Thursday, "Mr. Hamilton of Bangour came from the country to take me on an excursion. Went to Beale about eight miles off—a most magnificent chateau belonging formerly to Nisbet of Dirleton, and now to Mrs. Fergusson. A most beautiful policy and gardens, with descending terraces down on a steep bank, and terminating in a grassy level on the side of the river Tyne, richly variegated with trees of deepest foliage. Was conducted through the house. The most interesting object in it was the statue of a mendicant and her child, as large as life, and without exception the most touching and vivid piece of sculpture I ever saw."

The lecture before the School of Arts was delivered in the Assembly Rooms, Haddington, at eight o'clock on the same day, and at seven o'clock on the following morning Dr. Chalmers was on his way to Dunbar. "Left Dunbar about twelve o'clock, lighted at the gate of Dunglass, the seat of Sir James Hall, and walked on each side of a very lofty bridge in his policy. Further on, and a little off the road, visited Pease Bridge, a marvellous erection, formerly made for the sake of the communication on the high-road to London. It is prodigiously high. We had a carter to hold our gig while we visited this scene of romantic grandeur. It made a great impression on me. Went to Grant's House, thirteen miles from Dunbar, where Mr. Buchan's carriage was waiting for me. Here I took a lunch. The people of Grant's House were exceedingly kind to me. It is a single story, and *but* and *ben* house. The landlord had been told who I was. He clapped my shoulder both when handing me out of the gig and into the carriage. His daughter served the table, and was greatly ashamed of her mother for putting horn *cutties* instead of their best pewter spoons to dinner. The mother brought out a bottle of her best as we were leaving the house, with the purpose of bestowing upon us a gratis dram. In short, it was a delightful scene altogether of pleasant and primitive cordiality. Took leave of them, and of my excellent young friend John Lorimer, and was driven across the Lammermoors. A most delightful stage of moor and upland, at the end of which, and about four miles from Kelloe, there burst upon me all at once the glorious expanse of cultivated Berwickshire. Reached Kelloe about five o'clock, and was delightfully entertained in the bosom of an affectionate and Christian household." Visits to Dunse Law, Dunse Castle, and Wedderburn, filled up the Saturday. On Sunday an immense assemblage, not more than half

of whom could get within the church, assembled to hear him preach in the church of Edrom. Tuesday the 18th was spent at Aytoun House, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Fordyce.—"Visited the gardener, who is dying. Walked over part of the beautiful grounds. A large party at dinner—largely reinforced at tea, called together by the zeal of Mr. Fordyce, who wanted them to hear me expound. A good deal embarrassed by the high imaginations which the people have of me. Came on however better than I expected. O that the spirit which reigns at Kelloe, and is so active at Aytoun, were transferred within my own family!"

On Wednesday Dr. Chalmers left Kelloe.—"Took leave of a mansion where I have been treated with most unbounded kindness. I rode on to Ednam. Took with me a book entitled, 'The Loss of the Winterton, East Indiaman,' of which I never knew before that Mr. Buchan is the author, as he is also the subject. Read it with great interest. This is the birthplace of Thomson the poet, and he has here a monument to his memory. Spent a quiet, calm, intellectual evening at the manse.

"*Thursday.*—Took leave of Ednam between nine and ten o'clock. Went first to Kelso, where I called a few minutes on Mr. Lundie, and arranged to be with him in the evening. Then went to Kersemains, where we called for an hour on the Pringles, and arranged to be back to them at dinner; then to a farm five miles further up the Teviot, where there is now a Mrs. Scott, formerly Esther Elliot, whom I knew when a girl of twelve years old, the granddaughter of Mr. Elliot of Cavers, to whom I was assistant in 1801-2. Figure my astonishment when, instead of a creature like Anne, I saw a great fat wife of thirty-seven, and the mother of eight children. Stopped here about an hour, but before we turned our gig down the Teviot again, we called on an old couple, formerly belonging to the parish of Cavers, and now living here. They are the parents of the celebrated John Leyden, now deceased. Came back to Kersemains to dinner. Mr. and Mrs. Pringle had been very attentive to me at Cavers, where they were parishioners twenty-four years ago. We had to come away between six and seven o'clock, as I wished, for the sake of Mrs. Lundie, to be most punctually with her by seven. This did not prevent me, however, from stopping the gig opposite to Roxburgh Castle, and running up to it, whence, even in the midst of rain, I could enjoy one of the most glorious panoramas I ever beheld, where the blended beauties of Teviot

and Tweed were concentred upon the environs of Kelso, and the Palace of Fleurs, with the seats and plantations of other grandees, threw a richness over the scene. . . . The reason why I was so punctual in my return is, that Mrs. Lundie could only see me in the drawing-room from seven to eight. She has been most singularly exercised. From November last one of her children, a daughter nine years old, has been afflicted with a disease in her spine; can only lie in a particular position, which either nobody understands but her mother, or which she will maintain only in her mother's arms. This has confined poor Mrs. Lundie in a sitting position, with the weight of the child upon her, for seven months, with the exception of only one hour out of the four and twenty in the evening. How she gets over even that hour I do not well comprehend; but certain it is that the child did take spasms and fits when Mrs. Lundie gave her away. . . . Poor Mrs. Lundie retired at eight, and I was afterwards called up to family worship in her bedroom, where I expounded. There I saw her and her child in their seven months' posture. I remained behind with her after the family left us, and certainly was much impressed both by her Christian feeling and Christian fortitude."

Having joined a part of his family in Edinburgh on the 21st, Dr. Chalmers proceeded with them to Glasgow, and preached in St. John's Chapel on Sabbath the 23d. From a preceding portion of this volume, the reader may easily conceive how the succeeding four weeks were occupied. As if all his preparations for the pulpit and multiplied intercourse with his agency and friends were not enough, he wrote, during this period, a preface to a volume of Sermons by the Rev. Mr. Russel of Stirling, and found time for a careful perusal of Dr. Welsh's "Life of Dr. Thomas Brown." The interval between his two last Sabbaths was claimed by Mrs. Glasgow, and his days at Mountgreenan, although "not abounding in incidents, were full of enjoyment." There was one little incident, however, which has been faithfully chronicled. On Wednesday the 9th August he preached in the church at Kilwinning.—"Mrs. Parker came from Fairlie, in consequence of a letter from Mrs. Glasgow, to hear me. She brought Miss Parker, Anne Parker, and our Anne along with her. I had previously written to Anne to bring her trunk, lest we should determine on detaining her here. This she did; and after I had preached, and we all met at the gate of the churchyard, there was a vast deal of consultation and deliberation and

vacillation and agitation about the line of proceeding. First, Mrs. Glasgow invited Mrs. Parker and her daughters to dine at Mountgreenan; but that was impossible. Then Mrs. Parker said to me, that although they had brought Anne's trunk, yet they were most desirous of taking her back, if I would only consent; and I feared that was impossible. Then the two Annes looked despair at one another, and the idea of separation brought tears into each of their eyes respectively; and I, on seeing this, began to give way, and mumbled out my opinion that our Anne behoved to go back to Fairlie. Then Mrs. Glasgow proposed, as a healing measure, that she would take the two Annes to Mountgreenan, and send back Anne Parker on Friday. Then Miss Susan Parker alleged the impossibilty of such an arrangement, and was seconded therein by Mrs. Parker. I felt helpless and truly inefficient in the midst of all this exceeding complication of different plans, feelings, interests, and partialities, till at length Mrs. Glasgow took the arrangements very properly over all our puzzled heads, put the two Annes into her carriage, and bade adieu to Mrs. and Miss Susan Parker, the latter of whom left us, however, with tears in her eyes."

On Thursday the Mountgreenan party dined at Eglinton Castle—"a very fine place, though placed in the midst of an extensive level, which does not admit great variety in the pleasure-grounds; yet, nevertheless, there is a magnificence in the ample and venerable trees that are spread over a great extent of circumambient space, and there is a castellated grandeur both in the house itself and its massive gateways. . . . I was struck with a magnificent dog, of the St. Bernard species, the largest I had ever seen, and who made, I think, a very noble figure among the nobles of the noble mansion." On Friday, among other visitors, "there came to us Mr. Cunningham of Lainshaw, whose visit has greatly interested and impressed me. He has been reading Irving's work on 'Prophecy;' and though he has some systematic objections to it, yet, on the whole, is highly pleased. At dinner we introduced the topic, and had, during the whole of his stay, a deal of Christian conversation, which the company at large not only tolerated, but I believe enjoyed. I must say that there appears to me something very enviable in Mr. Cunningham's state, living, as he does, in constant spirituality; and he affirms the connexion to be such between this and the study of prophecy, and that himself has profited so exceedingly as to the state of his own heart, by the attention

which he has given to it, that I feel strongly inclined, and indeed promised to Mr. Cunningham that I would make a more particular effort both of his books and Mr. Irving's. He promises me a world of enlargement and of enjoyment from the study, and says that I have been wasting my efforts upon political economy. I do not yet altogether agree with him; but oh that I had the devotedness of that man! I am sure it is the way to be happy here as well as hereafter. I trust that I have received an impulse from his conversation."

Sunday, the 13th August, was Dr. Chalmers's last Sabbath in Glasgow, and the next morning saw him on his way to Maybole, in Ayrshire, where he had engaged to preach on the evening of that day. After leaving Ayr, which he reached about mid-day, "we passed the house where Robert Burns was born, and then got on to his monument, a very elegant production, and much admired. It is a cupola upheld by four Corinthian pillars. We ascend by a stair, and from the top have an admirable view of the 'banks and braes o' bonny Doune.' It is close by the stream, and very near Alloway Kirk, made classical by Tam o' Shanter. The Auld Brig over the Doune is very near. I took Anne and Christina to it on foot, and descended to the margin of the water, making each of them lap a little water from the classical burn. The man who showed the monument was desired to get us some water for drinking by the time we returned from the Brig. Mr. Paul told him, meanwhile, who I was, on which he resolved to provide me with what he called 'classical' water, and accordingly he got it from the place alluded to by Burns in the couplet—

> 'The bush aboon the well,
> Where Mungo's mither hanged hersel'.'"

On Wednesday forenoon there was an excursion from Maybole to Colzean Castle, the magnificent seat of Earl Cassilis. "Arrived on the ground about eleven o'clock. Caught most interesting views of the stately and castellated fabric through the trees while we approached it. It is placed on a lofty cliff overhanging the sea, and the coast on both sides is of a singularly wild and romantic character. We went first to the beach, where we entered some deep caves immediately below the castle. The tide was in, and this impeded our movements somewhat. When we again ascended, we passed through the spacious court, with its fort-looking embrasures, and a colossal statue of Saturn in the centre. The front of the castle bespeaks great massive-

ness and strength, and this character is upheld by the general solidity of the interior, where a most substantial staircase supports a double corridor, and is lighted up by an ample dome from the roof. The rooms are all arranged around the central staircase. They are small within for the external size of the building, but have a great appearance of security and comfort. There are one or two fine pictures; the most striking that of a mother rescuing her infant from an eagle's nest. We were let out to enjoy the views from a balustrade looking to the sea. The prospect was hazy; yet Ailsa and Arran, particularly the former, looked quite magnificent. We then went forth on the pleasure-ground and walks, enjoyed to the uttermost the noble terracing, and orange house, and wooded pathways, some of them leading to projections in the beach whence we could descry very ample sweeps of various scenery—and the aviary where Lady Cassilis kept her birds, and the lake about a mile's length, over whose clear and peaceful bosom there floated black and white swans, with many other kinds of aquatic fowls. Four of the party, the strongest both in curiosity and muscle, resolved to proceed along the beach to Turnbury Castle. We scampered along the beach to the ruin, all whose vestiges are now very nearly swept away. Returned in the way we came to our party, who in the meantime had found their way to the gardener's house, where they were most liberally dealt with in grapes, peaches, and other fruits. We were taken through beautiful shrubberies that arose from grassy lawns, and a most elegant conservatory. Mr. H. Paul discovered his characteristic liberality. He also evinced his tendency to puns, in which I got the better of him this day. The aviary was shown by a woman who talked a great deal of nonsense; and I remarked that we had just to pronounce it in the English way, and it would suit very well—the *havery.*"*

Through the wilds of Ayrshire and Galloway, along Loch Ken, and by the banks of the Dee, Dr. Chalmers made his way to the manse of Kelton. The neighbourhood was new to him, presenting a series of "truly picturesque views," which surprised him "as much as he had ever been before with the magnitude and variety of creation." His organ of locality was indulged to the uttermost. They were unfortunate in one morning's drive. "The wet prevented all distant prospects, but not the view of all that beauty and variety which played

* To *haver, i.e.*, to talk foolishly.—*Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.*

around the immediate environs. Got to Kirkcudbright at nine o'clock. . . . The Countess of Selkirk had sent a very kind message, in consequence of which we called upon her, and were most deliciously received. She is exceedingly frank and natural and intelligent, and quite feminine withal. She informed me that her husband, now deceased, the Earl of Selkirk, a great political economist, admired my first work on political economy, published now eighteen years ago, and had written part of a review upon it for the '*Edinburgh*,' which she promised to show me. We saw his bust by Chantrey in a room which she would not enter along with us, from her feeling as we supposed, for she accompanied us everywhere else, and laying aside all state in kindness, went with us to the very door, where we took leave of this very fascinating personage. Before we went to St. Mary's Isle, I had a message from the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Kirkcudbright, stating their wish to meet and present me with the freedom of their town. They appointed half-past one o'clock for the ceremony, but we kept them waiting half an hour; however, we made our best apologies. The principal people of the place were there, and I had to make a short reply when the honour was conferred upon me. It was a very gratifying attention." Calling at Cailey, "a magnificent place, with beautiful grounds and very fine pictures"—driving through Gatehouse, the most beautiful and cleanly village he ever passed through—and proceeding through "a singularly wild and primitive scene," Dr. Chalmers and Mr. M'Lellan made their way in the afternoon to the manse of Anwoth. "You know," he writes, "my attraction to this place. It is the parish of Samuel Rutherford, and I wished to ascertain the traditional vestiges of him. Mr. Turnbull let me know what they were, and we agreed to visit them early the next morning.

"*Wednesday, August* 23.—Started at five o'clock: ordered the gig forward on the public road, to meet us after a scramble of about two miles among the hills in the line of Rutherford's memorials. Went first to his church, the identical fabric he preached in, and which is still preached in. The floor is a causeway. There are dates of 1628 and 1633 in some old carved seats. The pulpit is the same, and I sat in it. It is smaller than Kilmany, and very rude and simple. The church bell is said to have been given to him by Lady Kenmure, one of his correspondents in his 'Letters.' It is singularly small for a church, having been the Kenmure house-bell. We then passed

the new church that is building, but I am happy to say that the old fabric and Rutherford's pulpit are to be spared. It is a cruel circumstance that they pulled down, and that only three weeks ago, his dwelling-house, the old manse which has not been used as a manse for a long time, but was recently occupied. It should have been spared. Some of the masons who were ordered to pull it down refused it as they would an act of sacrilege, and have been dismissed from their employment. We went and mourned over the rubbish of the foundation. Then ascended a bank, still known by the name of Rutherford's Walk. Then went further among the hills to Rutherford's witnesses—so many stones which he called to witness against some of his parishioners who were amusing themselves at the place with some game on the Sunday, and whom he went to reprove. The whole scene of our morning's walk was wild and primitive and interesting. Mr. Turnbull and his little son accompanied us all the way till we met our gig. Got into it, and had a delightful drive before breakfast to Mr. Sibbald, minister of Kirkmabreck. It was in this manse that Dr. Thomas Brown was born, and it was my interest in him that urged me forward to the west. Was shown the room of his birth, and the place where his father recited his sermons, in a wood at the back of his garden, behind which there was also shown to me a place where the children used to roast potatoes. It seems that Dr. Brown, in his last visit to the manse, was shown all these localities, and was thrown into a flood of sensibility therewith; and I was in a very grave and pathetic mood myself when surveying all these classic and interesting remains, when Sibbald, who is a great droll, put the whole to flight by telling me, in a very odd way, that Dr. Brown's cousin was with him, who, unable to comprehend or sympathize with this whole process of weeping and sobbing, asked him in a very gruff way, 'What are you makin' sic a wark about, man?' The incongruity of the one man's speech with the other man's sentimentalism threw me into immoderate peals of laughter, which really disturbed and discomposed the whole proper effect of my visit. Within the manse I was shown the room of his birth, which it seems is inquired for by many strangers, some of whom even go up among the hills about two miles off to a singularly retired churchyard, where the old church, now disused for a whole century, is situated. This I reserved till we should return from Newton-Stewart, eight miles further on, and whither I was im-

pelled in the hope of meeting Brown's sisters, and as the token of my regard for his memory. . . . Called for them, but found that they had not returned from Wigton; and now having twenty-four miles to drive to dinner, and the day very far advanced, we drove at full speed back to Kirkmabreck, and had a long and fatiguing scramble with Mr. Sibbald among the hills behind his house to visit Brown's grave. Reached the churchyard, and gazed on the spot where he lies. It is a family piece of ground, and enclosed with an iron rail. His father and grandfather were ministers of the parish, and over the grandfather's grave there is a stone with a Latin inscription, but not a stone to tell where the great philosopher lies. I am most desirous of a classical monument being raised to his memory behind the manse. It was six o'clock before we reached Twynholm manse, where the company were fully assembled; Mr. M'Lellan and I completely tired, having travelled fifty miles this day, besides a great deal of walking." . . .

"*Saturday, 26th.*—Mr. Welsh* of Crossmichael sent his gig for me to Sir Alexander Gordon's. I was driven by his nephew to the manse, about two miles off, and breakfasted with him. It is beautifully situated on the banks of the Dee. Strolled with him over the premises till twelve o'clock. We had a great deal of talk about phrenology, Dr. Brown, a monument to him, &c. Mr. Welsh is the most congenial person that I have met with in this country."

At Dumfries, on the following Tuesday, he finished off a round of calls by visiting "Mrs. Burns, wife of the poet, who received us with kindness and evident pleasure, and showed us pictures of her husband, &c. I was glad to see her so respectably lodged and furnished. She has a pension."

"Supersaturated" with this wandering life, Dr. Chalmers turned his face northward on Wednesday the 30th August. "It rained all the first stage from Dumfries, but lightened up, so that I got outside till about sixteen miles from Edinburgh. Greatly interested by the original line of road which I traversed. The Lowther Hills particularly fine in the parish of Durrisdeer; and the glen of Dalveen, with its besetting hills of beautiful forms, its steep ascent and road of apparent if not real danger, one of the most impressive things I ever travelled through. Reached Edinburgh after eight o'clock."

* The Rev. Dr. Welsh, the biographer of Dr. Thomas Brown, and afterwards Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh.

The wandering life was not yet over. Lord Elgin expected him at Broomhall, and Sir Harry Moncrieff at Tullibole, and a fortnight more was given to these two visits. From Broomhall he writes—"*Sunday, Sept.* 3.—Mr. Jardine came to my room before breakfast with a message from Lord Elgin, that instead of going to Dunfermline Church in the forenoon, he would like me to officiate in his family, which I consented to only on condition that a message explanatory of my absence should be sent to Mr. Chalmers. Saw Lord Elgin giving his Sabbath lessons to his family when I went in upon him. Strolled a little after breakfast among the beautiful walks, and was delighted with the groups of people moving to the meeting-house at Limekilns, whose bell was ringing at the time. The grounds reach the beach, and from a projecting point on them we have a very fine command. The family assembled in the dining-room, and I gave about an hour's exposition. There drew up two carriages to take us to the afternoon church; a full congregation, a most brilliant day, and though I preached with vehemence in the echoing fabric, yet not with the fatigue which I felt very much on a former occasion.

"*Monday.*—Have had a kind and urgent letter from Sir Harry. I go to him to-morrow. He is evidently very desirous to see me, and I am not sorry to visit a man whom I never again may have an opportunity of seeing so much of, and who has performed so respectable a part in his day.* I will not burden you any further with letters. But this, you will perceive, is my last long sheet, No. 12. You must put together all my twelve folios, and put them in a place by themselves. They will form the record of a very interesting excursion, and though I do not mean to publish them, yet I ask you to advert to this, that I have written you as much as would form an octavo volume of 300 pages, of the same type with my sermons.

"And now, my dearest G., let me urge on you the great and only essential topics for the entertainment of immortal creatures. This world, with all those petty and evanescent interests which now so engross and agitate, will soon pass away. And surely there is enough in the greatness and glory even of our present revelations, to lift us above them. What is all that is near or around us to the worth of those precious interests which attach to immortality? Let us lay hold of eternal life. Let us cast

* The only memorial of this visit which is preserved is this postscript to a letter dated Kinross, Sept. 9:—"I have had a delightful visit to Sir Harry Moncrieff."

our confidence for life upon the Saviour. Let us enter into this life even now, by entering upon its graces and virtues even now. Let us cultivate a present holiness not merely as a preparation, but as a foretaste of our future happiness. Those children of ours have a vast and momentous interest associated with them. They have imperishable spirits; and they have a right at our hands of having provision made for them. I desire to feel the weight of all this, and to act upon it far more rigorously and faithfully than I have ever yet done."

CHAPTER IX.

LETTERS TO HIS SISTER—HER DEATH—LETTERS TO HIS MOTHER—HER LAST ILLNESS—MEMORABILIA OF HER DEATHBED.

Of his father's numerous family only three remained at Anstruther when Dr. Chalmers removed from Glasgow, and during his short residence in St. Andrews he followed two of these to the grave. His sister Isabel had always been of feeble health, and towards the close of the year 1823 her delicacy assumed a form which left little hope that her life would be much prolonged. Anxieties as to her religious state were awakened in the mind of Dr. Chalmers. Simple-minded, quiet, and reserved, devoting herself wholly to domestic duties, she had given him little opportunity of knowing how she stood as to the great interests of eternity. He began therefore at the beginning, and suiting himself to that simplicity which was her chief characteristic, he addressed to her the following series of letters, in the course of which it will delight the Christian reader to perceive how completely the desire of his heart was fulfilled:—

"*St. Andrews, Jan.* 11, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I now sit down to fulfil my promise of writing to you, a promise that I should have made good long ago; but I have been very much engrossed for some years back, and am still greatly engrossed. I was glad to find, when last in Anster, that you took pleasure in reading such books as are really useful. I send you one, of which I have another copy, and that I am now engaged in the perusal of. I think it excellent; and I should imagine that a serious reading of it were highly fitted to awaken a deep and inquiring earnestness about the things which belong to our everlasting peace.

"The thing that we are most in want of is, a 'great concern about the soul.' We know too little about the sinfulness of our state, and therefore it is that we care so little about the Saviour. He is lightly esteemed by us, and the preaching of His cross is apt to sound as foolishness in our ears. We take up with this

world as our all. Its pleasures wholly engage us, or its crosses and cares make us miserable. It would not be so if we felt that we had a portion above and beyond the world. We would think less of the amusements or the inconveniences of the road if we looked more to the end of it.

"I do think that this work of Halyburton's is eminently fitted to be of use to the attentive reader of it, who ponders on the truths which it contains, and prays that they may be blessed to the purpose of a salutary and saving impression upon the heart. May you find yourself greatly wiser and better after a devout reading of it. Do not fatigue or oppress yourself with much at a time, but rather lay seriously to heart the little that you do read. A single verse of the Bible, when dwelt upon believingly, may be of more benefit to the soul than whole volumes carelessly read and speedily forgotten."

"*St. Andrews, March* 23, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I am glad to hear that you are not worse. I hope that you got Clarke's 'Scripture Promises,' but whether you have got the book or not, you have a far nobler privilege in your access to the Bible. I stated that you ought not to fatigue yourself by reading, and indeed, in as far as the Bible is concerned, I should imagine that when one is sickly and unwell the best way of reading it would be, here a little and there a little. A single verse, in fact, might, by the power and demonstration of God's Holy Spirit, be made the instrument of comfort to one's spirit for hours together. It is a great matter when the mind dwells on any passage of Scripture, just to think how true it is. This is acting or exercising faith upon it, and the exercise of faith is at all times salutary. For example, think how true it is that God hath set forth Christ as a propitiation for sin, and in the course of so thinking it may so be that peace shall spring up in the heart—that guilt shall no longer burden the conscience, seeing that an atonement hath been provided for it by God himself—that a sense of reconciliation shall gladden the soul now at rest, because now resting on the sure foundation of God's own word; and thus it is, that a weary and heavy-laden sinner may come to great peace and great joy in believing.

"I know that many read the Bible daily, and have opened and read it many thousand times in their lives, without its producing any such effect. Unless the Spirit of God open our eyes to behold the wondrous things that are contained in the book of God's law, it will remain a sealed book to us. But how com-

fortable to think that the Spirit is given to those who ask Him from God; that He is promised to guide us unto all truth, and to keep all things in our remembrance; and that if we ask we shall receive, if we seek we shall find, if we knock the door shall be opened to us. There is no want, in short, of willingness with God. To find His mercy, all that is needful for us is to feel our own misery, and to cry for relief. He who giveth the ravens their food will hear us when we cry; for be assured, that His ear is ever open to our prayer.

"It is greatly for our encouragement that God likes to be trusted, that He bids us cast our care and our confidence upon Himself, that He feels it an honour done to His Son when we place reliance upon Him as our Saviour. And how safe must every believer be when God hath expressly said, that he who believeth in Christ shall not be confounded, that he who believeth shall not be put to shame!

"The great thing is, to look unto Jesus. We see Him not with the eye of the body; but we can at least think of Him with the mind. And we do Him great injustice if we think of Him in any other way than as the Friend of sinners—the meek and gentle Saviour—the Lamb whose blood hath taken away the sins of the world—our High-Priest with God, who sitteth at His right hand, and pleads the cause of every sinner who applies to Him for help, being able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God through Him, and ever living to make intercession for them.

"Be assured that He will in no wise cast you out if you come unto Him. Lean upon Him and He will bear you up. Feel that you are nothing in yourself, but rejoice in the Lord Jesus. In Him you are complete, for He is both able and willing to save you."

"*St. Andrews, April* 10, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I feel particularly encouraged to write you by the last letter that I got from my mother, and I am glad to find that my handwriting is not so illegible as to be altogether a bar in the way of your making it out.

"The advice which I have to repeat is a short one, but if it be taken you will find a sure step to peace and joy here, and to everlasting life hereafter. 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' It was the advice given by Apostles to a jailer—and he took it, and forthwith rejoiced. And we have all as good a warrant for taking it as he had. It was not

in any worthiness of his own, but in the worth of Christ that he rejoiced; and this worth is just as available to us as it was to him, for He came not only to save sinners, but the chief of sinners. It is a fearful thing, no doubt, to reflect what sinners we are; but it should hush every fear when we reflect further, that Christ's power and grace are magnified in the salvation even of the greatest sinners, and that what He expressly wants us to do is, to trust to Him for all our salvation—to venture our all upon Christ—to pay to Him the homage of our confidence, and He will most certainly not disappoint us. Be not afraid, only believe, and according to your faith so shall it be done unto you.

"And it is well, too, that we should feel how wholly unable we are of ourselves ever to believe in Him. It is very well if we have even so much as a desire after Him. Our very faith is weak, and clouded, and imperfect, but the good work is begun when we begin in good earnest to long after Christ; and it is a work that He is both willing and able to perfect. He will not despise the day of small things. Even though our faith were but as a grain of mustard-seed, He will foster it into growth, and vigour, and maturity. He will not break the bruised reed, He will not quench the smoking flax, but He will give efficacy to your prayers, and He will perfect that which concerns you."

"*St. Andrews, June* 9, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I was grieved to see that you were still complaining so much when I was last at Anstruther. There is only one thing that can reconcile us to the ills and the sufferings of life—but it should do so effectually—and that is, that they are light afflictions which are but for a moment, and which work out for all who trust in Jesus a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. He was tried in all respects like as we are, and He is able to succour them who are so tried. If you could mix a believing thought of Him with the pains and the sicknesses that come upon you, He will either lighten your pains, or what is still better, He will make them the instruments of refining and purifying your soul.

"I am sensible that the mind is very much affected by the state of the body, and that when the one is in agony the other cannot be expected to be very clear or vigorous in any of its exercises. Nevertheless Christ knoweth our frame, and even our darkest and most confused thoughts of Himself He seeth afar off, and precious in His sight is all the confidence that we

can lay upon His full and finished expiation. A sense of your sins ought never to extinguish the sense of your Saviour. There is a virtue in His blood to cleanse away all guilt, and it is through faith in this blood that He becomes your peace-offering and your propitiation with God. You do what is well-pleasing to God when you take the very comfort that He himself offers to you; and surely when He beseeches us to be reconciled, we may well rely upon that foundation which He hath laid in Zion, and which He calls a sure and a tried foundation.

"There is no part of Scripture which I think more fitted to soothe and to sustain a dejected spirit than the writings of John. I have heard you speak of the pleasure that you had in the fourteenth and following chapters of his Gospel. There are some very precious things in his first Epistle also."

"*St. Andrews, June* 21, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I had this day a letter from Ashgrove, where the Balfours of Kilmany now live. It was an intimation of old Mrs. Balfour's death at a very advanced age. Her mind was very nearly gone for a good many months before, but I believe her to have been a good woman, and that her hope and dependence rested upon the Saviour.

"And this is a foundation on which all might place their full reliance before God. He who hath given us His own Son will also with Him freely give us all things. He has done for us already the greatest possible favour by delivering up Christ unto the death for us. After having done so much He will not leave unfinished the salvation of any who put their trust in Him. You have a sure ground on which to rest your hopes of forgiveness, in the sacrifice that Jesus Christ made to the Father upon the cross; and you have an equally sure ground on which to rest your hopes of sanctification, in the Spirit which He has to bestow on all who believe in Him, and which God has expressly promised that He will give to all who ask it of Him.

"This is a sad and a suffering world, but we are invited to look hopefully forward to a better—to lay hold on eternal life, which we most assuredly shall inherit if we lay hold on Him whom God has set forth as a propitiation for the sins of the world. He is set forth to you as well as to others, and it will be indeed well-pleasing to God, if, giving Him credit for His good-will, you lean the full weight of your dependence upon the Saviour."

"*Fairlie, July* 15, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I received a letter from Mrs. Chalmers about you this day; and however

grieved I am to hear of your continued illness, yet my grief is mixed with liveliest gratitude to the God of all comfort for the peace and the grace which He has been pleased to bestow upon you. I know not when I have read any communication with truer pleasure than that which has brought me the tidings of your peace and joy in believing. I am sure, quite sure, that he who believeth shall not be confounded or put to shame, and that in reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ you may safely and quietly take your rest. He Himself was made perfect through sufferings, and you He will make perfect in the same way; and oh, what a transition and what a triumph, when, escaped from the sufferings of a poor and perishable body, you are admitted to join in the song of the redeemed, to Him who hath loved and washed you from your sins in His blood!

"I am truly thankful for the information given by Mrs. Chalmers on many accounts. It is delightful to think of the gracious tokens of His loving-kindness that your merciful Father has already given you. They are the intimations of your coming glory. They are the earnest of your inheritance. He would never lead you so to rejoice in a sense of His favour, and then withdraw that favour. They are the satisfying pledges to us all of the great and the good things that are in reserve for you; and they serve to reconcile us, as I am sure they will do you, to the pains of your sore disease, which, after all, are but the light afflictions that are for a moment.

"But I have still another reason to be glad of the intelligence that I have gotten. I am hopeful of a good and an abiding impression on all who are around you; that we shall henceforth see a reality and feel a power in religion to which we have been too much strangers; that all of us shall embark in better earnest than before on the course of heavenly preparation; and taking up with Christ as all our salvation, shall live no longer to ourselves, but to Him who died for us and rose again.

"He knows all the difficulty and distress of the way that you now travel, and He knows how to sustain you under it. Cast yourself upon Him, and He will bear you up. Weak as you are by nature, in Him you shall have everlasting strength."

"*Glasgow, July* 21, 1824.—My dear Isabel,—I had a letter yesterday from Helen giving me an account of you; and however much I grieve for the sufferings of your body, yet I rejoice in the mighty alleviation which must accrue to these sufferings from the peace of your mind. And there is no presumption in

that peace which rests on the Lord Jesus. He indeed is both the giver of the peace and the ground of it. We could not feel it but by a faith that is given to us, and the Spirit applying to us the blessed truths of the gospel, and causing us to feel their power and their preciousness. That you so feel is a token of everlasting good to you. God would not first inspire the trust, and then disappoint it. He says absolutely, 'Blessed are they who trust in God.' All who exercise trust in God shall experience His truth; and what a thing of blessedness it is, that His truth and mercy have so fully met in Christ Jesus, and that in Him peace and righteousness have entered into fellowship.

"There is a fulness in Christ out of which we are all invited to draw freely. In Him you have a full right to God's favour and acceptance. We are complete in Christ, says the apostle, having in Him a complete pardon, a complete reconciliation, and at length a complete holiness. By His own sufferings He hath perfected our justification in the sight of God; and He often makes our sufferings the instruments of perfecting our sanctification. It will not be perfect on this side of time. There is a remainder of sin that will adhere to us and trouble us so long as we are encompassed with these vile bodies. We may be delivered from the love of sin here, and from the power of it; but we shall not be altogether delivered from its presence till we have made our escape from the body, when we shall serve God without frailty and without a flaw. Let this hope uphold you in the midst of your present afflictions. It is not for God's pleasure, but for your own profit, that you are so exercised. He does not afflict willingly, for it is in wisdom and in kindness that He sends all His visitations to them who believe in His Son; and as Christ suffered, the Just for the unjust, so it behoves the disciples of Christ also to suffer."

Isabel lingered on through the autumn months, a patient sufferer lying meekly in the hands of God—declaring as life closed with the closing year, that Jesus was making good to her His latest promise, by coming again and taking her unto Himself. She died on Saturday the 4th December; and on the following Tuesday her mother wrote to James—"My dear Son, —I have now to write you of the death of your poor suffering sister Isabel. She died on Saturday at eight o'clock at night. She bore her trouble with great patience and resignation, long looked forward to death, and died full of the hopes of eternal

glory, believing in and trusting to the righteousness of Jesus Christ to save her. Thomas comes down to-night; his wife came on Sunday, and we have been much the better of her. Helen has attended her with more than a sister's care and affection. I have the comfort that my dear Isabel had every attention she could wish for both as regards food and medicine. To-morrow is her burying-day. We do not ask any person out of the town, and have given up that foolish custom of bringing a rabble into the house to drink wine and eat sweet-bread. I rather wish to save this and every unnecessary expense, that I may be able to afford to give to the poor, who are very numerous in this place. I will write you again about the New Year, and you may then expect a long lecture on your unpleasant letter. I have been studying contentment for many years, and find it a most comfortable virtue, that gives great peace of mind to them that possess it. I recommend that study to you. . . . You would hear of the death of John Hall. I had a long letter to-day from his mother. I am glad she is able to write. She and all her family are in great affliction. Poor woman! she has had heavy trials through life; but that is what old people may expect. To live long and not feel sorrow is not to be expected in this state of trouble, disappointment, and wo. Happy for us to hope for that state where sin and sorrow never enter. May we all die the death of the righteous, and may our latter end be like them that are now inheriting the promises. Such is the sincere wish of your ever affectionate mother,

ELIZABETH CHALMERS."

It was a great comfort to his mother that Dr. Chalmers lived now so near to her, and that she had frequent opportunities of seeing him at Anstruther. His intercourse with her by letter was, in consequence of this, more limited than it otherwise might have been. The following letters, however, indicate that even this mode of benefiting and gratifying her was not omitted :—

"*St. Andrews, May* 11, 1825.—MY DEAR MOTHER,—There are few circumstances that have given me greater satisfaction than the peace of mind and prospects of blessedness which you enjoy in your old age. Sure I am, that trust in God is trust laid on the right foundation, when we view Him as God in Christ, and that so far from being offended with our confidence, or regarding it as presumption, He rejoices over it as that

faith with which He is at all times well pleased. We may therefore securely take up our rest among the promises of the gospel, and look to His own Spirit for strength that we may be enabled to render obedience to the precepts of the gospel; being very certain of this, that the more dependingly we lean upon His truth, the more firmly we shall be supported, and that the more we hunger and thirst after righteousness, so much the more abundantly we shall be filled.

"I was glad to see Romaine's volumes in your house when lately at Anstruther. I am now reading him with great satisfaction and interest. He confines himself very much to one topic, but that topic is an exceeding precious one. His constant recurrence to the value of Christ's righteousness as ours by faith, never palls upon the mind of him who feels his habitual need of a better righteousness than his own, and who is determined with the apostle Paul to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."

"*St. Andrews*, *Nov.* 25, 1825.—My dear Mother,—I do very sincerely hope that you still keep your firm and confiding hold upon the Saviour. There is a recompence of reward promised to those who cast not away their confidence. It pleases God to be trusted, and what can helpless, sinful, and dependent creatures do but just apply and rely. It is a mighty privilege that we have full liberty of access to Him through the open door of Christ's mediatorship, and that we do honour to God's truth, and to His tenderness, by that very act of faith which sustains the peace and comfort of our own hearts.

"May you ever continue to have great peace and joy in believing, and with a hope ever growing brighter of heaven, on the other side of death, may you be found when it arrives in a state of meetness for the inheritance of the saints. Our best compliments to my aunt and Helen."

"*St. Andrews*, *June* 17, 1826.—My dear Mother,—It gives us all the greatest pleasure to think that though all your family have now left you, you have such ample and independent resources within yourself. It is this alone, in fact, which reconciles me and Mrs. Chalmers to your continuing to live in Anstruther, and still both of us persist in thinking, that you might be very happy with us in St. Andrews, as I can assure you that it would make us very happy to receive you.

"May that God, who has lighted up the light of His reconciled countenance upon you, continue to bless and to brighten

therewith the evening of your days, and may you enjoy many a comfortable meditation in thinking of His good-will through Christ Jesus even to the most undeserving of us all.

"I was delighted to learn from yourself of the comfort that you enjoy in the exercise of a continued trust upon God. It is very true that those books which lead us to look inwardly upon ourselves lead us to see a corruption there which ought to humble, and, if we see nothing else, would alarm us. But it is well that we are called upon to look outwardly as well as inwardly, more especially to look unto Jesus, and, in defect of our own righteousness, to put on that everlasting righteousness which He hath brought in. May you have great peace and joy in believing. It is a matter of comfort and thankfulness to us all, that in the midst of solitude, and now that all your family are away from you, you have such a perpetual feast within yourself —a delight in heavenly things—a quiet looking forward to an immortality of happiness and rest."

Age with its manifold infirmities had now cut Mrs. Chalmers off from her most favourite occupations. The last round among her pensioners completed, the last visits to her friends paid, she was confined entirely to the house. Her deafness made it difficult for others to converse with her, and her lameness so increased that it was with pain and difficulty she moved from one room to another. The marriage of a last remaining daughter left her in the summer of 1826 in absolute solitude. But her composure and peace remained unbroken. "What a season of delight and of ripening for heaven," writes Dr. Chalmers, "has my mother's old age turned out to her, who, in the absence of all foreign resources, enjoys a perpetual feast in the happy repose of her spirit on that Saviour whom she trusts—that God whom she feels to be reconciled to her." Writing to her son James after Helen's marriage, Mrs. Chalmers herself says—"Since I last wrote you, I have had several severe complaints. I am very frail and very infirm; but what a blessing it is that my memory and the faculties of my mind are as active as if I were twenty.* I bless God that it is so. I feel a pleasant contentment and peace of mind that the world cannot give nor take away. I amuse myself with working and reading. God is very good to me, who gives me a contented and happy frame of mind; and I trust my God will never leave nor forsake me, that when death comes He

* She was at this time in her 77th year.

also will be with me, and give me good hopes through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Death came a few months afterwards, and all her hopes and prayers were answered in the manner of her departure—in her peaceful exchange of the solitude of an earthly dwelling for the presence of her Saviour and the society of the Redeemed.

"*Anstruther, Feb.* 7, 1827.—My dear Mr. Morton,—I have the melancholy task of requesting that you will inform Jane of my mother's extreme illness. Dr. Goodsir sent an express late yesternight on the subject, and when Mrs. Chalmers and I arrived, we found her under severe sickness. We all think that she is hasting to her grave. But it is a mighty comfort that her mind is so filled with entire and peaceful assurance. She herself speaks of the love of her dying Saviour, and retains that deep and settled composure which has imparted so much serenity to the evening of her days. I shall inform you of her great change whenever that may be; meanwhile, I am compelled to write very shortly, from the number of letters which I have to send off, and the sleeplessness of last night. Mrs. Chalmers returned to St. Andrews this day, but we have the constant attendance of some of our friends from the manse of West Anstruther.

Thomas Chalmers."

"*Anstruther, Feb.* 9.—My dear James,—My mother still declines, though much easier than she was. Her struggle seems to be over, and there has now commenced apparently a process of gentle and gradual decay.

"My purpose in writing to-night is to obtain from you a letter, which, if it arrive in time, may act as a sedative to one of her smaller anxieties. She has all along been a person of the uttermost exactness, and she wants to be satisfied that you received for Mary a small marriage-present of £20 that she enclosed to you a week or two ago. Do let us know of this by return of post. She also sent her by the carrier a bundle of napery, enclosing an old family-piece in the heart of it—an old silver jug which belonged to our grandfather. This may not yet have reached you; but the other should, and I beg that you will let us know of it.—Thomas Chalmers."

"*Anstruther, Feb.* 13.—My dear James,—My mother received your letter and was much gratified therewith. She is freer of pain, and is so much easier that I and my wife would conceive that she is getting better. The doctor, however, repre-

sents her as in a state of sure though gradual decay. I have hitherto been with her every day, it being a possible thing for me, by help of a gig, both to be here all night, and to do the work of my classes in St. Andrews.—THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Anstruther, Feb.* 14.—MY DEAR JAMES,—Our excellent mother has at length breathed her last, and terminated a most useful and respectable life on a deathbed of piety. The decease took place at half-past eight this morning. She had received your letter yesterday, and as it was her day of greatest ease and conversation during the whole of her illness, she could be made to understand its contents, and was satisfied.

"Two days ago she stated the probability and indeed the propriety of your coming down here to look after your affairs. She adverted to the likelihood of your disposing of your property in this quarter; and with that minute and careful attention to business which characterized her through life, she even adverted to a likely purchaser.

"I at present have not strength to expatiate on the virtues of our dear parent, having all the arrangements to attend to, and not having been in bed last night. Let it suffice then to say, that, particularly towards the end of her days, her faith in the gospel grew apace, and this germinated the blessed fruits of righteousness in her heart and life."

"*Anstruther, Feb.* 15, 1827.—MY DEAR SIR,*—It is good to witness the struggles of a spirit breaking its way from the prison-house of the body to that eternity whither it looks with hopefulness; and it is good to have one's practical sense of the world's nothingness refreshed and stirred up anew by the sight of a deathbed.

"My mother's has been to me by far the most impressive deathbed I ever attended. The predominant feature of it has been the deep and immovable trust of her spirit upon the Saviour. This has been growing apace for some years, and it shed a singularly beautiful and quiet light over the evening of her days.—THOMAS CHALMERS."

The day after her decease, Dr. Chalmers jotted down what he has entitled "Memorabilia of my mother's death:"—

"The express that informed us of her illness came to St. Andrews with a letter from Dr. Goodsir after eleven on Tuesday night, the 6th of February 1827. Mrs. Chalmers, I, and Cap-

* Letter to Henry Paul, Esq.

tain Thomas Pratt, went off in a chaise about an hour afterwards. Mrs. Chalmers made her four distinct visits in a chaise. I remained constantly at Anster, with the exception of three visits which I made in a gig to St. Andrews, and during each of which I taught both my classes.

"She repeatedly professed her trust in God, her trust in the Saviour, that she had taken God to be her friend, that she felt her corruption, but it did not shake her confidence.

"She said that her prayer was for exemption from pain previous to her death, that she might have ease when going out of the world, to think of the love of her dying Saviour.

"She felt the greatest earnestness about my wife's last visit, and had the utmost delight in her presence.

"She stated three several times that she was much satisfied with my brother's letter from London, which arrived the day before her death.

"She said that nothing did her good but prayers. When asked whether she heard, her almost uniform reply was that she had heard every word, and that what she heard gave her great comfort.

"She spoke of herself as a great sinner, and of Christ as a great Saviour.

"My wife told her that my students had had a meeting, and requested that I should not leave my mother. She said that this was great kindness in them to her, but, indeed, that everybody was kind to her.

"She said to my wife that her wish had been fully gratified in her having seen her so much, and in her being so much with her during her last moments.

"She said to me a day or two before her death that her pains were supportable, and that the kindness of her friends made them more so.

"Her extreme symptoms did not come on till upwards of an hour after my wife and daughter Grace had left her, and for upwards of twelve hours after this she was in close conflict with death. I was called four different times to witness the extremity of her sufferings, but she revived for pretty long intervals from the three first attacks, and she sunk gradually for an hour from the commencement of the last.

"Her decisive symptoms of near dissolution appeared at eight on the evening of the 13th, and her death took place at half-past eight in the morning of the 14th of February.

"During this period she asked twice or thrice for a prayer. I repeated occasionally a verse of Scripture or the verse of a paraphrase; at length, however, she made it be understood that she had now become so confused that she could not follow me.

"She sent for me between nine and ten on the evening of the 13th, and wanted to speak with me alone. The conversation related to what she imagined a temptation of Satan.

"She said to me that she hoped we would meet in heaven.

"She had been heard some days before repeating by herself the fifty-first paraphrase. I repeated to her the first verse of it a few days before her death; and though I could not follow her articulations, yet she was evidently reciting in the measure of the paraphrase, and I thought that I could recognise one word of a subsequent verse.

"The fiftieth, fifty-first, and, I think, sixty-first paraphrases were either recited by her during her illness, or read to her by her desire.

"I heard her say several times during the night that she was very ill.

"About seven hours before her death she was regarded to be so near dying that Dr. Goodsir shut her eyes.

"She spoke after this several times with great haleness, and made movements of considerable remaining strength.

"About half an hour before her death she audibly ordered the curtains to be drawn aside and the shutters opened.

"Let me not forget the look which she cast upon me when I lifted her into a sitting posture.

"After being adjusted to sit, she said audibly that it was fine.—'That's fine.'

"At the last she made an exhalation nearly as strong as a cough, after which there was a pause, which we conceived to be the pause of death. It lasted perhaps about a minute, but she resumed breathing, so as to give one or two distinct breaths, accompanied with a little spontaneous movement; there was then a final cessation; but, from the foregoing pause, we waited, and were not sure of death for one or two minutes.

"One of her latest articulations was—'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

"O God, teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom, and at length die the death of the righteous.

"Let me cherish the remembrance of my mother in the vivid recollection of her dying scene. May I be enabled to sit loose to

a world all whose cares and pleasures and triumphs but guide every child of Adam to the bed of his last agonies. I lifted her at times to a sitting posture, and in this attitude she had to be supported by Christy at her back, and on the head of the bed. There are some of her softer moanings of which my conception is as distinct as if they still vibrated on my ear, and they throw me into a state of inexpressible tenderness. It will be a good thing to recall them, and to be softened by the thought of them into charity and seriousness. There is a sacredness in the whole recollection which I want to preserve. I am now in frequent converse with her remains. That countenance that looked so ghastly in dying has a peace and loveliness in death which is pleasing to look upon. O may the hallowed remembrance of my dear mother guard my heart against every unlawful emotion, and may I bear to the end of my days a habitual regard for the memory of her who terminated her useful and respectable life on a deathbed of piety."

To a relation in Liverpool Dr. Chalmers writes as follows:— "I cannot say that in the whole course of my life I was ever called to be present at a more impressive occasion. The great and characteristic feature of the whole was the deep and immovable trust of her spirit upon the Saviour. During the latter period of her life there was a rapid and remarkable growth in her religious affections; and she at length enjoyed the settled repose of one rooted and grounded in the faith of the gospel. Hers at length was a perpetual feast of pleasing thoughts and pleasing emotions, and the serenity within was pictured forth on her whole aspect. She resisted our attempts to bring her forth of her solitude, preferring to reside in Anster by herself to being with us, even after all her family had left her; and such was the sufficiency of her internal resources, that never was there spent a solitude of greater independence and greater enjoyment, divided as it was between little schemes of usefulness to the poor families around her, and those secret exercises of reading, and meditation, and prayer which have so ripened her for heaven. My impression of her in early life was, that she was more remarkable for the cardinal than the softer virtues of our nature. But age, and the power of Christianity together had mellowed her whole character; the mildness of charity and the peace which the world knoweth not threw a most beautiful and quiet light over the evening of her days."

CHAPTER X.

OFFER OF THE CHAIR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE LONDON UNIVERSITY—VISIT TO LONDON—MR. IRVING AND MR. COLERIDGE—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—CASE OF MR. M'LEOD OF BRACADALE—THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS AT ST. ANDREWS—FIRST VISIT TO IRELAND—DERRY—THE GIANT'S CAUSEWAY—BELFAST—PUBLICATION OF A TREATISE ON LITERARY AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENDOWMENTS.

On the 26th February 1827, Dr. Chalmers received a letter from the Honorary Secretary to the Council of the London University, containing a proposal tantamount to an offer of the Chair of Moral Philosophy in that University. "This," he says, when noting the receipt of the letter in his journal, "though many feelings and embryo purposes of my mind are against it, is not to be immediately rejected, but is altogether worthy of being entertained." He returned therefore the following reply:—

"St. Andrews, *February* 28, 1827.

"My dear Sir,—I wish that your proposal could have come to me a twelvemonth later, for then I might have given, what I am not able to give now, an immediate and decisive answer. The truth is, that the Royal Commission are now prosecuting their inquiries upon Scottish Colleges, and I have been waiting with great interest the result, which will not transpire however sooner, I fear, than the beginning of the next year. They may place it on a footing so good that very few situations indeed could tempt me from the office of a Scotch professor; or they may place it on a footing so bad that I should be glad to make my escape into another situation.

"But although in these circumstances I cannot make a decision, yet this need not prevent me from making an inquiry under the following heads:—

"1*st*, How many months in the year must the professor of moral philosophy teach, and how many hours in the day?

"2*d*, What are the likelihoods of a good attendance upon a purely didactic course, by a professor whose object would be instruction and not excitement, and who would not, for the sake

of popular effect, depart from the rigour or the purity of a strict academic model? This question I hold to be the more important as I have heard there has been discovered of late a sluggishness among the London families towards this new university education; and as I feel further apprehensive that the spontaneous demand of the citizens will be inversely proportional to the arduousness of the topics, and the purely philosophical character of the prelections which one holds upon them.

"3*d*, You may state, along with the salary and fees, what proportion of the daily work is expected to be expository, and what proportion of it examinational, or if the professor is left in these respects to his own discretion.

"4*th*, Is the appointment for life, or only held so long as the professor gives satisfaction to the Council? I feel the more interested in this question that I fear I should stand peculiarly exposed to their dissatisfaction from my treatment of the science. I treat it not as a terminating but a rudimental science, a science which, instead of landing its disciples in so many dicta or positive doctrines, lands them in so many desiderata, for which an adjustment can only be found in the counterpart doctrines of the Christian theology. It is thus that along the ulterior extreme of the subject, I would erect, not so many places of repose or of triumphant acquisition, but rather so many posts of observation, whence I cast a look of inquiry on the subjects that lie beyond it. In delineating this boundary it is impossible to refrain from noticing the adaptations of nature to Christianity, or from giving a general *exposé* of that economy which has been revealed to us from above with its beneficent applications to the moral necessities of our species. It is thus, in fact, that I finish off at present, and I fear that such may be the antipathies of your Council to a bearing and a termination so very theological, that they might give rise to a mutual dissatisfaction painful to both parties.

5*th*, Though your University (perhaps wisely) admits no formal course of theology within its scheme, would they object to one of its professors giving, either in his own class-room or elsewhere, a short quarterly course upon the subject, and by which in particular the students of moral philosophy might find their way to the Christian solution of many questions which their own science may have started, but is unable to decide upon?

"I have only time to say, my dear Sir, that I feel grateful to you for your excellent letter, and am much honoured by the application contained in it. Your University will be of incal-

culable benefit not in superseding but in stimulating all the chartered Universities of the land,* and in bringing the most wholesome reflex influence to bear upon them."

At the time that this communication came from Dr. Coxe, Dr. Chalmers received from the Rev. Edward Irving an urgent invitation to open the new church then being erected for him in London. Compliance would enable him at once to gratify his friend, and to prosecute on the spot his inquiries respecting the character and prospects of the London University; Dr. Chalmers therefore accepted this invitation. As the church was to be opened before the end of May, and as he was anxious not to be absent from the General Assembly, he could pay but a hurried visit to the metropolis in the interval between the close of the session at St. Andrews, and the opening of the General Assembly in Edinburgh. On this occasion he travelled by sea.

"*Saturday, May 5, Coast off Bamborough Head.*—It has been a day of glorious sunshine, and altogether I have enjoyed it exceedingly. I have had great conversations with many people, and, indeed, found the day go off most pleasantly without study, and purely on the strength of an interesting society. The deck has all the gaiety and animation of a fair. There are upwards of one hundred passengers, eighty of whom at least breakfast and dine together. Mr. Thomson of Duddingston, the minister and artist, is one of the party. We have great reason to be thankful to God for all His preservations. He has the power of these mighty elements in His hand; and what reason to bless Him for all His goodness and all His guardianship! I have studied almost none, and am not very fit for it, so interested am I in the evolutions of the English coast. . . . The scenery of St. Abb's Head was quite magnificent, consisting of a whole range of precipices.

"*Sunday, May 6.*—Many applications for a sermon, and I was at length given by the captain to understand that the wish was quite general. I preached to upwards of one hundred in the cabin.

"*Monday, May 7.*—Started about seven o'clock, and found ourselves a great way up the Thames. The shipping was quite magnificent, and the country very rich on both sides. The passage has been admirable: we left Newhaven at half-past seven on Saturday, we reached Blackwall at ten on Monday. This makes fifty and a half hours, from which, if you deduct the

* See Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. xvii. p. 106.

stoppage of more than four hours by the anchorage at Yarmouth, we have only been in motion about forty-six hours. . . . After dinner at Mr. Vertue's, Mr. Irving made his appearance, and took me to his house, where I drank tea. Mr. Miller and Mr. Maclean, Scottish ministers of the London Presbytery, were there. Their talk is very much of meetings and speeches: Irving, though, is very impressive, and I do like the force and richness of his conversation.

"*Tuesday.*—I had a long conversation with Dr. Coxe. There is great relief in the information that the professors of the London University will not begin for a year and a half, that is, till autumn 1828. I said to him that this rendered an immediate decision less necessary. He seemed anxious to bring me to some declaration that might encourage the hope of acceding to the proposal; but of this I took good care. Brougham knows of our correspondence, and is desirous, he says, of the arrangement. We parted from each other with the utmost cordiality. Got into a hackney coach: called on my way at a hatter's, where I got a twenty-seven shillinger. On to James's.

"*Wednesday.*—Studied about two hours, and proceeded to take a walk with James. We had just gone out when we met Mr. Irving. He begged of James the privilege of two or three hours in his house to study a sermon. I was vastly tickled with this new instance of the inroads of Scotchmen; however, James could not help himself, and was obliged to consent. We were going back to a family dinner, and I could see the alarm that was felt on the return of the great Mr. Irving, who was very easily persuaded to join us at dinner, and the study was all put to flight. There was not a single sentence of study all the time; and notwithstanding Mrs. C.'s alarm about the shabbiness of her dinner, everything went on most delightfully. Irving intermingled the serious and the gay, took a good hearty repast, and really charmed even James himself, so that I was very glad of the inroad that had been made upon him.

"*Thursday.*—Irving and I went to Bedford Square. Mr. and Mrs. Montague took us out in their carriage to Highgate, where we spent three hours with the great Coleridge. He lives with Dr. and Mrs. Gillman on the same footing that Cowper did with the Unwins. His conversation, which flowed in a mighty unremitting stream, is most astonishing, but, I must confess, to me still unintelligible. I caught occasional glimpses of what he would be at, but mainly he was very far out of all sight and all

sympathy. I hold it, however, a great acquisition to have become acquainted with him. You know that Irving sits at his feet, and drinks in the inspiration of every syllable that falls from him. There is a secret and, to me as yet, unintelligible communion of spirit betwixt them, on the ground of a certain German mysticism and transcendental lake-poetry which I am not yet up to. Gordon* says it is all unintelligible nonsense, and I am sure a plain Fife man as uncle 'Tammas,' had he been alive, would have pronounced it the greatest *buff* he had ever heard in his life.†

"*Friday*.—Mr. Irving conducted the preliminary service in the National Church. There was a prodigious want of tact in the length of his prayer—forty minutes—and altogether it was an hour and a half from the commencement of the service ere I began. After I came down, met a number of acquaintances in the vestry. . . . The dinner took place at five o'clock—many speeches—Mr. Irving certainly errs in the outrunning of sympathy.

"*Sunday, May* 13.—Walked with Mr. Vertue, in whose house I am staying, to church. The crowd gathered and grew, and the church was filled to an overflow. Lord Bexley still in the place where he was on Friday; Mr. Peel was beside him on Friday. Lord Farnham, Lord Mandeville, Mr. Coleridge and many other notables whom I cannot recollect, among my hearers. Coleridge I saw in the vestry both before and after service; he was very complimentary. Walked towards Swallow Street, where I was to preach in the afternoon. Found ourselves in danger of being late, and got into a hackney, whose stupid driver, ignorant of Swallow Street, paraded us through a number of cross and alternate streets, to our great dismay. We had at length to leave him, and run in breathless agitation, till at length we found the place a quarter after the hour. I preached to a full chapel. At half-past six to Mr. Irving's church, where I heard Dr. Gordon. He, too, had a very full church.

"*Monday*.—Breakfasted with Strachan‡—Duncan there, and Mr. James Stephens, a very literary man, and high in office;

* The Rev. Dr. Gordon of Edinburgh.

† Returning from this interview, Dr. Chalmers remarked to Mr. Irving upon the obscurity of Mr. Coleridge's utterances, and said, that for his part he liked to see all sides of an idea before taking up with it. "Ha!" said Mr. Irving, in reply, "you Scotchmen would handle an idea as a butcher handles an ox. For my part, I love to see an idea looming through the mist."

‡ The Very Rev. Dr. Strachan, now Bishop of Toronto, who, along with Mr. Duncan, ranked as one of Dr. Chalmers's earliest and most intimate acquaintances at St. Andrews, and with whom he kept up a most cordial intercourse through life.

Dr. S., Mr. D., and I went forth after breakfast, in the first place to the Courts at Westminster Hall, where I was much interested by the aspect of the various Judges, who looked very picturesque; then towards Covent Garden, where Cobbett and Hunt were to address the people on politics. I had a view of their persons, but was excessively anxious to hear their speeches. There was a ladder set up from the street to the flat roof of a *low* house, which every person who paid a shilling had the privilege of going to. Duncan would not ascend, I and Strachan did, but on the moment of our doing so the peace-officers came and dispersed the speakers: Duncan enjoyed our disappointment vastly, and we felt that a fool and his money were soon parted. We followed the crowd in the hope of hearing them somewhere else, but all we got was a sentence or two from Gale Jones. I was under the necessity of going to dine at Mr. Frere's at two. He is the person to whom Mr. Irving dedicates his book on Prophecy. There I met Mr. Irving and Dr. Gordon,—all this was preparatory to our going into Parliament. Lord Mandeville and Mr. Kennedy had both been interested in our favour, and we obtained seats, not in the gallery, but under it, and were perfectly in view of the House. I was greatly interested, and must say that I was treated in a very kind and gentlemanly way. A number of my parliamentary acquaintances came up to me, and showed me every attention, such as ——. Mr. Maxwell brought up to me Mr. Peel, who sat for ten minutes beside me, and held with me a deal of kind conversation respecting the College Commission, pauperism, my sermons, all of which he had read, &c. Wilmot Horton, also, the Under-Secretary of the Colonies, came up and introduced himself, and with him I had to talk of emigration.

"*Tuesday.*—Hired a chaise for the day, and made fifteen calls. Crossed the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, where I called on Lady Radstock: it was a very pleasant ten minutes' call—they were full of kindness. Visited the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (formerly Gloucester), where I dined. All was cordiality. My old friend Mr. Hale, by a previous arrangement, came with his carriage at ten. We did not sit down to dinner till eight. I was glad to be taken off by him on this fatiguing day; he drove me to his house at Homerton. I speedily got to bed, and was glad of so much bustle being terminated.

"*Thursday.*—After an early dinner, was conducted by Mrs. Vertue so far as to be within knowledge of the Poet's Corner,

where I called on Mr. Frere, who conducted me in about half an hour to the lobby of the House of Commons, where, by assignation, I met Mr. Macaulay. We had to wait for some time till we got a member to take us into the House, which was done by Mr. William Smith for me in the first instance, after which Mr. Macaulay got another introduction and joined me. In the lobby met my old acquaintance Mr. Whitmore, M.P.; we were disappointed as to the debate, it having been postponed, and the topics of discussion were comparatively of smaller interest, as spring-guns, and others. However, we got a sight of more of the speakers, as Sir Francis Burdett, and some more. Mr. Brougham spoke a little; he came and talked with me in a way that was very friendly and interesting. He said nothing, however, about the University; and my impression now is, that rather than risk any discouragement they will wait the progress of events, more especially as they have time for waiting. This leaves the matter in the best possible state for me.

"*Saturday*, 19*th*.—Mr. Gordon informed me that yesternight Mr. Irving preached on his prophecies at Hackney Chapel for two hours and a half, and though very powerful, yet the people were dropping away, when he, Mr. I., addressed them on the subject of their leaving him. I really fear lest his prophecies, and the excessive length and weariness of his services, may unship him altogether, and I mean to write him seriously upon the subject. There were a number of citizens who dined along with us between eight and nine, all of them took leave, and between nine and ten I got into a hackney, then into a wherry, and then into the City of Edinburgh steamboat.

"*Sunday*, 20*th*.—I preached as before by request, and had much attention and kindness shown to me. Captain Dewar a very civil fellow. There are not above fifty passengers. I think this is a smaller boat than the James Watt, but on the whole very comfortable.

"*Monday*, 21*st*.—Have got upon the best footing with all the passengers. I draw chiefly to Allan the painter. I have employed myself in preparation for the *Bracadale* case this day.

"*Tuesday*, 22*d*.—Took many a kind leave. The captain very civil indeed. Anchored about three-quarters of a mile from Newhaven. Was the first to get into the first boat. The manager of the steamboat, I should have mentioned, shocked me very much by the news of Dr. Nicoll having had a paralytic attack in the General Assembly on Friday, and I observe by the news-

papers that he has never been absent from the deliberations. This is an impressive event.

"*Wednesday*, 23*d*.—Called on Sir Harry Moncreiff—afterwards went to the General Assembly. It was arranged that the Plurality question should not be discussed. Sir Harry was to move and I to second, which we did accordingly, but as we were debarred from entering into the merits of the case, we both said but a few words. A counter motion was set up, which really did not differ from ours, but it served to try the strength of parties; we lost by a majority of eighteen, the smallest, however, that we ever lost by in any division upon the question. The Lord Justice-Clerk, the Solicitor, and all the official dignitaries were upon our side.

"*Tuesday*, 24*th*.—I met Mr. Tait in company with Mr. M'Leod of Bracadale, whose case comes on this day, and his agent, M'Donald. I talked with them a good deal, and find Mr. M'Leod a little *dour* and impracticable. You know that I have written him on the subject of his baptisms, and without any effect. The discussion on the *Bracadale* case occupied us till about seven. Cockburn gave an admirable speech for M'Leod, mine, which I myself thought about the worst, is said to be the best I ever delivered in the Assembly. I spoke last, for immediately after I had done, the Solicitor-General rose with a middle motion, between that which would have landed in the deposition of him, and that which we supported. It was to appoint four clergymen, Sir Harry Moncreiff, Dr. Cook, Dr. Taylor, and myself, a committee to deal with him and to report, so that our business with him is not yet over, and extremely doubtful, from the man's own obstinacy. The result hitherto, in regard to myself, has been as formerly, resolving not to speak, and to leave the Assembly altogether beforehand, and yet, after all, obtaining an unexpectedly prosperous deliverance. Dr. Haldane does exceedingly well as Moderator; he is most attentive to me.

"*Friday*.—Called on Sir Harry Moncreiff, who has appointed me to meet with Mr. M'Leod previous to the meeting of the committee. We have carried Mr. M'Leod most satisfactorily through the Assembly. I rejoice that I came down from London; I am getting with many the credit of his deliverance. Mr. M'Leod appeared at three: I conversed with him an hour and a half. It is a great matter to make an impression upon him ere he comes before the regular committee. He is much oppressed, yet I do not despair of him. Went at eight to Sir

Harry's, where, according to appointment, we met Mr. M'Leod, and had another preparatory conversation with him, whence to Waterloo Hotel, where we had our Assembly supper, and kept it up with toasts and speeches till two in the morning. Dr. Baird presided, Lord Glenorchy was croupier of the central table, M'Leod of M'Leod croupier on his one hand, and I croupier on his other. Dr. Baird put two toasts into my hand before sitting down. This I complained of at the outset of my speech, and the more especially, said I, that I had ever since given my whole time and attention to the carving of an immense turkey and the other duties of a most weighty croupiership. This produced a laugh, and I got on tolerably. Professor Wilson there.

"*Saturday*, 26*th*.—Walked first to Sir Harry's. Had just time to swallow my two cups of tea before our final conference began. At ten were joined by the other two members, the Moderates of the committee. Had pretty *tough* work for a time both with M'Leod and with one another, and at length brought him to a declaration by which he compromised no principle whatever, and only acknowledged himself to be wrong in a matter merely legal and *formal*, which he certainly was. This declaration carried him most triumphantly through the Assembly. The Moderates rejoiced over him as a stray sheep, and we were all very happy and harmonious on the occasion."

The Rev. Roderick M'Leod, who had been settled as minister of the parish of Bracadale in September 1823, refused to administer baptism to so many children that in the course of two years and a half the number of unbaptized infants in his parish amounted to about fifty, while during the same period only seven had been admitted to the ordinance. The Presbytery of Skye, on the first appeal made to them by one of the dissatisfied parishioners, after examination of the parent as to qualification, ordered Mr. M'Leod to baptize the child. This he refused to do, and on a reference of the case, the General Assembly of 1824 approved of the conduct of the Presbytery, and enjoined them "to take care that the ordinance of baptism be duly administered in the parish of Bracadale." In consequence of this injunction the Presbytery visited the parish—examined a number of the parents to whose children baptism had been denied—administered the rite by one of their own number to some of the unbaptized, and, in one particular case, enjoined Mr. M'Leod to baptize. With this order he refused compliance, on which the

Presbytery proceeded at a meeting held on the 5th May 1826, to suspend him for two months from the office of the ministry. Against that decision Mr. M'Leod himself neglected to protest and appeal. This having been done, however, by another member of Presbytery, the matter came again before the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, and the General Assembly of 1826, after a long and animated debate, affirmed the sentence of the Presbytery, and renewed their former instructions, with directions "to restore Mr. M'Leod to the full exercise of his ministerial functions so soon as he expresses his willingness to conduct himself in a manner becoming a dutiful son of the Church." The Presbytery having failed to obtain that satisfaction from Mr. M'Leod which they conceived themselves entitled to exact, proceeded to serve him with a libel inferring deposition. This was felt by many members of the Church to be a summary and severe mode of dealing with scruples which, however narrow or ill-grounded, were the scruples of a devout and conscientious clergyman. They were anxious that all the gentler methods of remonstrance should be exhausted before such a minister was cut off from the Church. It was mainly the interest which Dr. Chalmers took in this case which brought him from London to Edinburgh. And he had the satisfaction, in conjunction with the other members of the Committee which the General Assembly of 1827 appointed to confer with Mr. M'Leod, to obtain from him the following declaration :—"With reference to the impression that the discussions concerning my conduct have produced, as to my holding views and principles inconsistent with the laws and constitution of the Church of Scotland, I now declare my conviction that the same are agreeable to the word of God, and my entire willingness to obey them, and my decided resolution to adhere to them, without any mental reservation or qualification whatever; and that as I took no appeal I acted wrong in disobeying the injunctions of the inferior Court." On this declaration being laid before it, the General Assembly unanimously agreed "that the whole process relating to Mr. M'Leod is now at an end, and that there is no room for any further proceedings."

Dr. Chalmers returned from Edinburgh to St. Andrews to prepare for the visit of the Royal Commissioners which was now impending. The different professors of the University were to be called personally before the Board, and by their individual examination the most searching scrutiny was to be made into all University affairs, embracing, of course, an inquiry into those

topics on which Dr. Chalmers had unfortunately disagreed with his colleagues. It was an occasion of great excitement to Dr. Chalmers.

"*July* 31.—Went to the University Library, where we received the Commissioners. No little agitation. We are all on tip-toe. O heavenly Father, strengthen me! Save me from my own spirit. Deliver me from the fear of man which is a snare. Embolden me to say all that I should afterwards regret if left unsaid. Give me, Thy unworthy instrument, to speak for the cause of truth and righteousness. Let me be first upright, and then as innocent as possible of giving offence. From Thee are the preparations of the heart; from Thee also, O God, the answer of the mouth is.

"*August* 1.—Another day of expectancy and excitement.

"2*d*.—My own examination upwards of five hours. Great blandness on the part of the Commission, though an evident reluctance to draw me out on the controverted topics. I however let myself out on them, though at the expense of that fulness and explicitness wherewith I might otherwise have delivered myself on the general topics of education and my own courses. These I shall perhaps supplement in writing.

"4*th*.—My dear friend Duncan examined this day, and I again before the Commission.* They seemed resolved not to ask me another question on controverted topics. I was upwards of half an hour before them, during which I reported the result of the inquiries which they had set me to, corrected and supplemented my former testimony, and left them with an earnest assurance, and a short but solemn address on the state of ecclesiastical matters in the College of St. Andrews."

Dr. Chalmers was not satisfied with conveying his ideas on the "General topics of Education" in the form of answers to such questions as University Commissioners might propose. He had already resolved to present to the public the conclusions to which his inquiries had conducted him, in the shape of a treatise on the Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments. He had commenced this treatise before going up to London in May—he was engaged on it when the Royal Commissioners came to St. Andrews—and he resumed it after their departure. In the month of September it suffered a temporary

* "You may tell, that when Mr. Duncan came out from his examination, which lasted an hour and a half, I took him by both his hands, and danced to him with the song, 'I've gotten my surds, and I've gotten my geometry, and am now as licht as a lavrock.'"—Letter from Dr. Chalmers, dated August 6, 1827.

suspension by his going to Belfast, to open a new church which had been recently erected there, to meet the wants of a rapidly increasing population. It was his first visit to Ireland, and we present our readers with a few extracts from his journal letters.

"*Tuesday, Sept.* 18.—We set off from Glasgow between ten and eleven, quite calm in the morning, but it got breezy and showery as the day advanced. I was greatly delighted at the sight of Rothesay, Port Bannatyne, Castle Toward, and the Kyles of Bute. Before we got out of the Kyles it became dark. We had dined before we reached them, and enjoyed the scenery vastly, and I strained my eyes at it till it was no longer visible, and have just returned to the cabin and have written to you all that is on this page. The water is tolerably calm at present in our land-locked situation, but we have the prospect of its being pretty rough after we have left the Mull of Cantyre when on the open sea for Ireland. I felt exceedingly hot, and got upon deck between one and two. We were then at anchor in Campbelton Loch, having experienced some severe gales, and the wind blowing too hard at the time for persisting in our voyage.

"*Wednesday, Sept.* 19.—Started at six. Mr. Paul showed me his father-in-law's house at Campbelton. Much pleased with a scene that I remembered thirty-one years ago. A clear morning, with rather a strong breeze. Sailed along the Cantyre coast till we got to the Mull, where we had a most sickening breeze, and all of us were fairly overcome by it. However, I blended enjoyment in the scenery with the pains of the sickness, and had a very complete view of the Mull; then went to bed till we should get to the Irish coast. The captain was most kind, and called me whenever aught was to be seen, and in this way saw Fair-Head and the Giant's Causeway, and never tasted the delights of nature's scenery with greater relish. The beauty without me gave me the utmost pleasure in spite of the working from within. The Causeway itself, as an object, is insignificant, but the precipices on both sides, crystallized and shooting into pinnacles, so as to give the appearance of lofty cathedrals at some places, are truly imposing. Went to bed for two or three hours till we entered the Foyle, where we got into smooth water, and had a most delightful sail of perhaps about twenty miles to Londonderry. The small party-coloured ridges of diverse crop and cultivation announced that extreme subdivision of occupancy in the land which is so baneful to Ireland. The approach

to the town is very interesting, and the town itself, one of great historical note, placed on a rising ground, and with a lofty cathedral spire, has quite the air of a most respectable provincial metropolis.

"We were received by Mr. Hay. He took us first to the cathedral renewed, but inferior to the average of English cathedrals. Had it not been so dark (now after six) we would have gone to the top of the spire for a prospect. Instead of this, we went completely round the wall, which is quite entire, and the top of which forms a spacious walk all round the city, which is very genteel and handsome. We left about eight o'clock for Newtown-Limavady, thirteen Irish or seventeen English miles off.

"*Thursday*, 20*th*.—Started at six, but we had a specimen of Irish punctuality in not getting off till an hour after the stipulated time, or half-past seven. I may here mention a specimen of Irish furniture, in that to make the bedroom look a little more respectable, the fragments of a chair were put together into the inviting semblance of a whole one, on which I tried to sit, but came speedily to the ground, with the expense of a pretty severe ruffling on the skin of my left arm, which had to be a little bandaged. A various road to Coleraine, which we reached after ten. We had here a specimen of Irish tackling, in that the carriage gave way at the turn of a street, and swung on a broken stay to within a few inches of the ground. We came out, and walked on to the inn kept by Miss Henry. She soon learned that it was I, and showed uncommon kindness. We breakfasted there, and went off about twelve. Miss Henry packed our carriage, which was a chaise, with provisions, for which she took nothing. She is literary, well-disposed, and had read my works. We were now forced to tear ourselves away from all her attentions, and spent the most interesting day I ever recollect. I perfectly rioted upon the scenery. There had been books sent to me from Belfast and Londonderry, which furnished all the requisite information. I there met with the name of Mr. Traill as a residenter at this place, and it reminded me of a kind invitation I had received from him to be his guest when visiting the Giant's Causeway. It was too late to think of this now, and I sent him an apologetical letter upon the subject. The objects of this day's excursion were most singularly beautiful and interesting, as Craig-a-Haller, a precipice faced with regular columns; Dunluce Castle, built on a projecting rock, underneath which

there was a cave open at both ends, which we entered from the land side till we got to the margin of the sea; Port Coon Cave is a most magnificent marine cave, which we contrived to enter by a side aperture, and placing ourselves at the inner extremity, looked to the waves as they rolled in succession from its mouth, towards and nearly to the place on which we were standing. We were followed by a troop of Irishmen with specimens and curiosities which they obtruded upon us. Mr. Paul kept them at bay, and became a favourite among them. They were incessant in their offers of services, and we got quit of them at last by parting a few shillings among them. One of them fired a pistol in foresaid cave, which made a noble echo. We then passed through a succession of very marvellous scenes, as the Giant's Causeway, which exceeded all my previous conceptions of it, not however as a picturesque object, but as a work of apparent art and arrangement by the hand of nature, and with nature's rudest materials. Besides the main causeway, there are smaller ones, and other regular depositions of rock, giving rise to the appellations of the Honey-comb, the Giant's Loom, the Organ, &c. &c. I was far more in ecstasy than about Stonehenge, for additionally to the crystalline exhibitions, there was in the precipices to the east of the Causeway the finest marine or rock scenery that I ever witnessed. We climbed up these with great boldness, for our admiration of the spectacle had displaced fear in a great measure. We went along the brow of the precipitous range, which with its recesses and promontories, formed the most interesting walk of three miles or so I ever traversed. There is one point in particular—Plaiskine, the view from which I place before all others that I ever witnessed in the course of my existence. The face of the precipice exhibits vast ranges of basalt in stately columns, which have all the regularity of masonry. I at this period dropped a book, and did not miss it till about a mile onwards. Two little Irish boys ran in quest of it, and brought it to me in triumph, for which service they of course got their reward. We had two guides: one would have sufficed, but we had spoken by mistake to two, and each insisting on his right, we could adjust it in no other way than by taking both. The service of our important followers cost us altogether about twenty shillings. At the end of our walk we recovered our carriage about seven at night; it came forward to meet us. We got on to Ballycastle, eight Irish miles further, after a very tedious drive.

"*Friday.*—Started at five: made an excursion in a chaise to Fair-Head, about four miles off. Got three boys as guides to take us to the tremendous crags of this famous north-east promontory of Ireland. Walked along the brink of the awful extended precipice, about 450 feet above the level of the sea, which rolled beneath. Looked fearfully over at different places on the beach below. Most magnificent columns, of a ruder basalt, however, than at the Giant's Causeway, the scenery of which, though not so majestic as that at Fair-Head, is infinitely more various, and picturesque, and beautiful. At one part of Fair-Head there is the 'Grey Mare's Path,' which we descended about half-way; but the wetness of the morning and the slipperiness of the path, together with the want of time, prevented us from going to the bottom, where we might have had a full view of the vast precipice impending over us. However, as it was, we saw enough to fill and solemnize us. Our three guides were Catholics, and we entered upon a religious conversation with them, of which I have taken down some notes of the things that interested me. Instead of pursuing our route by the coast, I wished to see Gracehill. We first stopped at a small place called Cloughmills, where the horses were fed; we ourselves went into the house occupied by a peasant farmer, whose family were Catholics. We ate of their potatoes, and had a good deal of conversation and insight at this place. Resumed our drive to Ballymena, at which place we arrived between five and six.

"*Saturday.*—Dr. Patrick went before us to announce to the good people of Gracehill our immediate purpose to visit them, though but for a few minutes. How interesting, my dear G., to think that he is the identical physician who attended your mother in her dying moments. We followed him in a chaise from Ballymena, and reached Gracehill about six. I don't know if you recollect the beauty of the town of Ballymena, and the surpassing beauty of Gracehill itself. We stopped for a moment at the inn, but drove on to the Brethren's house, where we were received by Mr. Essex, the governor of the Institution. The light was decaying, and my first inquiry was after your mother's tomb. It is placed near the middle of the churchyard, and I would say almost at the summit of it; the churchyard slopes a little on all sides from the centre. The inscription is quite entire, and I have copied it for you. I write it down here in the order of the lines:—

UNDERNEATH
REST THE REMAINS
OF
MRS. ANNE PRATT,
WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE
JULY 20TH, 1800,
AGED 42 YEARS.

"BLESSED ARE THE DEAD
WHO DIE IN THE LORD."

You may guess my feelings, and the very powerful interest which an association like this gives with me to the whole establishment. The whole scene is in character, and though seen only through the dimness of twilight, I could perceive it to be greatly more beautiful than Fulneck, with its rows of plantation, and fields of tasteful cultivation, and houses of far greater modesty and neatness than in the more showy establishment of Yorkshire. Mr. Essex then took me to the Brethren's house, first to his own apartment, and secondly to that of the Bishop—he is a little, oldish man, but with much of the cheerfulness and withal simplicity of his sect. He received me most kindly, and we were soon joined by the other ecclesiastics of the place, to the number of five or six. One of them told me that he had written to St. Andrews a letter, which of course I did not receive, and which you must have seen some time ago. I was much pleased with the respectable and even elegant sufficiency apparent in the rooms and dress of these clergymen. They were on the eve of commencing their chapel service, and they requested me to give an exhortation, which I felt myself, from extreme fatigue, compelled to decline. This disappointed, I afterwards learned from them, my two companions, Dr. Young and Mr. Paul; and indeed, as it turned out, I was greatly disappointed myself. I would have been soon enough at Belfast though I had stayed all night at Graechill; and I do excessively regret that I did not send back our chaise to Ballymena, and spend the evening among the prayers and conversations of these excellent men. It is the only blunder which I have committed in Ireland. An hour in the gloaming was certainly not enough for acquitting myself of all I felt and wished in reference to Graechill; however, what with fatigue, and what with an imagined necessity to be at Belfast before breakfast, we did hurry

ourselves away. I took leave of the Bishop; then went to the Lady who sells articles of dress. Mr. Paul and I bought watch-papers, and not only so, but I purchased collars for you and Anne, and he purchased one for Mrs. Paul. We were then conducted to your school and boarding-house; were taken through some of the apartments, and on going forth from this house met the young ladies on their way from the chapel. It was now about dark, so that I could not distinguish faces; I was introduced, however, in spite of this, to Miss Brownlee, one of the teachers. I had previously inquired whether there were any that had been long enough employed at Gracehill to recollect you, and Miss Brownlee said that she remembered the two Miss Pratts perfectly, and that she also knew your mother and Mrs. General Leslie. It seems your mother died at Ballymena, but that, from her love to the place and people of Gracehill, she expressed a wish to be buried there. I turned myself away from these bowers of sacredness, and we got into our carriage for Antrim. Met with the most provoking stops and hindrances on the road; a sullen driver, and, as he pretended, overdone horses. We had to take them out at a place, and to pull the chaise up the hill with our own hands. Could get no further than Randalstown.

"*Saturday.*—Started about five. On our road to Antrim drove through the pleasure-grounds of Shanes Castle, belonging to Lord O'Neill. It was burnt some years ago. Its remains have a picturesque appearance on the banks of the great Lough Neagh, whose mighty expanse of waters I surveyed with great interest. I left the carriage and went round the ruins, then down to the margin of the Lough, and there lapped the waters of this great inland sea, on which fishing-boats were sailing, and where the waves were breaking on the shore, as if it had been the brink of an ocean. We thence drove to Antrim, where, after all, we breakfasted, which we might easily have done though we had come from Gracehill; but let me dismiss all my reflections upon this subject. We breakfasted with Mr. Macgill, a Presbyterian clergyman, quite a rattle, and the most characteristic Irishman I have yet met with. We got away from him about ten, in our chaise for Belfast, which we reached between twelve and one. A fine country between the two places, and I was much pleased with the view both of Carrickfergus Bay, and the Cave Hill to the north of Belfast, with fine projecting crags. Landed at Mr. Thomson's, whose wife is the cousin of the

Grahams and Patisons of Glasgow, and really a very domestic and kindly person. The house was quite thronged with callers. Dined at Professor Thomson's after having reposed and written at some length in the easy and comfortable bedroom which has been assigned to me. Several at dinner, among others Professor Cairns of the Logic, whom I think a very interesting person. His Mrs. Cairns is Scotch, and also very pleasant; and, on the whole, I spent one of the most agreeable days I have had since leaving home.

"*Sunday.*—A vast number of the ministers and preachers of the Synod of Ulster have been introduced to me. Dr. Cooke I think the most impressive of them all. About twelve the sitters began to assemble—they were admitted by three-shilling tickets. The house was full, and a great crowd was at the door. They could not get admittance, so that, though some sat in the passages, they were not crowded.

"*Monday.*—Rose at half-past six. Mr. Craig of Dromara, the minister who came over to Glasgow to solicit a sermon from me, joined us at eight, when we breakfasted. He drove me to his place in a gig, fourteen Irish miles from Belfast. After him came out Mr. Paul and Mr. Thomson, in a car also belonging to Mr. Craig. Passed Lisburn, where Archdeacon Trail lives, and Hillsborough, the seat of the Marquis of Downshire. A pour of rain nearly all the way, in spite of which many ministers came from Belfast and elsewhere to hear me, and we had a full congregation. The Marquis of Downshire and Mr. Paul were joint collectors after service; he had previously invited him and me to dine with him to-day, but as he did not dine till seven, this allowed us to take a previous dinner with Mr. Craig, who had asked about twenty people to meet us with him. The parish rector had also invited me by letter to dine with him, but this I was obliged to decline; I however saw him at the chapel, as well as his father, the translator of Dante, and some ladies, the friends of Lord Roden; he is absent from the country just now, or I should in all probability have seen him. I had an immense number of introductions at this place, and have had a prodigious quantity of letters to write declining invitations, more especially from Dublin; one of my correspondents there alleged promises, and another an engagement, both of which I protested against in my replies. We left Mr. Craig's crowded dining-room in a car furnished by him for Hillsborough, which brought us six miles nearer to Belfast. We arrived at the Marquis's gate about seven,

and had a small quiet company, where I enjoyed real repose, in that freedom from urgency, and that stillness of conversation and manner which are often illustrative of high life.

"*Tuesday.*—Went to Belfast by a different road from that of yesterday, which led us through a beautiful country in high cultivation, and abounding in sweet and interesting scenes; got to Belfast before ten. Preached at half-past one in the new chapel;* got the Moderator of the Synod to do all the rest of the service. A very wet day, yet an overflowing church, and a collection of fifty guineas. Altogether I have made for them £441.

"*Wednesday.*—Started at eight. Breakfasted in Dr. Hanna's with at least twenty people. A very magnificent *déjeuner*, with flowers in the centre. All were exceedingly kind to me, and at Mr. Thomson's† I have had deputations innumerable—nothing, in fact, can be more cordial and flattering than the attentions of all classes here. I had invitations innumerable both from Belfast and its neighbourhood for this day, but I resolved to accept of the one that would be least fatiguing, which was to Mr. Reid,‡ Presbyterian minister of Carrickfergus, eight Irish miles off. He, his father-in-law, Mr. Arrot, surgeon of this place, Dr. Young, Mr. Paul, and myself, got into an Irish car about twelve. Got on to Carrickfergus by about two. The tackling gave way in two or three instances. This is a famous historical place, and at the harbour we stood on the identical spot where King William first put his foot on Irish ground. It had been raining for about an hour, so we returned to Mr. Reid's house, where we got an easy, merry, kind-hearted reception, and stayed all night. I was somewhat *douff*, but brightened up after supper; had singing and laughing in abundance. Dr. Young a very pleasant fellow, with great powers of entertainment.

"*Thursday.*—Started at six. Meant to have gone off at seven, but found the kind people in the parlour with a breakfast ready for us. Reid himself a clever superior man. The ladies evinced much feeling on our departure, and altogether it formed a very interesting visit. At Belfast I took leave of the excellent family; Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, however, came down in the car with us: they have treated me with the utmost affection, and I love both them and their children."

On his return to St. Andrews Dr. Chalmers resumed his work

* Fisherwicke Place Church.
† Afterwards Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow.
‡ Now Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow

on Endowments, and completed it with the close of the year. As might have been anticipated, from the circumstances under which it was drawn up, a large portion of this volume was occupied with the existing condition of the Scottish Universities. A century had wrought great changes in the state of general society in Scotland, and had prepared the way, as Dr. Chalmers thought, for some corresponding changes in the methods of University education. The chief use of the Universities had been to serve as nurseries for the Church. From the smallness of the livings in the Scottish Establishment it was difficult at first to induce a sufficient number of properly qualified persons to enter the Church—the demand was greater than the supply. To ensure as many candidates as possible for the sacred office, the university curriculum was adapted to those whose pecuniary resources were limited, the under-graduate course being spread over four years, and the Theological over an equal number, while the whole period of annual collegiate attendance was confined to one continuous session of six months' duration. On entering college the student was subjected to no preliminary examination. It was required that he should be acquainted with the rudiments of the Latin, but he might be, and he generally was, altogether ignorant of the Greek language. The junior Latin class in a Scottish university scarcely ranked higher in its exercises than the head form in any of the best English schools, while the Professor of Greek had to begin his pupils with the alphabet of that tongue. But the circumstances of the country had now altered. Outside the universities higher schools were rising up where a more advanced preparatory education could be attained. The need of adapting the Universities to the necessities of the Church existed no longer, there being now four or five times a greater number of candidates for churches than there were churches open for their admission. Without any danger of unduly lessening the supply, the standard of initiatory qualification might be greatly elevated. And it was here that Dr. Chalmers urged a reformation. The great and radical defect of the existing collegiate system of Scotland he conceived to lie in this, that youths were taken too soon from school and sent too early to college, and that the college suffered thus by being turned into a school. He proposed, therefore, that a gymnasium, or school of the highest grade, in which mathematics and the classics should be taught by one or more tutors, with salaries higher than those of the ordinary schoolmaster, and lower than

those of the professor, should be attached to each of the universities; that by these tutors all such instructions should be supplied as had been hitherto communicated in the earlier Latin, Greek, and mathematical classes of the university; that in order to test that capability of translating the simpler Latin and Greek authors, and that acquaintance with the elements of geometry, which should be required of every student before admission to the university, an entrance-examination should be instituted. He did not propose that attendance upon the gymnasia connected with the colleges should be made imperative. It would be sufficient if the candidate for entrance proved himself to be possessed of the necessary qualifications, whether these had been attained under the training of the college tutors or under any ordinary schoolmaster. The effect of such an arrangement would be not only to raise to a higher level the course of university education, but to give a stimulus to the whole scholastic system of the country, the grammar-schools of our larger towns striving to rival the gymnasia, and many of the provincial teachers fired with the honourable ambition of sending forth pupils prepared to pass the entrance-examination without any other education than the school of their native place had furnished. Whatever may now be thought of the particular method thus suggested by Dr. Chalmers, it can scarcely be doubted that in exposing the low standard of the preparatory scholarship he laid his hand upon the most conspicuous defect of the Scottish collegiate system, and whether his remedy for the evil be the best or not, it is matter of surprise that twenty years and more have been suffered to elapse since it was proposed, without a remedy of any kind being adopted. During this period great advances have been made in the higher schools of the country, but within the walls of the universities no alteration as to the junior classes has been attempted.

In comparing the English and Scottish Universities, Dr. Chalmers readily admits that there had been too much of mere lecturing and too little of effective teaching in the latter; but while conceding to the former a great superiority in the arts and methods by which pupils were trained to distinguished scholarship, in one or two separate departments, he claims for the universities of his native land the credit and the honour of embracing a larger and more varied compass of instruction, and of having diffused a taste for literature and science more generally throughout the country. Regarded as mere organs of communi-

cating what was already known, the Scotch colleges could not compete with the English in the two branches of classics and pure science, and yet they had made more direct and more important contributions to the general literature of their country. "The truth is," says Dr. Chalmers, "that greatly more than half the distinguished authorship of our land is professorial; and, till the present generation, we scarcely remember, with the exception of Hume in philosophy, and Thomson in poetry, any of our eminent writers who did not achieve, or at least germinate, all their greatest works while labouring in their vocation of public instructors in one or other of our universities. Nay, generally speaking, these publications were the actual product of their labour in the capacity of teachers, and passed into authorship through the medium of their respective chairs. Whatever charges may have been preferred against the methods of university education in Scotland, it is at least fortunate for the literary character of our nation, that the professors have not felt, in conducting the business of their appointments, as if they were dealing altogether with boys. To this we owe the manly and original and independent treatment which so many of them have bestowed on their appropriate sciences, and by which they have been enabled to superadd one service to another. They have not only taught philosophy; they have also both rectified its doctrines, and added their own views and discoveries to the mass of pre-existent learning. They, in fact, have been the chief agents in enlarging our country's science; and it is mainly, though not exclusively, to them that Scotland is indebted for her eminence and high estimation in the republic of letters."

The position and influence attributed here to the universities was due in no inconsiderable degree to the circumstance that the endowment of the professor was superior to that of the clergyman, and that, while under an opposite relation of the two, the line of preferment in England was from the University to the Church; in Scotland the line of preferment was from the Church to the University. Instead of the larger body prematurely stripping the smaller of its best men, and withdrawing their services into other channels, the smaller body had the whole range of the larger one before it, and could lay its hand upon and appropriate the ablest of its members. Notwithstanding the relative disadvantage to which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been thus exposed—a disadvantage which Dr. Chalmers would have removed, not by making the Church

endowments less, but by making the collegiate ones greater—their absolute superiority to all the other scholastic institutions of the empire was too conspicuous, and the services they had rendered to the cause both of literature and religion too important, not to draw from him the following eloquent tribute of acknowledgment:—

"We cannot conclude this passing notice of the Universities of England, without the mention of how much they are ennobled by those great master-spirits, those men of might and of high achievement—the Newtons, and the Miltons, and the Drydens, and the Barrows, and the Addisons, and the Butlers, and the Clarkes, and the Stillingfleets, and the Ushers, and the Foxes, and the Pitts, and the Johnsons, who, within their Attic retreats, received that first awakening which afterwards expanded into the aspirations and the triumphs of loftiest genius. This is the true heraldry of colleges. Their family honour is built on the prowess of sons, not on the greatness of ancestors; and we will venture to say, that there are no seminaries in Europe on which there sits a greater weight of accumulated glory than that which has been reflected both on Oxford and Cambridge, by that long and bright train of descendants who have sprung from them. It is impossible to make even the bare perusal of their names without the feeling, that there has been summoned before the eye of the mind the panorama of all that has upheld the lustre, whether of England's philosophy or of England's patriotism, for centuries together. We have often thought what a meagre and stinted literature we should have had without them, and what, but for the two universities, would have been the present state of science or theology in England. These rich seminaries have been the direct and the powerful organs for the elaboration of both; and both would rapidly decline, as if languishing under the want of their needful aliment, were the endowments of colleges swept away. It were a truly Gothic spoliation; and the rule of that political economy which could seize upon their revenues would be, in effect, as hostile to the cause of sound and elevated learning in Britain, as would be the rule of that popular violence which could make havoc of their architecture, and savagely exult over the ruin of their libraries and halls."

As a plea not simply for the continuance, but for the enlargement of all the existing school and college and church endowments, the treatise from which this passage has been extracted has been pronounced to be "one of the most vigorous and

eloquent defences of such endowments that ever proceeded from the press—a treatise which would alone have been sufficient to immortalize its author." * Yet, even when entering with all his characteristic ardour upon the defence of these establishments, literary and ecclesiastical, to the support and extension of which so many of his after years were consecrated, Dr. Chalmers made clear and open proclamation of the evils to which a misdirection or mal-administration of the patronage connected with them might conduct.

"Certain it is, that by a corrupt and careless exercise of patronage, much has been done to call forth, if not to justify, even the warmest invectives that have been uttered upon this subject. When one thinks of the high and the holy ends to which an established priesthood might be made subservient, it is quite grievous to observe the sordid politics which have to do with so many of our ecclesiastical nominations. Endowments cease to be respectable when, in the hands of a calculating statesman, they degenerate into the instruments by which he prosecutes his game of ambition; or, when employed as the bribes of political subserviency, they expose either our church or our universities to be trodden under foot by the unseemly inroads of mere office-mongers. It is thus that a land may at length be provoked to eject from its borders the establishment either of an indolent or immoral clergy, wherewith it is burdened, and to look, without regret, on the spoliation or the decay of revenue in colleges. It is truly not to be wondered at, if the poverty neither of lazy priests, nor of lazy and luxurious professors, should meet with sympathy from the public. The same generous triumph that was felt on the destruction of the old monasteries, still continues to be felt on the destruction of every old and useless framework; so that, when either a church becomes secularized—or universities, instead of being the living fountain-heads, become the dormitories of literature, they will, sooner or later, be swept off from the country by the verdict of popular condemnation."

* Quarterly Review, vol. xliv. p. 527.

CHAPTER XI.

CHRISTIAN LABOURS IN ST. ANDREWS—THE SABBATH-SCHOOL—STUDENTS' SABBATH EVENING CLASS—THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF ST. ANDREWS—STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THE STUDENTS—THE RISING AMONG THEM OF THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT—ITS FRUITS.

Unsatisfied with the simple discharge of the duties of the class-room, Dr. Chalmers's attention was early directed to the religious condition of the general community in the midst of which his lot had now been cast. The population of St. Andrews, though limited, was large enough for the labours of many Christian philanthropists. Wtthout an agency fitted, even on the smallest scale, to carry out any general operations over the town or in any of its parishes, what was Dr. Chalmers to do? He might have propounded his peculiar views to one or other of the clergymen of the city, or failing to obtain their aid he might have sought out such elements of piety and zeal as existed in the different Christian congregations, and by meetings and addresses organized them for public action. Instead of this he began his Christian labours in the most quiet and the least obtrusive way. True to his own principles, so soon as the fatigues of his first session were over, he marked out for himself a district of the town adjacent to his place of residence; he visited its families, and invited the children to attend a class in his own house on the Sabbath evenings. No public announcement was made, no general invitation was issued, and the district appropriated being small, the attendance on this class at first was limited. Yet for that little group, composed of the poorest children he could gather round him, Dr. Chalmers prepared as carefully as for his class in the University—some stray leaves still existing on which the questions for the evening are carefully written out. As the existence of such a class became better known the applications for admission increased; and one or two of the parents having obtained access as auditors, others followed till the room was crowded. It was not, however, until his third session that this class became burdensome from its numbers, by

which time new and more important claims upon his Sabbath evenings had arisen. "On being sent to college," says Dr. Samuel Miller, "in 1823, my father commended me to Dr. Chalmers's spiritual care. As that, however, was the year of Dr. Chalmers's inauguration into the St. Andrews chair, and his hands were full, no particular method was adopted by him for discharging a trust which he readily undertook. Next session, however, it was suggested to him that he might act somewhat of a father's part to the sons of some of his old friends by taking us into his house on the Sabbath evenings, and giving us that religious instruction to which we had been accustomed at home. He at once consented to this; and during that winter five of us met regularly in his house on Sabbath evenings, when he instructed us and dealt with our souls as if we had been his own children. He gave us books for Sabbath reading, and examined us as to their contents, at the same time taking his own 'Scripture References' as a kind of doctrinal text-book for his expositions and examinations. By another year this little meeting was noised abroad, and, at the earnest solicitation of their parents, other students were admitted to the privilege of attending it, till the little company was increased to about a dozen. It was his very earnest desire not to have a larger number. He used again and again to tell us so, alleging as the reason, that he wished to look on us and deal with us as in a *family* character. And so he did in the way of parental counsel and prayer, joined with the approved old fashion of familiar catechising. By next year, however, applications for admission to this students' class became so numerous and pressing, that, after resisting for a while, he at last gave way, and this third session of the class saw his large dining-room completely crammed with students of all sorts and sizes. His mode of conducting the meeting now necessarily changed. His instructions became a kind of prelection to silent auditors on the leading topics of Christian doctrine and personal religion—very simple and conversational they were, but all the more valuable on that account. It is now about a quarter of a century since, and not a few of that roomful have entered the eternal world. I believe that among these he now recognises the fruit of his labours. Others still remain; and I have good reason for being confident that on many hearts impressions were made by the hallowed exercises of those 'Horæ Biblicæ Sabbaticæ' that have yielded, and will yield, fruit unto God. We all feel that we learned more of really Christian ethics

at these meetings than by all his class-room lectures on moral philosophy." *

These meetings obliged Dr. Chalmers to commit the teaching of his Sabbath-school to one or other of the students. In the session 1825-26 he selected for this office one who had pre-eminently distinguished himself as a scholar, but who was no less pre-eminent for the attractive graces of a deep and genuine piety—for his friends and for the Church cut off too early. "It was in the second session of my acquaintance with him," says Dr. Chalmers, "that I devolved upon him the care of a Sabbath-school which I had formed. In the conduct of this little seminary he displayed a tact and talent which were quite admirable, and I felt myself far outrun by him in the power of kind and impressive communication, and in that faculty by which he commanded the interest of pupils and could gain at all times the entire sympathy of their understandings. . . . Had I needed aught to reconcile me to the transition which I have made from the state of a pastor to that of a professor, it would just be the successive presentation, year after year, of such students as John Urquhart; nor in giving up the direct work of a Christian minister can I regret the station into which Providence has translated me, one of the fountain-heads of the Christian ministry in our land." The student of whom Dr. Chalmers spoke with that excess of admiring approval, so characteristic of his favourable judgment, was indeed highly honoured. "Dr. Chalmers," he writes, "has been more than kind to me this year; indeed, I feel almost oppressed by his attention. As my school is held in his house, I generally sup with him on Sunday evening, when I enjoy much more of his conversation than at set parties, as he and Mrs. Chalmers are then generally alone. I was very much gratified by a walk I had with Dr. Chalmers, to visit the parents of the children who attend his school. The people in some of the houses seemed to recognise him familiarly, so that he is probably often engaged in the same labours of love. He thinks such exercises as visiting the poor and the sick the best introduction to ministerial labour. 'This,' he said, as we were going along, 'is what I call preaching the gospel to every creature; that cannot be done by setting yourself up in a pulpit, as a centre of attraction, but by going forth and making aggressive movements upon the community, and by preaching from house to house.'" †

* Letter from Rev. S. Miller, D.D., Glasgow. † "Memoirs of John Urquhart," ii. 40.

In speaking here of the Sabbath-school as *his*, Mr. Urquhart speaks of it as one out of a number which had already risen up around it, and now thickly studded the city; for the inviting example, the counsel and encouragement of Dr. Chalmers, had induced a number of the students of the university to engage in similar labours. Nor was the friendly aid of Dr. Chalmers the only encouragement which was held out to them as they proceeded to divide the town into districts, to visit all the families, and to establish flourishing schools in almost every necessitous quarter. To every measure instituted at St. Andrews which held out the slightest promise of conferring religious benefit upon the most neglected portion of the community, to all schools and churches for the poor, Principal Haldane has uniformly given not only the general sanction of his patronage, but most effective personal aid; and this, along with others of his colleagues, he afforded to the numerous Sabbath-schools which now sprang up. Dr. Chalmers did not put himself at the head of the movement. He was most anxious that the young men should labour under the parish ministers, and it was under them that these schools were established. "It was interesting to see the Principal of a college, and the Professor of Oriental Languages, stumbling up a dark close on a Sabbath evening, to countenance young students with their new Sabbath classes." * Their common engagement in these evening schools led the students to hold Sabbath-morning meetings for prayer and counsel —meetings at which the hallowed fire which glowed in every breast grew warmer at the touch of a congenial flame. Nor was this all. The visitation of their districts for the purpose of bringing out the young to school had revealed a great and unexpected amount of religious indifference and neglect among the adult population, a discovery which, when made by ardent youths panting to do good, was not long of being followed up by active efforts to relieve the destitution. The zeal, indeed, which embarked in these efforts did not confine itself to St. Andrews, but flowed out upon adjoining districts. "There is a new system," says Mr. Urquhart, "of religious instruction which has been attempted in St. Andrews this last session, and which I think is a most efficient system for evangelizing large towns. The plan is very simple. We first inquired after some persons residing in different quarters of the town who were religiously disposed. We called on these, and requested the favour of a room in their

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Dr. Lorimer of Glasgow.

house for a few of the neighbours to assemble in for religious purposes. We expected a little group of eight or ten persons to assemble, but were astonished to find the attendance increase in some of the stations to fifty or sixty. Many of these *never went to church*. We generally read and explained a passage of Scripture, and read some extracts from such books as we thought were most striking and useful. You understand we never called it *preaching;* and accordingly Dr. Haldane gave his consent that the young men in the Established Church should engage in the work. Churchmen and Dissenters all went hand in hand, and we forgot that there was any distinction: and this must be the case more universally ere the cause of our great Redeemer go triumphantly forward. I do think this a most plausible method for getting at that class of the community who do not attend the public services of the gospel. I may mention that we have a Mr. H. here, a Baptist minister from London, of whom, perhaps, you may have heard. He has come to attend Dr. Chalmers, and has been very useful here. He and my friend Mr. A. have established several preaching stations in the country round where the people seem eager to hear the gospel." *

Soon after he came to St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers was invited to become President of a Missionary Society, composed of Christians of different denominations. He would not accept this office till it had been offered to and declined by others whose official position entitled them to that mark of respect. But having at last accepted it, what might have been a mere post of honour he turned into one of active labour and most extensive usefulness. His busy life at Glasgow had to some extent withdrawn his attention from the details of missionary labour. He had more leisure now to make himself acquainted with them, and as he acted as chairman of the monthly meetings held for the communication of missionary intelligence, he took the whole duty of that communication into his own hands. His mode of procedure was quite original. The different Missionary Societies were introduced to the notice of his auditors by sketches of their leading peculiarities and characteristics. The extracts read from the Reports were interspersed with illustrative observations of his own, and the reading of them was accompanied or followed up

* "Memoirs of John Urquhart," vol. ii. pp. 121, 122.—The persons alluded to here by Mr. Urquhart were the Rev. Mr. Hoby and Mr. John Adam, whose age and Christian experience, and greater freedom from ecclesiastical restraint, afforded them peculiar advantages in this walk of usefulness. For some interesting notices of their labours, see "Memoir of John Adam, late Missionary at Calcutta. 8vo. London, 1833."

by addresses, in which, while all the ordinary motives and encouragements to missionary efforts were enforced, the whole sphere of missionary operation was regarded as one wide field of observation, from the philosophic survey of which there were gathered many an illustration of the peculiar doctrines and many a confirmation of the evidences of the Christian faith. As a specimen of the manner in which these meetings were conducted, let us present our readers with the preliminary notice given of the Church of England Missionary Society.

"The first peculiarity to be observed of this Missionary Society is, that one and all of its agents must be of the Episcopal persuasion, and that they employ none to preach the gospel, even in heathen countries, but those who have received what, according to the principles of their own Church, is held to be a valid and regular ordination. We have heard the Society reproached with bigotry because of this spirit of exclusiveness. We do not sympathize with the jealousy which even the best ministers of our sister Establishment have of those who are without their pale, but we confess that, on various accounts, we feel ourselves completely reconciled to the way in which they have so completely separated themselves in the present instance from all other denominations of Christians. They, in the first place, secure a much larger support from a class who probably might not have felt inclined to contribute of their means to any other missionary society, the most wealthy and influential class, perhaps, of the British population, the members and zealous partisans of the Church of England, who have come forth largely and liberally in behalf of this particular institution, so that their annual income very nearly reaches £40,000. They, in the second place, by having so wholly a distinct agency at home will the more readily be led to chalk out for themselves a distinct walk of missionary exertion abroad; and I do prefer a number of independent societies, each selecting its own territory of that immense field which affords room and occupation for the utmost efforts of all the societies that have yet been instituted, and many more besides. I say, I prefer, and think it a more efficient instrumentality for the propagation of the Gospel than were the whole of missionary exertion to be placed under the superintendence of one immense and unwieldy association. In the third place, I think that this separation of themselves from all other societies has led to another advantage. It has furnished us with an additional style and character of missionary enterprise, and I do like

to see all the possible varieties of method that can be adopted for the carrying forward of this vast scheme. I like to see the experiments multiplied and diversified in every conceivable way. And, accordingly, the Church Missionary Society have furnished us with a very pleasing and instructive variety. They have directed their attention more to the sending ont of catechisers and readers, and to the founding of schools for the education of children, and to the settlement of literary correspondents in various stations abroad, whose business it is to furnish all the possible information which they can collect in their respective territories; and, lastly, to the making out of alphabets and written languages for those barbarous nations who never have been so gifted before, and in these languages to furnish the natives with school-books and Bibles, and the whole apparatus of that scholarship which is brought to bear on the boyhood of our own land.

"I am not sure if, upon the whole, I do not like this Society better than any others which are now in operation, always excepting the Moravians. I say not this to disparage any one of them. But people will have tastes and preferences; and I must confess, that from the whole complexions of their proceedings, from the numbers of their Missionary Register to which I had access more than ten years ago, from that vein of devoted spirituality, and of admirable sense by which I think they stand characterized, I have always had a very strong partiality and admiration for this most respectable and respectably supported Society. The very best of English society patronize it; and among the payments which are made to them you will observe the names of the most noble and wealthy and lettered individuals in all England. But it is the beauty of Christianity that it rallies rich and poor around a cause which is felt to be alike dear to the common sympathies of both. And, accordingly, there is no society which has carried the penny-a-week system to a greater extent than the one which I am now introducing to your notice. Supported as they are by the countenance of the greatest in the land, they feel the importance of enlisting in their behalf the great body of the population; and if it be the glory of this institution that it can number among its directors the names of our most splendid nobility, the good men who stand associated with its interests rejoice in it, as an equal if not a surpassing glory, that they can number among its contributors thousands and thousands more among the poor of the people."

The monthly meetings of the Missionary Society had previously been but ill attended, but when the choicest extracts from the Reports of all the various Societies were culled by such a hand, and prepared and illustrated in such a way, the attraction grew—the attendance swelled—the room (the Masons' Lodge) was found to be too small, and an adjournment at last took place into the Town Hall. At these crowded assemblies, where many of the most influential townspeople attended, old prejudice was softened, and a new respect and attachment to evangelical Christianity in many cases created.* But it was in another region—it was within the halls of the University that Dr. Chalmers's advocacy of the great cause of Christian missions produced its most precious fruits. "I would at all times," says Dr. Duff, "desire to speak and write of students with becoming moderation and leniency; as there is often a rash, hasty, and heartless way of treating them and their conduct. They are often more the objects of pity than of severe reprobation. . . . Whether the students of St. Andrews were, in reality, worse than the students of other colleges, I have no means of ascertaining; but, somehow or other, they had obtained a worse name. This might arise from the circumstance, that—whereas in great towns, such as Edinburgh and Glasgow, students are lost amid the teeming crowd of population, and may be as wicked as they please in private, without being noticed or even known—in a small town like St. Andrews, everything down to the minutest and most private is sure to be detected and blazoned abroad. But be this as it may, historic truth requires it to be recorded, that, as a whole, the St. Andrews students were, previously to the advent of Dr. Chalmers, a singularly Godless, Christless class. At the United College there was only *one* who was re-

* "His connexion with the Missionary Society, and his well-known zeal in the cause of missions, brought Dr. Chalmers into frequent contact with the agents of these institutions. The deputations were always welcome to his house, and shared in his generous hospitality. He was much interested in the visit of the late Dr. Marshman from India, and entered heartily into the scheme of the Native Hindoo College, instituted by the Serampore brethren, anticipating the best results from the Christian education of the native youth. I remember also being present at a conversation which he held with the late Dr. Morrison of China, on the subject of the proper *agency* to be employed in the management of religious societies: Dr. Morrison maintaining that ministers should take an active part in conducting these institutions, while Dr. Chalmers held that the details should be intrusted chiefly to laymen, ministers confining themselves to the more spiritual duties of their office. I also recollect accompanying (on another occasion) the late amiable Dr. Yates of Calcutta, to breakfast with the Doctor, who maintained a very *friendly* debate with him on the subject of Church Establishments. Indeed, few strangers of eminence visited this quarter without calling on him; and he delighted to see persons of different religious persuasions at his table, allowing to each the free expression of his sentiments, but never suffering the conversation to degenerate into angry controversy."—MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Mr. Lothian, St. Andrews.

puted to be pious, and who dared to face the derision and the scorn of being so reputed. He was the butt and the joke of every one, under the familiar nickname of 'The Bishop.' Nor was St. Mary's or the Divinity College much better. Indeed, some of the divinity students were even more notorious for their impiety, immorality, and riotous revellings, than any in the Philosophy College.

"Such was the University of St. Andrews before the day of its 'merciful visitation' in November 1823!—such the region of sceptical darkness and error on which the light of a great luminary then broke in—such the mass of moral putrescence on which a portion of quickening salt then fell—such the realm of spiritual death which was then disturbed by the tread of a *living* man! The Lord was graciously pleased to remember St. Andrews for the Fathers' sake—for the sake of the noble army of Reformers, Martyrs, and Confessors, who there intrepidly witnessed for 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' or there heroically suffered unto death. And in the unexpected way, already detailed, He sent His chosen servant, Dr. Chalmers, to be the honoured instrument of a great revival which should redound to *His* own praise and glory. . . . During the session of 1823-24, shortly after Dr. Chalmers's arrival, and encouraged by his sympathies and countenance, a few of the divinity students formed themselves into an Association, with the intention of reviewing and supporting Missions, which held its meetings in a private room. The existence of such an Association led to the subject of Missions being frequently spoken of among other students, so that in various ways the minds of many were gradually prepared to give it a candid consideration.

"Early in the session of 1824-25 a few of us were assembled in the apartment of one of the saintliest of youths that ever trode the stage of time—the pious, the devoted, the heavenly minded Urquhart. Amongst other religious topics that of missions to the heathen furnished a theme for conversation. Then was the question started as to the possibility of forming a missionary society among the students of the Philosophy College. The exceeding desirableness of the object was admitted by all. By some, however, whose minds were still haunted by frightful visions of past apathy and scorn, such an attempt was regarded as chimerical. The students would only scoff at it, and the professors frown upon it. To others, who had more carefully noted the softening influences which had begun to operate, the

probability of success did not appear so preposterous or forlorn a hope. Many of the students, it was argued, would even be found favourable, and one at least of the professors, Dr. Chalmers, would be sure to smile upon it, and his single smile ought to be felt as more than a counterpoise to the frown of all the rest. At all events, it was worth while to make the effort. If it prospered, an incalculable good would be gained; if it failed, nothing would be lost. These counsels prevailed. Paper was instantly produced—the scheme of a society drafted, and the names of those present attached. In a few days fifty or sixty more signatures were obtained; an Association was publicly and formally constituted: a union was next effected between it and the small Association of divinity students which met in the preceding year; and thus originated the St. Andrews University Society, which ranked among its active friends and supporters more than one-third of all attending both the colleges.

"The object was not so much to aid directly the missionary cause by pecuniary contributions, though such an end was not to be neglected. The grand purpose was to awaken attention to the subject, to arouse apathy, to remove prejudices, to diffuse information, to awake and give a wholesome direction to the spirit of inquiry. By the steady pursuit of such a design it was believed that the cause of missions would ultimately gain a hundredfold more than by any immediate contribution. In order to promote it, it was resolved, *first*, to establish a library consisting of all kinds of missionary publications; and, *secondly*, to hold monthly meetings, after the model of Dr. Chalmers's, for the reading of recent intelligence, the delivery of addresses, and the reading of essays. While, therefore, small sums were annually voted out of the aggregate subscriptions to the leading missionary societies, a large proportion was systematically devoted to the replenishing of the library.

"At first some difficulty was experienced in obtaining a suitable place for the monthly meetings of the United Society. As it consisted entirely of students, application was very naturally made to the proper quarter for the use of one of the lecture rooms in the College. This application was politely though peremptorily negatived. By some of the professors it was understood that the object of the meeting was regarded as *thoroughly unacademical*, by others as too Puritanical and Methodistical, and by almost all as fitted to divert the minds of the young men from their appropriate studies; as if there ever was any real

risk of young men giving up too much of their time to objects and pursuits of a devotional and evangelical character! But be that as it may, opposition here had only the effect which it usually has when zeal and sincerity are embarked in a good cause. The earnest became yet more earnest, and lukewarmness itself in many instances was kindled into a flame. The Society must not give way to the active or passive resistance of mere authority; a place of meeting must be had. But where? The magnates of the university had emphatically signified their disapprobation. And so fearful were the townspeople of the displeasure of those on whose good-will they in so many ways depended, that for some time it seemed impossible to find a fitting place anywhere. At length the use of an exceedingly small and inconvenient private schoolroom was obtained.

"How remarkable the change in the following year or session of 1825-26! By that time Dr. Chalmers's series of prelections in the Town Hall had taken their full effect. He had now popularized the history and objects of missions—unfolded the high philosophy involved in them, and rendered that one of the most fashionable of themes which had been most nauseated before. By that time, too, his lectures had taken full effect on the students, and through them in mellowing the general tone of society. Then also had the United Society been in operation for a twelvemonth, and it was not found, in point of fact, that its members proved themselves to be idle dreamers or visionary fanatics, or careless and backward students. On the contrary, it was proved that its most zealous partisans were precisely those who bore the highest character for diligence, steadiness, and general good behaviour, and not only so, but were those who carried away the highest honours in every department of classic literature, science, philosophy, and theology. The session of 1825-26, therefore, dawned upon us with smiles instead of frowns. Some of the professors had become positively friendly, while the rest relinquished all actual opposition, or held their sentiments of repugnance in abeyance. To Dr. Nicoll, Principal of St. Salvator's College, reports and other missionary publications were sent for perusal. These were returned, with the frank and candid acknowledgment that they had given him 'information which was quite new to him,' accompanying, at the same time, his letter with a donation of a guinea to our funds, and the spontaneous promise of more afterwards. At the commencement of the previous session (1824-25) no room of any kind could be

had within the walls of either of the colleges; now Dr. Haldane, Principal of St. Mary's, voluntarily came forward, in the most cordial and generous manner, declaring that the Divinity Hall itself was freely at our service, or any other place which his influence could command. And it is but justice to the reverend Principal to say, that after that time he continued to take the liveliest interest in the subject of missions, and to encourage his students to do the same. . . .

"Altogether, what a change in the course of two or three years! Whatever may have been the *extent* of *inward* spiritual renovation, no one could question the extent of *outward* visible amelioration in the religious aspect of things. Religion, which had long settled down at zero, or many degrees below it, was sensibly raised in its temperature, and in some instances kindled into an inextinguishable flame. The long repose of stagnation and death, with its teeming brood of corruptions, was effectually disturbed; and out of the strife and conflict of hostile elements a new progeny, fraught with life and purity, began to emerge: and in the missionary libraries and assemblies, the prayer meetings, the Sabbath-schools and preaching stations in town and country, an extensive machinery was erected for the diffusion of life-giving influences all around. And all this suddenly springing into existence from the presence of one man! Those who could compare what St. Andrews was immediately before Dr. Chalmers's residence there, with what it was two or three years after his arrival, were constrained to feel that no language could more appropriately express *the greatness of the change* than that of the prophet Isaiah:—'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord and the excellency of our God.' *

"And perhaps the most noticeable peculiarity connected with the whole of this transformative process was the indirect rather than the direct mode in which the effectuating influence was exerted. It did not result so much from any direct and formal exhortation on the part of Dr. Chalmers as from the general awakening and suggestive power of his lectures, the naked force

* "Such a change I did not certainly expect to see in my day. On the whole, our College seems at present to present an aspect something similar to that of the University of Oxford in the days of Hervey and Wesley."—Memoirs of John Urquhart, vol. i. pp. 73, 74

of his own personal piety, and the spreading contagiousness of his own personal example. He carried about with him a better than talismanic virtue, by which all who came in contact with him were almost unconsciously influenced, moulded, and impelled to imitate. He did not formally assemble his students, and in so many set terms formally exhort them to constitute themselves into missionary societies, open Sabbath-schools, commence prayer-meetings, and such like. No: in the course of his lectures he communicated something of his own life and warmth, and expounded principles, of which objects like the preceding were some of the natural exponents and developments. He then faithfully exemplified the principles propounded in his own special actings and general conduct. He was known to be a man of prayer; he was acknowledged to be a man of active benevolence. He was observed to be going about from house to house, exhorting adults on the concerns of their salvation, and devoting his energies to the humble task of gathering around him a Sabbath-school. He was seen to be the sole reviver of an all but defunct missionary society. All these, and other suchlike traits of character and conduct, being carefully noted, how could they who intensely admired, revered, and loved the man, do less than endeavour, at however great a distance, to tread in his footsteps and *imitate so noble a pattern?*"*

Of the three hundred students who at St. Andrews passed through Dr. Chalmers's classes and came under his influence, there are now not a few filling posts of honour and usefulness in the Church at home. But the most extraordinary spiritual product of these five years was the number of those who out of that small band devoted themselves to missionary labour. In 1826, Dr. Chalmers was present when the Presbytery of St. Andrews ordained the Rev. Mr. Nesbit, one of his own students, to the missionary work at Bombay, where after the zealous and effective services of a quarter of a century, Mr. Nesbit labours with unabated zeal—worthy of double honour as the oldest Scottish missionary on the field of India. Before Dr. Chalmers left St. Andrews, Mr. John Adam, another of his students, had begun his brief missionary career by the banks of the Ganges. In 1829, Dr. Chalmers presided at the ordination by the Presbytery of Edinburgh of the Rev. Alexander Duff to be missionary of the Church of Scotland, and President of the Educational Institute at Calcutta; and the life and labours of this prince of

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Dr. Duff.

missionaries has proved how truly and how intensely he was impelled to "tread in the footsteps," and "to imitate the noble pattern" of his great teacher. The Rev. Mr. Mackay and the Rev. Mr. Ewart followed Dr. Duff; and had heaven not claimed its own so soon, John Urquhart would have been beside his fellow-students and fellow-missionaries in the East. More than one missionary for each college session—two out of every hundred students—what other University record can present a parallel! And if, among those destined to the Christian ministry in our land, as great a proportion were now and henceforth to consecrate themselves to foreign service, what a large and noble band of missionaries should be sent forth into the heathen world!

CHAPTER XII.

OFFER OF THE LIVING OF ST. CUTHBERTS—ELECTION TO THE PROFESSORSHIP OF DIVINITY AT EDINBURGH—VISITS TO THE RUINS OF ST. ANDREWS—CLOSE OF HIS LAST SESSION—SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN FAVOUR OF THE REPEAL OF THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS—MR. IRVING'S LECTURES ON PROPHECY—FALL OF THE GALLERY IN THE CHURCH AT KIRKCALDY—DEPARTURE FROM ST. ANDREWS.

On returning from Belfast to St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers found the following letter lying upon his table:—

"*Bowood, Sept.* 25, 1827.—Rev. Sir,—Desirous as I should be of consulting the wishes of the principal proprietors and other persons interested in the appointment to any particular ministry in Scotland, in the selection of the individual whom I might recommend for that purpose to His Majesty, there does not appear to me to exist that preponderance of opinion in favour of either of two very respectable gentlemen who have been recommended by heritors, elders, and others of the parish of St. Cuthberts, to justify me in presenting either of them for His Majesty's nomination.

"From the moment I apprehended that such might be the case, I determined to propose to you to accept that living, confident, from the eminent services you have already rendered to the Church of Scotland, and to the wants, both spiritual and temporal, of its inhabitants, that such a choice cannot fail to prove satisfactory both to the parish in which you are called to exercise this ministry, and to the public at large.—I have the honour to be, Reverend Sir, with sincere esteem and regard, your most obedient servant, Lansdowne."

The parish of St. Cuthberts, Edinburgh, had become vacant by the death of the venerable Sir Henry Moncreiff, who, after a ministry of upwards of half a century, was removed from the scene of his earthly labours. It was one of the most desirable livings in the Church of Scotland; and the flattering manner in which it was offered could not fail to have some influence with Dr. Chalmers. But his conviction of the superiority of a Pro-

fessorship in point of usefulness remained unshaken, and he respectfully declined the courteous offer. He had scarcely done so when another vacancy arose in Edinburgh. Declining health had for some years prevented the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, Professor of Divinity in the University, from discharging effectively the duties of that important chair, which he now resigned. On the 17th October, Dr. Chalmers made the following entry in his Journal :—"Heard to-day from Edinburgh of Dr. Ritchie's resignation. There are many who lay me out for his successor. I feel passive, and in a state of quiescence thereanent; and I pray for the guidance of Heaven both in regard to my studies and to my movements." Among the many friends in Edinburgh engaged in promoting Dr. Chalmers's election, there was no one more influentially energetic than the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson, as there was no one who felt more the importance of this appointment in its bearings upon the future condition of the Church of Scotland. In his anxiety Dr. Thomson was induced to make a request, to which, in a letter to his friend Mr. Robert Paul, Dr. Chalmers thus alluded :—

"*St. Andrews, Oct.* 23.—I yesterday got a letter from Dr. Thomson, and I am somewhat at a loss in what terms I should reply to it.

"He asks of me a thing which I dislike excessively—a declaration which he might show about, in order to put down a misreport that it seems is in circulation, of my being an enemy to Systematic Divinity. Now, it so happens that I look on the teaching of theology, and the not teaching it systematically, as a contradiction in terms; but I do recoil from the forthputting of any declaration on the subject, and more especially for such a use as the one he is proposing to put it to.

"You must perceive, that if they will not elect me on the ground of what they already know and judge respecting me—and they require tests and declarations in order to be satisfied—you must both perceive and feel that this is not the time for issuing them; and that rather than it should come to this, they ought to think no more of me.

"The communications I am now receiving from others upon the subject render it expedient that I should at least have one depositary in Edinburgh of what I think and feel about it. My conviction both of your regard for myself, and of your discretion in the management of affairs—and this conviction, heightened by all the feelings which you expressed, and which

I have no doubt prompted your last communication, strongly incline me to you as my confidential friend and adviser in this matter; and to you I have no objection to say, that though I never could bring myself to ask the now vacant Professorship in Edinburgh, yet, should it be offered, I do not see on what grounds, either of taste or of duty, I ought to refuse it.

"I am sensible that in my last letter to you there was a reserve which perhaps I have done wrong in overstepping in my present letter. My reason for suspecting so is, that I regard it as a far more satisfying indication of the will and mind of Providence, when by a series of events altogether uncontrolled by myself, a proposition of any sort comes to my door, than when I go forth gratuitously, and of my own accord, with any act of mine which mingles in the train of sequences, and at length modifies or decides the final result. It makes all the difference between an office being brought to me, and me going forth to an office. The one I feel as the product of a will and a wisdom superior to my own; the other as the product of desires and devisings on the part of one who is walking after the counsel of his own heart and in the sight of his own eyes. The difference in point of comfort is the greatest possible. It reconciled me to all the fatigues of Glasgow—it reconciles me to all the sufferings of St. Andrews—that I did not seek in either of these cases, but was sought after. I desire that it shall be so throughout the whole of my future history in the world, that whatever peculiar trials may await me in any place which I shall be called to occupy, I may have the consolation of thinking that they were not of my own bringing on—the appointment of Heaven, and not the fruits of my own waywardness. THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the day after that on which this letter was written, Dr. Chalmers replied thus to Dr. Thomson's proposal:—

"*St. Andrews, Oct.* 24, 1827.—MY DEAR SIR,—Your vacant Professorship of Divinity is truly a most important office, and the person appointed to fill it should feel it his solemn, his paramount obligation to acquit himself of all its duties in the way that may be most subservient to the great interests of truth and sacredness. But forgive me, my dear sir, if, with every sentiment of gratitude for your friendship to myself, as well as high gratification at your opinion of my fitness for the charge, I should demur to the propriety of issuing any declaration or manifesto of my views, in order to conciliate electors, or to meet all the gossip that might be put into circulation for the purpose

of prejudicing them. This I should feel to be a step worthy only of a man who looked to the office as a gainful preferment; and not of the man who feels no other value for the occupation of it than as it may place him in the way of great Christian usefulness, and enable him to fulfil the ardent wishes of his heart for the purity of the Church of Scotland, and the efficiency of this greatest engine that can be brought to bear on the moral and religious character of its population. It is on these grounds that, along with a deep feeling of gratitude for your wish to serve me, I further feel an insuperable repugnance to the specific measure which you have recommended. I could not bear to have any *exposé* of mine put forth with a view to increase votes, or to augment my chance of an appointment which I shall never go in quest of, although the proposal of it, should it ever come to my door, I should hold worthy of the most serious and respectful entertainment.

"To yourself, and for your own satisfaction, it is quite unnecessary that I should say anything to put down the nonsense which you tell me is in circulation anent my hostility to Systematic Divinity—as if any science whatever could be taught in a way that was not systematic; or as if there was not the same harmony in the Word of God to form the basis of a theological system, that there is in the works of God, and which forms the basis of our physical or philosophical systems.

"I am glad to observe that the new professor is not expected to officiate this winter; and some such temporary arrangement as you point at seems indeed to be quite indispensable. THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the 31st October the Town-council and Magistrates of Edinburgh unanimously elected Dr. Chalmers to fill the vacant chair. This election placed him in the most honourable and influential position which any minister of the Church of Scotland could occupy. As the appointment took place so close upon the opening of the collegiate session, it was arranged that he should not enter upon the duties of his new office till November 1828. The year thus given him for preparation was most diligently improved. He first heard of his election on Thursday the 1st November, and on Tuesday the 6th we find him making this entry in his Journal—"Began this day my theological lectures, and the reading of Sumner's 'Records of the Creation.'" How effectively this early commencement was sustained is evidenced by such entries as the following :—

"*Nov.* 9.—Have begun to read a little of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew each day.

"*Nov.* 12.—Began this day the practice of rising at six o'clock, in order to have time for the languages. My day now very closely filled up; but let me not over-fatigue myself, and, above all, let not my literary and professional cares overbear the influences of the Word of God.

"*Nov.* 13.—Severe, and to my taste not very successful composition. My plan, however, is to be elaborate, though I should produce less. I desire to have God's glory and not my own at heart.

"*Nov.* 14.—Less severe to-day, and better. Let me not aim at quantity, but put down my successive clauses and sentences as I am satisfied, and never sacrifice the sterling quality to the object of swelling the amount of my composition. A little fagged by my early risings, but let me persevere.

"*Jan.* 1, 1828.—My Political Economy must now give way as an immediate object, for the preparation of my theological lectures. I still indulge the perspective of a subsidiary course on this subject in connexion with my parish economics. I foresee the coldness of friends, the controversy of foes, and probably the decline of earthly comfort, in my approaching connexion with Edinburgh. Let me roll the whole on God's providence, and meanwhile give myself to the work of preparation."

That work was liable to many a serious invasion. Frequently throughout this busy winter we find such records as the following:—"Mr. —— came to us to-day on a visit. I must now carefully guard against these. I have no time; Mrs. Chalmers has no strength; and I do feel the pressure of this continued presence of strangers. . . . I find it difficult to combine hospitality with study. I must do it, however. . . . A round of the St. Andrews lions with Mr. P. and party. Another arrival! It is like holding carnival."

During the whole period of his residence in St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers had laid his house open to the numerous visitors who came there to make or to renew acquaintance with him. There was one draft upon his time, induced by such visits, which even in the season of his busiest occupation he could never bring himself to dishonour. He delighted to carry his visitors round among those memorials of the past which abounded in the neighbourhood. St. Andrews was the first place in Scotland which the light of the Gospel had visited; and the Tower of

St. Regulus still survived as an impressive relic of primitive Christianity—a tall square solid column, upon which the storms of ten centuries or more have spent themselves in vain. In Roman Catholic times St. Andrews had been the seat of the primacy—its Castle tenanted by the heads of a lordly hierarchy —its cathedral, upon which the labour of one hundred and sixty years was expended, the largest and stateliest ecclesiastical edifice in the kingdom. Its university, the most ancient in Scotland, was the cradle of the Reformation. In front of St. Salvator's College was the hallowed spot where Hamilton expired among the flames, and close by the castle was the scene of Wishart's martyrdom. From the deck of a French galley, while his feet lay in irons, the spires of St. Andrews were pointed out to John Knox. "Yes," said he, "I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to His glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify His godly name in the same place." The very pulpit from which his fervid tongue fulfilled that prophecy is still shown at St. Andrews, while the removal of every vestige of Popery, and the ruins of castle and cathedral, remain to tell us of the preacher's power. In still later days, Henderson and Melville, Rutherford and Halyburton, had wandered through the college gardens, meditating those acts, or musing over those writings, which have so extensively contributed to mould the character of the Scottish people. Amid localities so rich in hallowed remembrance Dr. Chalmers revelled with intense delight. He studied the histories connected with each. Again and again did he return to them, and with a growing enthusiasm gaze on the venerable relics. At one or other more sacred spot he might be seen at times standing lost in thought, heedless of notice or salutation. His power of vivid conception had rebuilt the ruined walls, had repeopled the silent area, had raised the stake, and brought up the martyr's form as he stood heroic amid the flames. It was a sentiment far deeper than that of mere antiquarianism which absorbed him. He had that sentiment. It glowed round every relic with which any tale of olden time was linked. But it was a deeper and more powerful emotion which filled his breast, when, on the very ground they trod, and in the places where they received their noblest vindication, he communed with the men and sympathized with the principles of the Scottish Reformation. An hour's walk was sufficient for

visiting the most remarkable localities, and whoever came to him Dr. Chalmers was always impatient till he had them off to a "round of the ruins." If the many groups thus guided had been chronicled we should have a long and strange array of British peers and Glasgow merchants, burghers of Anstruther and cottagers of Kilmany, escorted with equal delight, and having lavished upon them an equal attention. Each fresh eye that looked upon those ruins, gazed, he fancied, with a feeling kindred to his own, and it revived and redoubled his own enjoyment to communicate such a pleasure. During the later period of his residence in St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers lived in a house which had formed part of St. Leonard's College, and he had great delight in announcing to his guests that they were under the roof which covered the small upper chamber—approachable then only by a ladder—which had been the Study of the celebrated Buchanan, and that they were in the dwelling where Dr. Samuel Johnson being asked by one of the professors whether he had been satisfied with the dinner which had been provided for him, returned the fierce reply, "Sir, I came to Scotland, not to eat good dinners, but to see savage men and savage manners, and I have not been disappointed."

Dr. Chalmers's last session at St. Andrews was now drawing to a close, and as the time approached for taking farewell of his students he felt acutely the pangs of separation.

"*Sunday, April* 20.—Heard Dr. Hunter in the afternoon in the College Church; eyed the last spectacle of the assembled students with emotion. Had my usual meetings, and took leave of my student Sabbath scholars.

"*April* 24.—Concluded my classes this day; was well-nigh overcome by my allusions to the removal that was before me."

The last lecture of his course was upon the mutual relations of ethics and theology, and it afforded him the opportunity of thus gracefully and touchingly closing his professorial labours:—

"I will pursue the connexions of moral philosophy with Christianity no further at present. So much am I impressed with the unity of the two subjects, or rather with the way in which the one graduates into the other, that I scarcely feel myself translated to another walk of speculation by the removal which is now before me from an ethical to a theological chair. There is at least nothing violent in the transition, for I feel it as if but a step in advance from the rudiments to the higher lessons of the

same science. But though mentally there may be little or no change implied by this transference of my duties, yet personally I must confess that it cannot be accomplished without a feeling of painful laceration, insomuch that I dare hardly trust myself with the expression of one parting homage to a place all whose localities, from its class-rooms even to the remotest corner of its area, are interwoven with the remembrances of early boyhood. There is one experience, gentlemen, to which the history of my various changes in life has peculiarly, and, I will even say, has painfully exposed me, and that is, how little a man gains, or rather, indeed, how much he loses, in the happiness of natural and healthful enjoyment, by passing from a narrower to a wider, and what some may call a more elevated sphere. There is not room in the heart of man for more than a certain number of objects, and he is therefore placed far more favourably for the development of all that pleasure which lies in the kind and friendly affections of our nature, when the intimacy of his regards is permitted to rest on a few, than when, bustled through an interminable variety of persons and things, each individual can have but a slender hold upon the memory, and a hold as slender upon the emotions. It is thus, that on looking back upon my city experience I have little more than the dazzling recollection of a feverish and troubled dream, while athwart this medium and at a larger distance in the retrospect, I can enjoy the sweet prospect of a country parish, all whose scenes and cottage families are dear to me. I know that I am to repeat this experience, and am quite sure that amid the din, and the confusion, and the crowded attendance of that larger theatre to which I go, I shall often look back with a sigh on the closer and the kindlier fellowships that I have held with the students within these walls. Be assured, gentlemen, as you would of any moral certainty, that there is nothing in the busier scenes which are now before me that is fitted to displace you from my recollections, but on the contrary, to enhance all my regrets and all my regards, when on contrasting the students of St. Andrews with those of Edinburgh I shall think of my connexion with you as a peculiar and a more tender relationship."

The students of the University presented Dr. Chalmers with a parting token of their gratitude and affection. "*May* 1.—The presentation of the Walton 'Polyglot,' with Castell's 'Lexicon,' took place this day, at four o'clock, in my drawing-room. There were about seventy students present, nearly, if not alto-

gether, all who were in town." In accepting the volumes, Dr. Chalmers thus addressed those who had so kindly waited upon him :—

"Gentlemen, let me assure you, that costly and magnificent as that donation is, to me the principal charm of an offering as spontaneous on your part as it is wholly unexpected upon mine, is the index which it affords me of your regard. There was an attempt similar to the present one the first year of my professorial duties in St. Andrews, and I resisted it, because I then doubted the propriety of a public teacher being so honoured and signalized by his pupils during the *currency* of his labours. I feel no such difficulty now, when I have reached the *termination* of them. Then I might have felt it a violence to academic propriety to have accepted what I now feel it were a violence to nature did I decline. What I should have refused when rendered to me as a preference, I now cling to when offered as a parting memorial; and I will confess this expression of your kindness to be in most touching harmony with all the tenderness of my approaching departure from the scenes of my early education, and upon which I shall now look back with a sensibility still more vivid, because of the honest and heartfelt friendship wherewith you, gentlemen, have sounded my farewell.

"But though it be the soul and the sentiment of this offering which constitute its chief, its essential value, I cannot look to the materials of the offering itself without being gratified to the uttermost by the professional, I had almost said the philosophical, appropriateness of the gift which I am now receiving at your hands. These volumes—the vast and the venerable products of that gigantic labour which characterized an age of gigantic men. —will at once facilitate the studies of my coming profession, and remind me of their arduousness. I shall hold daily converse with them; and by making them my closet companions I shall be enabled to blend with my severer occupations the agreeable recollections of a kindness the sense of which will both lighten and animate my labours.

"I conclude, gentlemen, with the assurance of my unfeigned earnestness in wishing health and happiness to you all. We shall soon part on earth. May we meet in heaven; and after this world, with all its fluctuations, has passed away, may we reach a common inheritance in that land where sorrow and separation are unknown."

The "pathos of many juvenile farewells" was almost instantly

succeeded by preparations for the approaching General Assembly. That venerable Court had upon this occasion its attention chiefly occupied with questions of local or comparatively temporary interest. There was one topic, however, which had recently been engrossing a large share of public and Parliamentary regard, in which Dr. Chalmers took so very lively an interest, that he could not refrain from bringing it under the notice of the Assembly. Early in May the Bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts had received the Royal assent. In its Address to the Throne, Dr. Chalmers desired that the General Assembly should express its gratification at this event. As the leading ecclesiastical authorities were indisposed to such a step, he himself brought the matter before the Court by moving, on the first day of its meeting for public business, "That the General Assembly should present an Address to His Majesty expressive of their high satisfaction at the Act which had obtained the sanction of the Legislature, for repealing so much of several Acts of Parliament which imposed the necessity of taking the Sacrament as a qualification for entering upon office." In supporting this motion, Dr. Chalmers spoke as follows:—

"There is one most appropriate topic for a place in our Address, and that is, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. It were certainly not in good taste for us to specialize with any degree of minuteness such events as are merely political. But the measure to which I now refer is not of that character. It is not a secular but a sacred interest which is involved in it. It were strange, I do think, to pass over in silence, or even to pass over slightly, a matter so connected as this is with religious liberty and the rights of conscience; more especially, as what our Government has actually done upon this question is so fitted to rejoice every enlightened friend of Christianity, and in particular to call forth the acknowledgments and gratulations of the Church of Scotland.

"We have heard the repeal of these Acts spoken of as the removal of a stigma from our Church. I am not sure if this expresses my precise feeling upon the subject. The truth is, I look upon the whole history of this matter as in the highest degree honourable to the Scottish Establishment, and as fitted to demonstrate the native stability of that basis upon which she rests. It has now become experimentally palpable that she stands in need of none of those securities wherewith her fearful sister in the south thought it necessary at one time to prop up what she must

then have felt to be her frail and precarious existence. Instead of such securities for us, we ourselves were the objects of jealousy to the hierarchy of England, and thrust, along with its general body of sectarians, to an outfield place beyond the limits of her guarded inclosure. And what has been the result? A striking lesson, if blind intolerance would but learn it. In virtue of our inherent strength, we, in the midst of disabilities, have stood and prospered; and the motto of our northern Church—'Nec tamen consumebatur'—blazes in characters as fresh and undefaced as ever upon her forehead. The truth is, that our provincial Establishment bids as fair for sound and vigorous endurance as does the great national Episcopacy of these realms; and at this moment it must be palpable to every eye that, wanting all her artificial protections, we yet outpeer her far in the love and reverence of our country's population.

"On the subject of the difference between the two Establishments, I have but one word to offer on the question where it is that the stigma lies. In walking through a street, the eye is sometimes arrested by the sight of large wooden props leaning obliquely on the walls of one of the houses, and obviously placed there for the purpose of upholding it. Is it possible, sir, to resist the impression of that being the craziest edifice along the whole pavement? The fabric of the English Church, with her Test and Corporation Acts, incurred the whole discredit of such an appearance; and she has inconceivably strengthened herself, both in reality and in public estimation, by the taking of them down. The only blunder is, that to please the fancy or the eye of certain of her devotees, long accustomed to the sight of some such projections, and whose taste would have been offended by the want of them, she has erected in their place a buttress of stucco, in the shape of a declaration. It was proposed at first that the Kirk of Scotland should have been conjoined with the Church of England in this declaration. That, sir, I would have felt to be a stigma; and if anything in the progress of this most delightful Bill was more satisfactory than another, it was that upon this part of the subject they took another thought, and resolved to keep the whole of this stigma to themselves.

"And now, sir, I have just to crave your toleration for one word more, in order to a very short insertion which I would humbly propose in this part of your Address. You are aware that the philosophy of our age is all in favour of free-trade, and that the extension of this principle to Christianity carries an

inference along with it unfavourable to religious establishments. Now, sir, in the masses and the large movements which take place among the parties and proceedings of a State, opinion is apt to be taken by whole bodies of men in the bulk, and without any reference had to certain important modifications which it is dangerous to lose sight of. I feel convinced, sir, that on this very question there is the want of a most necessary discrimination between the use of these artificial securities for an Establishment which have now been abolished, and the use of an Establishment at all. And, therefore, now is the time, when felicitating our Monarch on the abolition of the one, that we, in one short and emphatic sentence, should lift our strenuous testimony in behalf of the other. It follows not because there should be a full equality between Churchmen and sectarians in every civil and political right, that therefore a Church and an Establishment are uncalled for. Believing, as we do, that without the maintenance of a national clergy, all the zeal and effort and activity of Dissenters could not save our land from lapsing into a tenfold grosser heathenism than it otherwise would do; and fearful as we at the same time are, that some may be counting on the last glorious triumph of liberality as a step in advance towards the overthrow of religious Establishments, we are all the more imperiously called upon to distinguish between the things which differ; and while we rejoice in the wider door that has now been opened for sectarians to all the privileges of citizens, to accompany this with our pointed declaration in behalf of a Church to which I heartily believe that Scotland stands mainly indebted for the religion and the worth of her people.

"I can truly say that I feel as much in earnest for the public testimony in behalf of the latter sentiment as in behalf of the former; for the appeal by us on the side of a religious Establishment, is an appeal on the side of that law of toleration which has recently been extended to all sects; and I think that a united testimony in favour of both these principles would come with peculiar grace and propriety from the Church of Scotland —from that Church which, on the one hand, is a living instance of the uselessness of those restrictions which have now been done away, and, on the other hand, has made such ample returns for the protection of the State in the worth of her services; and I further think, sir, that such a manifestation on our part were not only in the highest degree becoming, but, considering the aspect of the times, were in the highest degree seasonable.

With all my predilections on the side of freedom, I do not apprehend so much of danger to onr land from the advances of liberality, as from the over-impetuous career of a headlong and nnguarded liberalism. I have spoken with frankness of the Church of England, but most assuredly without the slightest feeling of disrespect; conceiving, as I do, that to put forth upon her the invading hand of a destroyer, were, instrumentally speaking, to reach the deadliest possible blow at the Christianity of the nation."

In journalizing the day on which this speech was delivered, Dr. Chalmers writes—"*Saturday, May* 24.—This the day of my motion for an Address on the Test and Corporation Acts. When I announced it yesternight, Dr. Haldane was put into a flutter, for Addresses were generally prepared by the old Moderator; but this was too much a thing in favour of Dissenters to be to his taste, so that I had even to do the thing myself. They seem to have brought the whole strength of their party against it, though we had a very respectable minority, having 77 to 123. We gained, however, the expression of the Assembly's approval of the Repeal, which we shonld not have gotten without a motion. Mr. Irving is wild upon the other side from me. He sat opposite to me when I was speaking, as if his eye and looks, seen through the railing, were stationed there for my disquietude. He, by the way, had a regular collision with a Dr. H., a violent sectarian, who denounced him as an enemy to the gospel of Jesus Christ. The colloquy that ensued was highly characteristic. Mr. Irving's part of it began with—'Who art thou, O man, that smitest me with thy tongue?'"

Mr. Irving had come to Edinbnrgh upon this occasion chiefly for the pnrpose of delivering a series of lectures on Prophecy. "He is drawing," says Dr. Chalmers, "prodigious crowds. We attempted this morning (Friday, 23d) to force our way into St. Andrew's Church, but it was all in vain. He changes to the West Church for the accommodation of the public."

"*Monday, 26th.*—For the first time heard Mr. Irving in the evening. I have no hesitation in saying that it is quite woful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, but withal a mysticism and an extreme allegorization which I am sure must be pernicious to the general cause. This is the impression of every clergyman I have met, and some think of making a friendly remonstrance with him upon the subject. He sent me a letter he had written to the King against the repeal

of the Test and Corporation Acts, and begged that I would read every word of it before I spoke. I did so, and found it unsatisfactory and obscure, but not half so much so as his sermon of this evening."

When the Assembly closed, Mr. Irving crossed the Forth to Kirkcaldy, where it was announced that he was to preach on the evening of Sabbath the 15th June, in the church of his father-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Martin. The extraordinary popularity which attended his ministrations was upon this occasion the cause of a fearful catastrophe, in which Dr. Chalmers had a painful domestic interest, and which he thus describes in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Morton :—

"*St. Andrews, June* 18, 1828.—My dearest Jane,—I only returned home two days ago from a long excursion, having been at Edinburgh during the Assembly, and other places, so that I have not lost a day in replying to your letter. I perfectly agree with the soundness and good sense of your observations on the subject of Mr. Irving, whose extravagance and obscurity have placed him far out of my sympathy and sight. He has given twelve lectures on Prophecy to the people of Edinburgh; and certainly there must have been a marvellous power of attraction that could turn a whole population out of their beds so early as five in the morning. The largest church in our metropolis was each time overcrowded. I heard him once; but I must just be honest enough and humble enough to acknowledge that I scarcely understood a single word, nor do I comprehend the ground on which he goes in his violent allegorizations, chiefly of the Old Testament.

"But far the most striking and woful effect of his visit is the death of at least thirty-five people, occasioned by the fall of a gallery, which ran along one side of the church in Kirkcaldy, where his father-in-law is minister, and where he himself was to preach on the Sunday evening of the Sacrament. The gallery fell in the whole length of it, while he was in the vestry, and before he came to the pulpit. I myself was in Edinburgh, and did not hear of it till the Monday morning, when I arrived in the steamboat. To me the interest was tremendous; and I had a most uneasy interval between the first general intimation and the particular account of it, for besides Sandy and his wife and father-in-law, I had Grace and four of our bairns in Kirkcaldy on a visit, and, to add to the alarm, their family seat was one of the front ones of the gallery that fell. Sandy was on the

beach waiting me, and sent out word that all my friends were safe. But you may judge of the agitation when I was made to know that my daughter Eliza and Sandy's wife were in the gallery that fell, and that Sandy and my wife were in a seat below the opposite gallery, which was expected to fall too, and occasioned a most tremendous rush both above and below. The truth is, that more were killed by the stifling and suffocation towards the doors of the church than on the side where the gallery fell. My Mrs. Chalmers had the presence of mind to sit still. Sandy ran forward to ascertain the safety of his wife and my Eliza, and his stepmother-in-law—Captain Pratt luckily not having gone to church. Sandy was afterwards hoisted out of a window to give his services to the dead and dying in the churchyard. What a dreary interval it must have been to my wife, who looked for her friends among the dead, and did not meet with them for about a quarter of an hour! Mrs. Alexander was pulled out of the rubbish, and lost her bonnet and shawl. Eliza lost a shawl. Many, in being pulled out, left shoes and stockings behind them. Our younger children were in an agony of cries and loud uproar till the mammas and sisters and aunts cast up, some of them bare-headed and dishevelled. Next day they who fell or were fallen upon, began to feel bruises of which they were unconscious in the excitement of the evening before. We expect a visit of Mr. Irving in a day or two. It were surely better, if instead of addressing himself to the faculty of *curiosity*, he dealt with the faculty of *conscience*, in such a series of subjects, for example, as we have in Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.'"

The summer months, closely filled up, fled past rapidly, and autumn brought with it preparations for the coming change. In his journal for this period Dr. Chalmers inserts the following brief but tender notices of his last days at St. Andrews:—

"*Sept.* 23.—The symptoms of an approaching departure are fast multiplying.

"*Sunday, Oct.* 19.—I stayed at home in the afternoon and enjoyed my last Sunday of the beautiful garden of St. Leonards. —A sadness of heart.

"*Oct.* 21.—Mr. Duncan walked with me to the eastern sands; had a view of the vessel that was to carry our furniture.

"*Oct.* 24.—Close attendance on packers; the house now in an uproar, and my St. Andrews establishment shaking to its dissolution.

"*Oct.* 30.—Finished the operations at St. Leonards, and am now spending my last days in St. Andrews with Mr. Duncan.

"*Oct.* 31.—Our vessel sailed to-day; eyed it from St. Leonards tower.

"*Nov.* 3.—Left St. Andrews in a chaise, with Mrs. Chalmers; took leave of Mr. Duncan at his own door; the pathos diverted by the urgencies which attended on our departure; drove along the Shoe-Gate, through the Port, and across the Swilkin Burn, where I took my last look of the Links* and the beautiful verdure near the second hole."

* The Golf-links, a large tract of grassy sand hills, peculiarly adapted to the game of golf, of which national amusement St. Andrews may be regarded as the head-quarters. The golfer's object is to strike a small hard ball in as few strokes as possible from one hole to another, the holes being placed at a distance from each other of about four hundred yards. He is attended by a caddie—a man in uniform—who carries his clubs and balls, and who not unfrequently, particularly if he be an unpractised player, acts as his mentor in the game. During the earlier period of his residence at St. Andrews, Dr. Chalmers almost daily made a round of the Links, playing at golf with Mr. Duncan, enjoying exceedingly the quiet exercise, and extracting infinite amusement from the free and easy criticisms of the caddies upon the performances of the two professors. He afterwards gave up the practice, imagining that it weakened his capacity for study.

CHAPTER XIII.

INAUGURATION AS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY—INTRODUCTORY LECTURE—LETTER FROM THE REV. MR. MOREHEAD—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL—LETTER FROM SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH—DR. CHALMERS'S SPEECH IN FAVOUR OF THE BILL—DEATH OF HIS BROTHER ALEXANDER AT KIRKCALDY.

Dr. Chalmers was inaugurated as Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh on Thursday the 6th of November 1828; and it was announced that his introductory lecture would be delivered on the following Monday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The morning of that day was singularly unpropitious, showers of snow and hail sweeping through the College courts; yet from so early an hour as nine, those who had secured that privilege were passing by a private entrance into the class-room, while so great a crowd besieged the outer door, that a strong body of police found it difficult to restrain the tumult.

"It was a day," says Mr. Bruce Cunningham, "as you will easily believe, of no common expectation and excitement, not only among those who were professionally required to become his pupils, but also to not a few of the worthiest citizens of Edinburgh, who having once and again listened with impassioned wonder and delight to his mighty words as a preacher of the Gospel, scarcely knew what to expect from him as an academic expounder and disciplinarian in the science of theology. If I may judge of other minds from the state of my own feelings at the time, I may safely state, that at no time, either before or since, has a tumult of emotions, so peculiar and intense, agitated the hearts of the many who waited for his first appearance in the chair of theology. I well remember his look as he first came from the vestry into the passage leading to the desk. He had an air of extreme abstraction, and at the same time of full presence of mind. Ascending the steps in his familiar resolute manner, he almost immediately engaged in his opening prayer: that was most startling, and yet deeply solemnizing. In closest union with a simple, forcible antithesis of intellectual conception, clothed in still more antithetical expressions, there was the deep vital consciousness of the glory of the Divine presence. The

power of the dialectician, restrained and elevated by the prayerful reverence as of some prophet in ancient Israel, imparted a most remarkable peculiarity of aspect to his first devotional utterances in the class. On his discourse I shall not presume on *your* patience by anything like detailed remark. All felt far more deeply than they could worthily declare, that it was a most glorious prelude, and that at once and for ever his right to reign as a king in the broad realms of theological science, and to rule over their own individual minds as a teacher, was as unequivocal as his mastery over a popular assembly. Personally I always feel, in recalling that scene, as if, by some peculiar enchantment of association, I had listened, all unconscious of the present world, to one or other of Handel's most sublime efforts of harmony. To this hour I dwell with all the mysterious delight that is awakened by some grand choral symphony on some of his novel expressions, which, borrowed from physical science, directly tended, by almost more than the force of the best diagrams, to make his noble thoughts all our own."

The introductory lecture was delivered amid rapturous applause; and with scarcely any sensible abatement the excitement of that first meeting was sustained throughout the whole of the succeeding session. Dr. Chalmers was upon favourite and familiar ground—Natural Theology and the Evidences of Christianity. An opportunity was now afforded him of presenting in an elaborate form the results of prolonged and matured reflection. He had much to animate him in the audience he addressed—an audience altogether unique within the walls of a university, embracing, in addition to his own regular students, distinguished members of the various professions, and many of the most intelligent citizens of Edinburgh. The following communication, which was addressed to him at the close of the session, and which had its origin in the fact, that at the time of his appointment the emoluments of the Chair amounted only to £200 per annum, may give the reader some idea of the extent of non-professional attendance, as well as of the enthusiastic admiration which animated the varied auditory.

"*Edinburgh, April* 13, 1829.—Reverend Sir,—It has fallen to me as Preses of a meeting of those gentlemen who though not enrolled students of divinity, have been kindly permitted by you to attend your Course during the Session of College which has just closed, to state to you the occasion of that meeting being called, and the result to which it has led.

"Highly as we prized the liberal acquiescence with which our wish to profit from your lectures had been met, we yet were sensible that we were encroaching upon the accommodation for the regular students, and were in some measure guilty of an intrusion, the consciousness of which could not but be painful to us. Whatever reasons, too, there may be for the gratis instruction of those who are preparing for the office of the sacred ministry, these, we felt, could not apply to us, and it seemed quite unreasonable that we should enjoy the benefit of your labours without making the customary acknowledgment which is presented to all the teachers in the secular departments of science and letters, merely because the subject-matter of your prelections was in itself above all price, and we could have no hope that any remuneration could be at all adequate to your manner of treating it. We accordingly came to the resolution of contributing in the form of a very moderate class-fee from each individual, such a sum as we could with propriety request you to accept; and now that it has been made up and lodged in the hands of Messrs. Ramsay and Bonar, I am commissioned respectfully to entreat you to receive our tribute, which, though not in any degree what we could have wished it to be, will yet, we hope, be accepted as an offering of the 'willing mind.'

"We are, indeed, very far, reverend sir, from imagining that our obligations to you can be lessened by any pecuniary recompence. I am sure that I express the common sentiment with which we are all actuated, when I say that it is only by our lasting admiration and gratitude that we hope at all to be able to repay you for your invaluable instructions; or what would be a return which you would still more highly prize, by so treasuring them in our hearts as to render them visible in our lives and conversation. I must not, however, enlarge on a theme which is the very last to which you will be inclined to lend an ear; yet there are certain conclusions to which, I conceive, your auditors have generally come, from the experience of this first session, which I am desirous briefly and simply to state to you, should you not yourself be quite aware of the importance and success of your exertions.

"It is, then, I am persuaded, a very general impression among those who have had the happiness of listening to your expositions, that you have every prospect, under the blessing of God, of doing for the science of Theology what has never yet been fully effected, and what is more peculiarly requisite in the pre-

sent age of restless inquiry or supine indifference—to place it conspicuously at the head of the sciences, where it will gratefully, indeed, receive from the others their contributions and homage, but where it will be stationed far above the obscure regions of their doubts and oppositions. We have had many occasions to admire the force of argument by which you were enabled to lay more firmly its foundations, and the extent of illustration and splendour of eloquence with which you reared and adorned its superstructure, till you brought every branch of human knowledge to bear upon 'the fair form of Christianity,' and it again to reflect its light upon every division of literature and science. In this high effort you ever advanced with a determined and fearless spirit, never checking any inquiry of reason in the apprehension that it might shake our infirm and sickly faith, but rather calling faith to that exercise of hardihood which will be satisfied with nothing short of sound and vigorous inquiry. Even in the short period that we have been observers of your methods of enterprise, we have witnessed their happy influence on the minds of the youthful searchers into truth whom you are rearing around you; we have seen them learning readily to appreciate the strength of the grand cause which it is their future office to defend; and instead of shrinking from the dazzling array of those hazardous speculations of human reason or folly which sometimes seem to threaten the bulwarks of the faith, they have been taught by you to find in the ranks of the enemy themselves the arms and the auxiliaries by which these very bulwarks may be more securely protected. While there is thus every apparent hope that there will go forth from your school a band of energetic and intelligent disciples, who, while they are faithful, fervent, and effective servants of a Divine Master, will no less, by their general science and literary accomplishments, keep their ground among those who have in our day been too exclusively deemed masters upon earth—while the Church of your country promises to reap this fruit from your labours, may I further be permitted to suggest, that they are of a kind to embrace a still wider circle, and such as not only to educate the priest, but to prepare the people. You have an indication of this in the class of individuals in whose name I have now the honour to address you; they belong to a very varied description, and are from every order and profession in society—some, perhaps, who may hitherto in the avocations of the world, or of a mere secular literature, have had but little firm hold of truths which they must now feel

to be the noblest and most spirit-stirring they can possibly contemplate; for they have at length heard 'the voice of the charmer,' and they will return to their different stations and pursuits much more disposed, it may be hoped, to carry forward the incalculably important results of the inquiries with which they have here been made conversant; and, at all events, rescued from the miserable weakness of ever again yielding, as they may formerly have been tempted to do, the grand truths of immortality and salvation to the baffled sophisms of the scoffer and unbeliever. It is, indeed, of infinite moment for the religious improvement of society over the face of the land, that a circle of this kind should, year after year, continue to gather around you; in this indirect influence of your efforts no less good is to be expected than in their more peculiar and appropriate application; and it is not only the future ministers of our parishes that will go forth to sow the seed which you have prepared for them, but our landed proprietors, the members of every honourable and liberal profession among us, our respectable citizens, our sons, who are going to distant shores, these will carry sounding in their ears and glowing in their hearts the 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn;' and may not only, through the Divine blessing, be rescued by them in years long after from the blight of spiritual ignorance, or the fatal corruptions of the world, or of philosophy, but may even convey them on, in circle succeeding circle, like the impression made by the pebble upon the waters.

"Before I conclude, there is only one other very pleasing circumstance to which I have peculiar satisfaction in adverting. The course of study which you have adopted for your class has the excellent advantage of softening the predilections of sects and Churches, in as far as these are adverse to the catholic harmony of religion. Among those for whom I speak there are churchmen of different denominations; clergymen of the national establishment, who return again to listen with zealous edification to the arguments and fervour with which you maintain the awful but venerable tenets of their Calvinistic creed; clergymen, too, of the sister Church, who have equal delight to meet once more in the text-books* which you have so liberally introduced, the milder lights of their own eminent divines, reflected back upon them with the mingled comments of a no

* For an explanation of Dr. Chalmers's views on the use of text-books in theological education, see Introductory Lecture to his "Prelections on Butler's Analogy, Paley's Evidences, and Hill's Lectures" in Posthumous Works, vol. ix.

less powerful and original mind. We have thus been taught to give and take in turn; we pass mutually and amicably into the separate schools of Edwards and of Butler; and while your own warm inspiration is breathed over the whole, we feel as if we were of one heart and of one mind, while, like the primitive Christians of old, the same great truths are announced to each of us in his own customary language and dialect; and with no unpleasing amazement and marvel, we hear 'every man in our own tongue wherein we were born' and reared, the same universal exposition of the 'wonderful works of God.'—Believe me to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem, your faithful and affectionate servant, ROBERT MOREHEAD.*

"P.S.—I beg to inclose an order for £202."

His class-duties were too engrossing for Dr. Chalmers to leave many memorials of this busy winter behind. "I am now," he writes at the close of November, "in a more amazing bustle than I ever was in my life, but it being the first month of my residence in Edinburgh, I trust it will subside. I have now a written paper in my lobby, shown by my servant to all and sundry who are making mere calls of attention, which is just telling them in a civil way to go about their business. If any thing will check intrusion, this at length must." There was but little subsiding as the session advanced; and towards its termination, the bustle received no small addition from the part taken by Dr. Chalmers in the great public question which then agitated the political world. On the 5th of February 1829, the King's Speech startled the country by a recommendation that Parliament should take it into consideration, whether the civil disabilities imposed upon Roman Catholics might not be removed, "consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in Church and State." The popularity of O'Connell, the power of the Catholic Association, and the effects of the Clare election, had hurried Ireland to the brink of rebellion; and now, with tardy grace, and as wrung from them by something like compulsion, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, the very ministers who had so long and so vigorously opposed the Catholic claims, came forward with the measure for their relief. The feeling against the proposed concessions was much stronger and more general in the country than in Parliament, and the friends of the measure sought to strengthen their

* The Rev. Robert Morehead, Episcopal clergyman in Edinburgh, author of "Dialogues on Natural and Revealed Religion," &c. &c.

position by all such aid as they could command. On the 27th of February, a few days before Mr. Peel laid the Catholic Relief Bill before Parliament, Sir James Mackintosh wrote to Dr. Chalmers :—

"*Clapham Common, Feb.* 27, 1829.—Reverend and dear Sir,—I have always understood your opinion to be favourable to the abolition of all civil disabilities for religion. If you retain that opinion, it now stands in the utmost need of your patronage. Popular frenzy, which may, perhaps, revive court intrigue, is at work to dispel a union of all statesmen, certainly produced only by a sense of public necessity. One of the unfortunate circumstances of this clamour is, that it professes to arise from religion, and, I am very sorry to say, does often issue from men who are truly religious.

"That the character of the Protestant religion is concerned in showing that it does not rely on intolerance towards others for its safety—that its unmolested state where it is that of a minority, is best assured by its toleration when it is that of the State—that a question respecting the civil rights of the individuals of a religious communion is a purely political question, and that the minds of Roman Catholics would be best opened to Protestant argument, by the cessation of Protestant hostility against them—are propositions to which I should think that you assent, and which if you do, no other man could enforce at this moment with so much authority and effect. Whatever construction you may adopt of prophecies, you, I am sure, will not deem it decent to petition Kings and Parliaments not to defeat them.

"But why should I speak of arguments or topics of persuasion to you, from whom it would be more becoming me gratefully to receive them?

"Considering the present employment of the pulpit here, I should very humbly suggest to you, whether a sermon preached and printed by you would not be a fitting measure. But of the mode of making your weighty opinion known, you are best qualified to decide; I can only say, that delay may lessen its efficacy.—I am, my dear Sir, most respectfully and faithfully yours, J. Mackintosh.

"P.S.—Nothing more is absolutely necessary than general reliance on Parliament to secure the Protestant establishments, Episcopal or Presbyterian."

To the above letter Dr. Chalmers replied as follows :—

"*Edinburgh, March* 2, 1829.—My dear Sir James Mackintosh,—I feel myself much honoured by your communication. I have never had but one sentiment on the subject of the Catholic disabilities, and it is that the Protestant cause has been laid by them under very heavy disadvantage, and that we shall gain prodigiously from the moment that, by the removal of them, the question between us and our opponents is reduced to a pure contest between truth and error.

"I have long lamented the obliquity of understanding which obtains upon this topic among religious people; I am not at all sure, however, that the majority of these are anti-emancipationists, and I feel strongly persuaded that among such of them as combine with their decided Christianity a high degree of intellectual culture, a very large majority are in favour of emancipation.

"My professional duties have kept me very much at home since I came to Edinburgh, and I therefore cannot form any correct idea of the state of sentiment on this question in the Scotch metropolis. All the emancipationists, however, whom I have met with, think it better to remain quiet, unless provoked to bestir themselves by any demonstration of principle on the other side of the question, so that should nothing appear in Parliament from this quarter, it may very fairly be construed into a mark of the general reliance which is placed on the wisdom and safety of the measures now in agitation. Should there be a public meeting on the side of emancipation, I shall hold it my duty to attend and give my testimony in its favour. This I would do on religious grounds only, believing, as I do, that nothing has more impeded the progress of sound and scriptural Christianity in Ireland, than the unseemly alliance between such Christianity on the one hand, and intolerance on the other.

"I have already delivered two public statements against the system, which I trust a few weeks will now put an end to: one in a sermon preached at Belfast, and another in a sermon preached at the opening of Mr. Irving's church in London. They are both printed, and I shall direct Mr. Nisbet, bookseller in Berners Street, to send them to you. You flatter me by your opinion, that a special publication on the subject at this time would be of service to the cause; but I have really nothing to advance which has not been stated with far greater power than I have stated them, by the friends of civil and religious liberty already; and if the bare knowledge of the fact of my being an

advocate for Catholic emancipation can be of any service, it is a matter of which I have made no secret, and which indeed is well known to all my acquaintances.

"I have been much gratified by your notice, and I shall now feel myself at liberty to communicate with you in future on certain points connected with this question, about which I do feel very strongly. I am against a national provision for the Catholic clergy, and I am against the alienation of any part, however small, from the revenues of the Irish Church as at present constituted. Both these have been mentioned; and I think that cause can be shown why, in consistency with the policy and the principle of an entire removal of what is commonly understood by the Catholic disabilities, neither of these measures should be gone into. I think that enough is done, simply by placing Catholics on the same footing with all other Dissenters. But I will not occupy further your time upon this subject at present.

"You, of course, may make any use whatever of this communication.

"I beg to offer my respectful compliments to Lady Mackintosh and to Mrs. Rich, whose society I had the pleasure and the privilege of enjoying for a few days when she was last in Scotland."

Instead of adopting the suggestion of Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Chalmers waited till a meeting of citizens was summoned, in order to petition in favour of the Bill. The Edinburgh Assembly Rooms have seldom exhibited such a spectacle as was displayed there on Saturday the 14th of March. The crisis was an unusual one, and it brought together an extraordinary assemblage. After Sir James W. Moncreiff and Mr. Jeffrey had addressed the meeting, Dr. Chalmers rose, and after some preliminary remarks, proceeded to say—

"We are not Pro-Catholic. We are not hostile, neither are we indifferent to the holy cause of Protestantism. I cannot answer for others; but in vindication of myself I can at least say it is in the spirit of devotedness to that cause that I come here, and because in this emancipation of Papists I see for Protestants a still greater and more glorious emancipation. The truth is, that these disabilities have hung as a dead weight around the Protestant cause for more than a century. They have enlisted in opposition to it some of the most unconquerable principles of nature; resentment because of injury, and the pride of adherence to a suffering cause. They have transformed the whole nature of the contest, and by so doing they have rooted and given ten-

fold obstinacy to error. They have given to our side the hateful aspect of tyranny; while on theirs we behold a generous and high-minded resistanee to what they deem to be oppression. They have transformed a nation of hereties into a nation of heroes. We could have refuted and shamed the heretic out of his errors, but we cannot bring down the hero from his altitude; and thus it is, that from the first introduction of this heterogeneous element into the question, the cause of truth has gone baekward. It has ever since been met by the unyielding defianee of a people irritated but not crushed under a sense of indignity; and this notable expedient for keeping down the Popery of Ireland has only compressed it into a firmness, and closed it into a phalanx, whieh, till opened up by emaneipation, we shall find to be impenetrable.

"Gentlemen would draw arguments from history against us: but there is one passage in history whieh they never ean dispose of. How eomes it that Protestantism made sueh triumphant progress in these realms when it had pains and penalties to struggle with? and how eame this progress to be arrested from the moment it laid on these pains and penalties in its turn? What have all the enaetments of the Statute-book done for the cause of Protestantism in Ireland? and how is it that, when single-handed truth walked through our island with the might and prowess of a eonqueror, so soon as propped by the authority of the State, and the armour of intoleranee was given to her, the brilliant eareer of her victories was ended? It was when she took up the carnal and laid down the spiritual weapon—it was then that strength went out of her. She was struek with impoteney on the instant that from a warfare of prineiple it became a warfare of politics. There are gentlemen opposed to us profound in the doeuments of history; but she has really nothing to offer half so instruetive as the living history that is now before our eyes. With the pains and penalties to fight against, the eause of the Reformation did almost everything in Britain; with the pains and penalties on its side it has done nothing, and worse than nothing, in Ireland.

"But after all, it is a question whieh does not require the evideuee of history for its elueidation. There shines upon it an immediate light from the known laws and prineiples of human nature. When truth and falsehood enter into collision upon equal terms, and do so with their own appropriate weapons, the result is infallible. *Magna est veritas et prevalebit.* But if to

strengthen the cause of truth you put the forces of the Statute-book under her command, there instantly starts up on the side of falsehood an auxiliary far more formidable. You may lay an incapacity on the persons, or you may put restraint and limitation on the property of Catholics; but the Catholic mind becomes tenfold more impregnable than before. We know the purpose of these disabilities. They were meant to serve as a barrier of defence for Protestants *against* the encroachments of Popery; and they have turned out a barrier of defence *for* Papists against the encroachments of Protestantism. They were intended as a line of circumvallation around the strongholds of the Protestant faith; and in effect they have been a line of circumvallation around the strongholds of the Catholic faith. It is to force those now difficult and inaccessible strongholds that I want this wall of separation taken down. When I speak of force, it is the combined force of truth and charity that I mean; and it is precisely because I believe *it* to be omnipotent that I am an Emancipationist. It is precisely because I agree with the Duke of Wellington in thinking that, if the political distinction were done away, the result would be the spread of Protestantism in Ireland. Had we been suffered to mingle more extensively with our Catholic fellow-subjects, and to company with them in the walks of civil and political business, there would at this day have been the transfusion of another feeling, the breath of another spirit amongst them; nor should we have beheld as now the impracticable countenance, the resolute and unyielding attitude of an aggrieved and outcast population.

"I am sensible of one advantage which our opponents have against us, and that is a certain command over the religious feelings of the population: and yet I am not aware of any public topic on which the popular and prevailing cry ever ran so counter as it does at present to the whole drift and spirit of Christianity. What other instruments do we read of in the New Testament for the defence and propagation of the faith, but the Word of God and the Spirit of God? How does the Apostle explain the principle of its triumphs in that age when truth was so mighty to the pulling down of strongholds? It was because the weapons of his warfare were not carnal. He confined himself to the use of spiritual weapons, the only ones by which to assail the strongholds either of Popery or Paganism. The kingdom of God, which is not of this world, refuses to be indebted for its advancement to any other. Reason, and Scripture, and

prayer—these compose, or ought to compose, the whole armory of Protestantism; and it is by these alone that the battles of the faith can be successfully fought. It is since the admission of intolerance, that unseemly associate, within our camp, that the cause of the Reformation has come down from its vantage ground; and from the moment it wrested this engine from the hands of its adversaries, and began to wield and brandish it itself, from that moment it has been at a dead stand. We want to be disencumbered of this weight, and to be restored thereby to our own free and proper energies. We want truth and force to be dissevered from each other, the moral and spiritual to be no longer implicated with the grossly physical; for never shall we prosper, and never shall we prevail in Ireland, till our cause be delivered from the outrage and the contamination of so unholy an alliance.

"It is not because I hold Popery to be innocent that I want the removal of these disabilities; but because I hold, that if these were taken out of the way she would be tenfold more assailable. It is not because I am indifferent to the good of Protestantism that I want to displace these artificial crutches from under her; but because I want that, freed from every symptom of decrepitude and decay, she should stand forth in her own native strength, and make manifest to all men how firm a support she has on the goodness of her cause and on the basis of her orderly and well-laid arguments. It is because I count so much—and will any Protestant here present say that I count too much?—on her Bible, and her evidences, and the blessing of God upon her churches, and the force of her resistless appeals to the conscience and the understandings of men; it is because of her strength and sufficiency in these that I would disclaim the aids of the Statute-book, and own no dependence or obligation whatever on a system of intolerance. These were enough for her in the days of her suffering, and should be more than enough for her in the days of her comparative safety. It is not by our fears and our false alarms that we do honour to Protestantism. A far more befitting honour to the great cause is the homage of our confidence; for what Sheridan said of the liberty of the press, admits of most emphatic application to this religion of truth and liberty. 'Give,' says that great orator, 'give to ministers a corrupt House of Commons; give them a pliant and a servile House of Lords; give them the keys of the Treasury and the patronage of the Crown; and give me the liberty of the press,

and with this mighty engine I will overthrow the fabric of corruption, and establish upon its ruins the rights and privileges of the people.' In like manner, give the Catholics of Ireland their emancipation; give them a seat in the Parliament of their country; give them a free and equal participation in the politics of the realm; give them a place at the right ear of majesty, and a voice in his counsels; and give me the circulation of the Bible, and with this mighty engine I will overthrow the tyranny of Antichrist, and establish the fair and original form of Christianity on its ruins.*

"The politics of the question I have left to other and abler hands. I view it only in its religious bearings; and I give it as my honest conviction, and I believe the conviction of every true-hearted Protestant who knows wherein it is that the great strength of his cause lies, that we have everything to hope from this proposed emancipation, and that we have nothing to fear."†

"The effects of that speech," says Mr. Ramsay, "have been described as something very remarkable. An excitement and enthusiasm pervaded the large and closely crowded assemblage seldom witnessed in modern times. I heard our most distinguished Scottish critic (Lord Jeffrey), who was present on the occasion, give it as his deliberate opinion, that never had eloquence produced a greater effect upon a popular assembly, and that he could not believe more had ever been done by the oratory of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, or Sheridan."‡

At an extraordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, held on the 1st of April, Dr. Chalmers had another opportunity, of which he availed himself, for explaining still more fully the grounds upon which he advocated the removal from Roman Catholics of all civil disabilities. The opinions thus expressed, which had not been hastily adopted, Dr. Chalmers never saw reason to change; and even, if at the moment of their utterance

* "The delivery of this splendid passage, which was given with prodigious force, elicited a burst of applause so deafening and enthusiastic, that the effect was altogether sublime. The shouts and huzzas were thrice renewed, and it was with difficulty the speaker could proceed."—*Caledonian Mercury*, March 1829.

† "The conclusion of the reverend Doctor's speech was greeted with renewed shouts and huzzas, the whole audience standing and waving their hats in the air. This lasted several minutes, and it was not without difficulty that the tumult of admiration was allayed."—*Caledonian Mercury*, March 1829.

"I was quite uncomfortable in speaking, from my excessively high pitch of voice, beneath which I could not fall. It was well received, notwithstanding. I have uniformly experienced the insincerity of that pleasure which is afforded by the praise of others."—*Journal*, March 14, 1829.

‡ Biographical Notice, &c., by the Very Rev. E. B. Ramsay Edinburgh, 1850. Octave edition, p. 34.

it had been suggested to him that consequences very different from those contemplated should be the result, he might have quoted and adopted those prophetic words with which, in introducing the measure for Catholic emancipation into the House of Commons, Mr. Peel closed his memorable speech:—

"I trust by the means now proposed the moral storm may be lulled into a calm, that the waters of strife may subside, and the elements of discord be stilled and composed. But if these expectations be disappointed—if, unhappily, civil strife and contentions shall still take place—if the differences existing between us do not arise out of artificial distinctions and unequal privileges, but if there be something in the character of a Roman Catholic religion, a something not to be contented with a participation of equal privileges or anything short of superiority, still I shall be content to make the trial. If the battle must be fought—if the contest which we would now avoid cannot be averted by those means—let the worst come to the worst, the battle will be fought for other objects, the contest will take place on other grounds. The contest then will be, not for an equality of civil rights, but for the predominance of an intolerant religion. I say, we can fight that battle to greater advantage—(if, indeed, those more gloomy predictions shall be realized, and if our more favourable hopes shall not be justified by the result)—we can fight that battle against the predominance of an intolerant religion more advantageously after this measure shall have passed, than we could at present. Under these circumstances, we shall have the sympathy of other nations; we shall, on entering the contest, have dissolved the great moral alliance that existed among the Roman Catholics in consequence of those disabilities; we shall have with us those great and illustrious authorities that long supported this measure, and which will then be transferred to us and ranged upon our side; and I do not doubt that in that contest we shall be victorious, aided, as we shall be, by the unanimous feeling of all classes of society in this country, as demonstrated in the numerous petitions presented to this House, in which I find the best and most real securities for the maintenance of our Protestant Constitution; aided, I will add, by the union of orthodoxy and dissent; by the assenting voice of Scotland; and, if other aid be necessary, cheered by the sympathies of every free state, and by the wishes and prayers of every free man in whatever clime, or under whatever form of government he may live."

It was a touching transition from the stir of Edinburgh politics to the stillness of the death-chamber. On the 22d April, Dr. Chalmers's youngest and favourite brother, Alexander, died at Kirkcaldy. He was cut off in the prime of a most hopeful manhood, to the deep affliction of all his relatives and friends, to whom his sunny, joyous, and most social disposition had peculiarly endeared him. Dr. Chalmers was not present at the closing scene. On the following day, however, he was at Kirkcaldy, from which place he thus writes to Mrs. Chalmers:—

"*April* 23.—His sufferings seem to have been extreme; and there is every reason to believe that he thought himself dying, from this circumstance, as well as from others, that he said, when coughing violently—'A few more, and then there will be a long rest.'

"*April* 25.—It was a large funeral. The sun shone sweetly on the burial-place. I was like to give way when, after leaving the grave, I passed Mr. Fergus; neither of us could speak. O that God would interpose to perpetuate the impressions of this day! This is the fifth time within these few years that I have been chief mourner, and carried the head of a relative to the grave. But this has been far the heaviest of them all.

"*April* 26.—I alternated my employments within doors by walks in the little garden, where all the objects exposed me to gushes of mournful remembrance. The plants—the petrified tree—the little cistern for water-plants—the rain-gauge—all abandoned by the hand which had placed them there, and took such delight in tending them. I could even fancy the dog to have a certain melancholy air from the want of customary attentions. I this day visited the grave, exposed to full sunshine. I have never felt any bereavement so much.

"*April* 27.—I must say that this day (Monday) has been to me the one of most pathetic feeling. In getting out his papers, I had to examine the drawers and scrutoirs, where I had the sight of many of his favourite objects—shells, insects, dried plants, &c. I could not help being much moved by a sort of chronicle of the rain that he was keeping in a particular way, having framed a sort of scheme which he meant to fill up for future years. Such a date, for example, as 1830, which death has prevented him from ever reaching, was very affecting to me.

"*April* 29.—Of all the letters I have received, I like Mrs. Coutts's the best. We are sadly deficient in faithfulness to each other on the high topics of eternity, and she touches upon that

in a way the most feeling and applicable. I have written to her this afternoon."

The letter written in these circumstances was as follows:—"*Kirkcaldy, April* 29, 1829.—My dear Madam,—I have just received your very admirable letter. I feel the force and application of its sentiments. May God enable me henceforth to be instant in season and out of season, in spite of that accursed delicacy which so strangely paralyses every wish and every effort to hold converse with another on the highest of all interests, on the most urgent and affecting of all concerns.

"Mrs. Chalmers here was in greatest distress on the day of the funeral, but was recovering gradually till to-day, when she has again sunk, I suspect from the circumstance of this being the day of the week when the death took place. Mrs. M'Lellan, my sister, has arrived from the south this afternoon. I do sincerely hope that the feelings excited by this sad occasion will turn to a religious account. But what a difference between emotion and principle—as great as between nature and grace; and what need of prayer, that these frail hearts may be kept steadfast in their dependence on the atoning blood of the Redeemer, and in their aspirations after holiness.

"I have been chief mourner within these few years on five different occasions, but this is far the most touching of them all. —I am, my dear Madam, yours most truly,

Thomas Chalmers."

CHAPTER XIV.

DOCTRINAL ERRORS OF MR. IRVING, MR. ERSKINE, AND MR. CAMPBELL—ALLEGED REAPPEARANCE OF MIRACULOUS GIFTS—WRITINGS IN UNKNOWN CHARACTERS—DR. CHALMERS'S VISIT TO LONDON—EVIDENCE ON THE IRISH POOR-LAW—ON THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION PROPOSED TO BE INTRODUCED INTO IRELAND—CONVERSATION WITH MR. COLERIDGE—DINNER AT MR. HOARE'S—DR. CHALMERS AND MR. WILBERFORCE—APPOINTMENT AS ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S CHAPLAINS FOR SCOTLAND—OPENING OF A CHAPEL AT BRISTOL—TESTIMONY IN FAVOUR OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—CONVERSATIONS WITH DR. CHALMERS REPORTED BY MR. GURNEY—PRESENTATION TO THE KING AND QUEEN.

From the toils of his first session Dr. Chalmers retired to summer quarters at Penicuick. Varied only by two excursions to Ayrshire, the summer months of 1829 passed quietly away. November saw him immersed once more in his professorial labours, from which he was glad to make his escape at Christmas, to spend the holidays at St. Andrews. Carrying with him the kindliest affection for all his former colleagues, he was delighted to find that in every quarter that affection was reciprocated. Old differences were forgotten, and the cordial intercourse of these few days yielded to him a pure and exquisite delight.

In the religious world this was a winter of doctrinal waywardness, perplexity, and strife. Not satisfied with those excursions over the vast and obscure field of prophecy on which he had so adventurously but so confidently entered, Mr. Irving had broached strange sentiments regarding the mortality and peccability of Christ's human nature. Mr. Erskine's* treatise on the "Freeness of the Gospel" had appeared to many to run counter to the strict doctrine of Calvinism; while from the sequestered banks of a lovely Highland loch rumours arose of still wider doctrinal deviations, which took at last so definite a form that the Gairloch heresy became matter not only of much public discussion, but of judicial investigation by the courts of the Church. The Rev. Mr. Campbell of Row, a young minister of ardent piety, but of slender theological discrimination, in preach-

* Thomas Erskine, Esq. of Linlathen.

ing on the extent of the atonement, in asserting that all men's sins were already pardoned, and insisting on assurance of personal salvation as being of the very essence of saving faith, was teaching doctrines at variance with the standards of his Church. Against all these different errors numberless sermons were preached, reviews written, and pamphlets published. Amid this conflict of opinion, of which he was far from an unmoved spectator, Dr. Chalmers preserved unbroken silence. From the daring speculations of Mr. Irving he sensitively shrunk back; but his strong convictions as to the unconditional freeness of the gospel offer, and his substantial agreement with many of the leading doctrines of those generally denominated "*Marrow-men*,"* disposed him to judge mildly of the errors of Mr. Erskine and Mr. Campbell. It was during this winter that an intelligent friend residing generally in the country called upon him in Edinburgh. It was a holiday, and Dr. Chalmers proposed that the two hours he could devote to conversation should be spent in sauntering through the Museum of the University. "We had some conversation," says this friend, in describing the interview, "about the heresy. Dr. Chalmers said over and over again that he thought Mr. Erskine's 'Freeness' one of the most delightful books that ever had been written. It seems to me that the Gospel had never appeared to him in any very different light from that in which Mr. Erskine represents it. He regrets that there is any controversy, for he thinks that there is little difference. That every one is already pardoned he thinks clearly contrary to Scripture; and he objects to Mr. Erskine seeming to think that those who have not received this truth have not received the Gospel. 'I don't like,' he said, 'narrowing the broad basis of the Gospel to the pin-point speculations of an individual brain. One thing (he added, and his countenance assumed a look of deep feeling) I fear, I do fear that the train of his thoughts might ultimately lead Mr. Erskine to doubt the eternity of future punishments. Now that would be going sadly against Scripture.' In our progress he was arrested by an ancient Babylonish brick inscribed with unknown characters. I wish you could have heard him enlarge on the interest of gazing on what perhaps contained stores of knowledge which could throw such light on history, of gazing on what contained the ideas of some individual or nation, while reflecting no ideas back on us

* For a statement of these doctrines, see "Gospel Truth Delineated," by the Rev. Mr Bruce of Whitburn.

—and yet these characters have taken their birth from a human mind—and how long ago! He placed himself opposite a lion: 'I never look on that spectacle,' he said, without feeling reflected from it the expression of a positive virtue—the noble independence, the dignified generosity, the dauntless courage.' . . . I never saw any person so happy as he seems. He looks upon both the political and religious agitation of the times with the comfortable conviction of the enthusiast, that great good will come out of all, and is not in the least disturbed."

With Mr. Irving, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Campbell, and their chief followers, it had long been a matter of belief that the miraculous gifts conferred upon the primitive Church had been promised to the Church universal, and that it was lack of faith alone which prevented their being at any time enjoyed. They desired, they prayed for, they expected their return. At last, the startling announcement reached the public ear, that the miraculous gifts of the day of Pentecost had reappeared. On a Sabbath evening in the end of March, Mary Campbell was lying on a bed of weakness, and what seemed likely to prove a bed of death. Her sister, a female friend, and one or two of the household, were engaged along with her in prayer, when suddenly she was visited by a mysterious impulse, and with almost superhuman strength and in a loud exalted tone, she poured forth in some unknown tongue "a volume of majestic sound." Occasionally, in moments of inspiration, seizing pen or pencil, and writing with lightning speed, she covered scraps of paper with strange characters, said to be of an unknown language. Not long after, at a prayer-meeting in Port-Glasgow, the same pretended gift of tongues was exercised by a person named M'Donald; and there as elsewhere miraculous cures were alleged to have been wrought.

The sensation excited by the first announcement of these pretended miracles was much greater than it is easy now to conceive. Mr. Erskine visited the west of Scotland, and at once declared it to be his belief that the utterances to which he listened were the fruits of inspiration.* On the first receipt of the intelligence,

* "For the languages are distinct, well-inflected, well-compacted languages: they are not random collections of sounds, they are composed of words of various lengths, with the natural variety, and yet possessing that commonness of character which marks them to be one distinct language. I have heard many people speak gibberish, but this is not gibberish, it is decidedly well-compacted language."—Erskine's "Gifts of the Spirit," p. 16.

Speaking of the utterances as heard afterwards in his own church in Regent Square, Mr. Irving says, "But no one hearing and observing the utterance could for a moment doubt it, inasmuch as the whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power and strength and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from that of the person's ordinary utterance in any mood; and I would say, both in its form and in its

Dr. Chalmers declared himself ready to believe whatever was substantiated upon unchallengeable evidence; and having gone to stay for a few days at Broomhall, he writes:—"*April* 22.—We arrived in safety. Have just time to say that Lady Elgin is much interested by the accounts I have brought her of the doings in the west. If anything more transpires there, do let us know it immediately by letter." "*April* 26.—We are all greatly interested by the west country proceedings, and are hearing daily of them."

On returning from Broomhall, Dr. Chalmers left Edinburgh for London, not forgetting, however, amid all his preparations for appearing before the Committee of the House then sitting on the state of Ireland, to take with him one of Mary Campbell's autographs, for the purpose of submitting it to some of the oriental scholars of the metropolis. He went to London at the solicitation of Mr. Spring Rice, who had written him to the following effect:—

"Wimpole Street, *March* 26, 1830.

"Sir,—I make no apology for the liberty I take in addressing you. I feel convinced that my motive will be in itself an apology. Engaged as I am in the prosecution of an important duty to my country, you will I am satisfied pardon me if through you I seek to obtain information that can be practically applied for the lessening of human suffering. You are aware that I have obtained the appointment of a Committee on the state of the Irish poor. Our inquiries are now in progress, and I am charged with the laborious duty of chairman. Many members of Parliament recommend the introduction into Ireland of the English system of Poor-laws: others suggest a modification of that system: the practice of Scotland is referred to by a third class. On all these points, but more particularly with respect to your

effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march, and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neil. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying; it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard, some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and of art exhibited at the oratorios in the Concerts of Ancient Music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service; insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive Church. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said. it is regularly formed, well pronounced, deeply felt discourse, which evidently wanteth only the ear of him whose native tongue it is to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech."

own experience in North Britain, your evidence would be of the most extreme value and importance, if it were possible for you to visit London during the session. I am unwilling to summon you without your permission, being well aware of the value of your time and the important functions you are called upon to perform; but if not entirely inconsistent with other duties and engagements, I should take the liberty of naming you to the Committee, and calling for your attendance.—I am, with sincere respect, your very obedient humble servant,—T. Spring Rice."

The opportunity which this invitation presented of unfolding his peculiar opinions as to pauperism was too favourable to be neglected, and Dr. Chalmers at once consented to go. After having given a statement of his general objections to Poor-laws, and a very full detail of his proceedings in Glasgow with their results, Dr. Chalmers was asked—

"From the attention you have been able to give to the condition of Ireland, in the course of your observation and study, do you conceive that there exist in that country any difficulties to prevent the application of your general principles to Ireland? —Though not minutely or statistically acquainted with Ireland, I have great faith in the identity of human nature all the world over, and certainly my general convictions on the subject of pauperism refer as much to Ireland as to any other country.

"It would appear from the evidence taken before this Committee, that many of the agricultural districts of Ireland are now in what may be called a transition state, and that there is a tendency in altering the system of managing lands, to consolidate farms, and to unite together small farms of five or ten acres into large farms of thirty and forty acres, the small cottagers passing into the state of labourers, which change seems to be productive of pressure upon the population; do you consider that those circumstances would render the introduction of any principle of assessment advisable or necessary?—The introduction of the principle of assessment would just have the same effect upon the population now about to leave their farms that it has upon operative manufacturers in a season of depression; it would keep them together, and subject the parishes permanently to the evil resulting from a redundant population, and prevent that natural distribution of the people which is best adapted to the new state of things.

"The population of Ireland being chiefly potato-fed, which is

a crop attended with great fluctuations and casualties, do you consider that those fluctuations and casualties would render a system of compulsory relief advisable?—Quite the reverse.

"In what respect do you consider the assessment principle would be productive of evil under such circumstances?—I think it would just add to the recklessness and improvidence of the people, and so land the country in a still greater population without increased means of maintaining them. If I may be permitted, I will advert to a principle which I think may be called the pervading fallacy in the speculations of those who advocate the establishment of a Poor-rate in Ireland, and is founded on the observation of a connexion between a high state of character and a high state of economic comfort. It is quite palpable that so it is in fact; but there seems to be an important mistake in the order of causation. It is often conceived that comfort is the cause and character is the effect; now I hold that character is the cause and that comfort is the effect. It does not appear that if you lay hold of a man thirty or forty years old, with his inveterate habits, and improve his economic condition, by giving him, through a Poor-rate or otherwise, £3 or £4 a year more, it does not appear to me that this man will be translated thereby into other habits or higher tastes, but he will dissipate it generally in the same reckless and sordid kind of indulgence to which he had been previously accustomed; whereas, if instead of taking hold of the man, and attempting to elevate him by the improvement of his economic condition, you take hold of the boy, and attempt to infuse into him the other element, which I conceive to be the causal one, by means of education, then you will, through the medium of character, work out an improvement in his economic condition. What I should advise is, that education be made universal in Ireland, and that you should weather for a season the annoyance of Ireland's mendicity, and the annoyance of that pressure which I conceive to be altogether temporary. This appears to me the only principle upon which Ireland can be securely and effectually brought to a higher standard of enjoyment, and into the state of a well-habited and well-conditioned peasantry. I think that if patiently waited for, very great results might be looked for ere another generation pass away; but then the establishment of a Poor-law would throw a very heavy obstruction indeed on that educational process, to which alone I look for a permanent improvement in the state of Ireland.

"You have stated that you conceive the tendency of the principle of assessment would be to increase population, and to create or to increase habits of improvidence and inconsiderate marriages; now, if it is shown that in Ireland the population has increased more rapidly, and that greater improvidence exists than in Britain, how would you reconcile those two statements, your statement of principle and this statement of fact?—I am quite sensible of the effect which this complication of the problem has had in casting what may be called a general obscuration over it. If the only element upon which the standard of enjoyment depended was a Poor-rate, and if in point of fact we saw in a country where a Poor-rate was established a much higher standard of enjoyment than in a country where there was no Poor-rate, the inference would be a very fair one—establish the Poor-rate there, and we shall bring the people up to a higher standard. But the whole matter is mixed and complicated with other influences; there are other elements than the Poor-rate which enter into the question of a nation's prosperity, and have a deciding influence on the taste and condition of the people. The low standard of enjoyment in Ireland is attributable not to the want of a Poor-rate, but to other causes—to misgovernment and to imperfect education. On the other hand, there has been a gradual elevation of the people of England, keeping pace with its commerce, its growth in general opulence, its pure administration of justice. The better condition of its people is no more due to its Poor-rate than it is to its national debt. Its high standard of enjoyment is not in consequence of its Poor-rate, but in spite of its Poor-rate. I believe that had there been no Poor-rate in England, there would have been a higher standard of enjoyment than there is now; and, on the other hand, that if there had been a Poor-rate in Ireland, there would have been a lower standard of enjoyment there than there is at present. In a word, had the condition of the two countries with reference to the single circumstance of a Poor-rate been reversed, there would have been a still wider difference between them in favour of England and against Ireland, than there is at this moment.

"You conceive that if you were to add to the causes which have tended to increase rapidly the population of Ireland and to produce improvidence and recklessness on the part of the people, an additional cause tending in the same direction, namely, the establishment of a Poor-rate, you conceive the evils already existing would be very much augmented?—They would. If it

is intended to introduce the system of Poor-rate into Ireland with a view of elevating the standard of enjoyment, or elevating the general condition of the families of Ireland, this is an aim far different from the ordinary purpose of a Poor-rate. The aim of the present system of Poor-rate is to rescue a fraction of the people from extreme wretchedness; but should it aim at the still more magnificent object of raising the general population above the level and the rate of its present enjoyments, the very expense of such an achievement, extending to a million families in Ireland, would seem to fasten upon the scheme the charge of being utterly impracticable, besides utterly failing in its object, for that is really not the way of raising a people to higher tastes and habits of enjoyment.

"Do you not consider that the improvidence of the people, and their recklessness in consequence of the increase of their numbers, will be found in a direct porportion to their misery and degradation, provided the misery is not of that cast which immediately affects human life?—I think that the causal and antecedent influence in the whole matter is a moral one. The people are in an uneducated state, with perhaps no great infusion of Christian principle in their minds; it is this which produces misery and a low economic condition, and if brought out of this by direct educational means, it will operate favourably upon their providential habits so as to restrain the tendency of the country to over-population.

"Are you of opinion that a measure of colonization upon an extended scale, applied as a national effort to the pauperism of the United Kingdom, especially of Ireland, would be a beneficial measure, facilitating the introduction of amended laws, and of a more judicious management of the poor, and if blended with a judicious education, would produce improved habits of thinking on the part of the lower classes, especially the younger portion of them?—I think it would be beneficial; but I do not think that the application of the general cure should wait for the scheme of colonization, though I think that such a scheme might operate as an auxiliary to the cure. In this view, a scheme of colonization might be very useful."

The project was at this time entertained of introducing a national system of education into Ireland, and much difference of opinion existed as to the place which Scriptural instruction should have in such schools as were instituted by Government. The following questions and answers on this subject are inserted

here, as the great question of National Education as to England and Scotland still lies open; and as some interest may attach to the opinions expressed by Dr. Chalmers at this particular period.

"What observations would you make to the Committee upon the principles laid down in that Report,* which, whilst it connects religious instruction essentially with the principles of national education, in order to meet the difficulties of a mixed community, leaves that religious instruction which is rendered absolutely necessary, under the supervision of the respective ministers of the various denominations?—My approbation of the leading principle in that Report depends upon the construction which is given to it. 'Resolved, That this Committee, with reference to the opinions above recorded, consider that no system of education can be expedient which may be calculated to influence or disturb the peculiar tenets of any sect or denomination of Christians.' If it be meant by this clause that there shall be no compulsion on Catholics to attend the Scriptural class, I quite agree with it; but if it be meant by this clause that in deference to any principle or inclination of theirs there shall be no Scriptural class open to the demand of every parent who may choose that his children may attend it, to that I would not agree, and on this matter I would hold no negotiation with any party whatever; but instituting a school on what I judge to be the best constitution for one, I would hold it forth to the free choice of all the parochial families, and I think that a Scriptural class should be the integrant and indispensable part of every such school.

"Are the Committee then to understand that you consider the system of education would be incomplete without the establishment of a Scriptural class in each school, but that you consider it would be inexpedient to render the attendance upon such Scriptural class compulsory upon the parties?—I would not have any part of the education given at the parish school made compulsory; they should no more be compelled to attend the Bible class than to attend the reading or arithmetic class, and the Bible would of course fall to be read by the more advanced scholars. I cannot answer for what the Catholics will do, though I have a very strong opinion upon what they ought to do. If they do not attend the Scriptural reading that is going on in a school so constituted, then I think the districts which

* Report of Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Classes.

they occupy should be laid open to the influence of all that general religious activity that is now expatiating freely over the length and the breadth of Ireland. My idea of the perfection of an ecclesiastical system lies in this, that in the first instance there should be an establishment, but that establishment constantly operated upon, stimulated and kept on the alert by the zeal and activity of an energetic, active, and unconstrained dissenterism; and I have a parallel idea to this in reference to a scholastic system, that there should be an apparatus of stationary schools, but if those stationary schools are not working the effect which is desirable, and which effect is, that the whole young population of the country should be leavened with Scriptural knowledge, then I say that with reference to those districts of country where this deficiency prevails, there should be free scope and encouragement given to the same sort of active and zealous exertion on the part of religious philanthropists, whether acting individually or in societies, and that in all such places there should be full and free encouragement given to the talents and the energy and the competition of private adventurers.

"By a Scriptural class, do you mean a class meeting on ordinary school-days, and at ordinary school-hours, or would you apply that denomination to a class which met on special days fixed for that purpose?—I would greatly prefer that the Scriptural class should be taught every day of the week; I should consider it very defective to confine the reading of the Scriptures to one or two days of the week.

"But whether upon one or more days of the week, or every day, do you still think that no compulsion ought to be used, and no regulation enforced by authority to render the attendance upon that class a *sine qua non?*—Certainly not.

"Had you at Glasgow any portion of your parishioners in St. John's of a religion differing from the Established Church of Scotland?—A good many; it was one of those parishes in which, from the population having outstripped the established means for their instruction, there were very few indeed who belonged to the Established Church of Scotland.

"Were there any Roman Catholics?—A good many Roman Catholics.

"Were any of those Roman Catholics in the progress of education within your view?—There happened to be one school very numerously attended, to the extent of 300 scholars, within the limits of the parish of St. John's; it was a school which, along

with two others, was supported by the Catholic School Association that was formed in Glasgow, and we made what we thought a very good compromise with the Catholic clergyman; he consented to the use of the Bible, according to the authorized version, as a school-book, we consenting to have Catholic teachers, and upon that footing the education went on, and went on I believe most prosperously, and with very good effect. From the mere delight I had in witnessing the display and the exercise of native talent among the young Irish, I frequently visited that school, and I was uniformly received with the utmost welcome and respect by the schoolmaster. I remember, upon one occasion, when I took some ladies with me, and we were present at the examination of the school for about two hours, he requested, at the end of the examination, that I would address the children. I felt a kind of momentary embarrassment at the proposal; I was resolved, however, to address them as I would any Protestant children, and accordingly did address them, for perhaps a quarter or nearly half an hour, urging upon them that Scripture was the only rule of faith and manners, and other wholesome Protestant principles. The schoolmaster, so far from taking the slightest offence, turned round and thanked me most cordially for the address I had given.

"That schoolmaster being a Roman Catholic?—That schoolmaster being a Roman Catholic; it really convinced me that a vast deal might be done by kindness, and by discreet and friendly personal intercourse with the Roman Catholics. I may also observe, that whereas it has been alleged that under the superintendence of a Catholic teacher there might be a danger of only certain passages of Scripture being read, to the exclusion of others, as far as my observation extended, he read quite indiscriminately and impartially over Scripture; I recollect that day in particular, I found him engaged with the first chapter of John.

"Did you meet with any contradiction on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy of Glasgow?—Not in the least, for the clergyman was a party in the negotiation; he attended our meetings, and there was a mutual understanding between the clergyman and the members of the committee: nay, a good many members of the committee were themselves Roman Catholics; and I remember when I was asked to preach for the Roman Catholic School Society, the committee came and thanked me for my exertions, and more particularly the Roman

Catholic members of that committee, who were present at the sermon."*

"May I be permitted to say upon this subject with reference to the difficulties between Catholics and Protestants, I have felt those difficulties so very conquerable by friendship and kindness, that I feel more and more impressed with the importance of a good Protestant clergy in Ireland. I think, that with good sense and correct principle on the part of the Established ministers, a right accommodation on this subject would not be difficult in any parish. I hold the Established Church of Ireland, in spite of all that has been alleged against it, to be our very best machinery for the moral and political regeneration of that country. Were it to be overthrown, I should hold it a death-blow to the best hopes of Ireland. Only it must be well manned; the machine must be rightly wrought ere it can answer its purpose: and the more I reflect on the subject, the more I feel that the highest and dearest interests of the land are linked with the support of the Established Church, always provided that Church is well patronized. I know not what the amount of the Government patronage is in the Church of Ireland, but in as far as in the exercise of that patronage, they, instead of consulting for the moral and religious good of the people, do, in the low game of party and commonplace ambition, turn the church-livings into the bribes of political subserviency, they, in fact, are the deadliest enemies of the Irish people, and the most deeply responsible for Ireland's miseries and Ireland's crimes."

As Mrs. Chalmers accompanied her husband on this visit, we are deprived of that minute information which his journal letters would have supplied. His first fortnight in the metropolis was spent among "public and parliamentary men;" and the following short extracts from his journal are inserted to show now many marked and kind attentions he received.

* I have inserted these extracts in order to show in what a liberal spirit Dr. Chalmers and those who thought and acted with him, were at this time willing to deal with their Roman Catholic countrymen. That liberality of conduct was accompanied with the belief, that by mingling on friendly terms with Protestantism, Popery might come at last to lay aside her prejudices against the truth, and be readier to receive and acknowledge it. The whole spirit, policy, and actual procedure of Popery, during the last ten years, painfully prove that this expectation was misplaced. Dr. Chalmers in his later years readily but sadly acknowledged that he had been disappointed. I have been credibly informed, that when spoken to about the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, not long before his death, he said that it was a historical blunder. I have good reason to believe that he never altered his opinion as to the wisdom and policy of that measure, but he would readily acknowledge and it was to this I apprehend that the declaration reported to me pointed) that it had been a historical blunder to expect that gentle treatment would either strip Popery of its natural intolerance or deaden its desire to rule.

"*May* 11.—To Richmond with Mr. Noel.

"13*th.*—Breakfasted with Sir James Mackintosh.

"14*th.*—Dined in Mr. Colquhoun's—Mrs. Heber there.

"15*th.*—Breakfasted in Sir George Philip's—Lord King. Dined in Sir Thomas Acland's.

"17*th.*—Dined with the Marquess of Lansdowne.

"19*th.*—Dined with Mr. Buxton.

"21*st.*—Dined in Lord Teignmouth's.

"23*d.*—The Temple Church—Mr. Brougham.

"24*th.*—Dined in Lord Radstock's.

"25*th.*—Dined with Mr. Leonard Horner.

"26*th.*—Dined with the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

"27*th.*—Breakfasted with Sir James Mackintosh.

"29*th.*—To Sir Robert Inglis's, where I dined. Slept in Lord Calthorpe's.

"31*st.*—To Mr. Hoare of Hampstead-Heath—Mr. Coleridge—Mr. J. J. Gurney—Dr. Lushington—Mrs. Fry—Mrs. Joanna Baillie.

"*June* 1.—To Mr. Wilberforce's at Highwood Hill.

"*June* 2.—To London with Mr. Wilberforce. Interview with Sir Robert Peel. Dinner with the Marquess of Lansdowne.

"*June* 3.—Dined in the Archbishop of York's."

Through Mrs. Rich, the daughter of Sir James Mackintosh, the writing of Mary Campbell was submitted to the inspection of Sir George Staunton, whose answer was much to the same effect as that given by Dr. Lee of Cambridge.*

On the morning of the day on which he was to visit the Temple Church, Dr. Chalmers breakfasted with Mr. Murray of Henderland. He was introduced here to an old military officer, but in so inaudible a voice, that as they sat down to breakfast neither knew who the other was. "Well," said the old General,

* "*Claremont Row, Pentonville, London, May* 19, 1830.—DEAR SIR,—I was not aware that the document sent to me by the Rev. Mr. W. of G. some time ago, was of so much importance as your letter intimates, otherwise I should have answered him much earlier, which, perhaps, you will be so good as to let him know. I can now only say, that whatever it contains, if indeed it contains anything, must for ever remain a mystery to me, as I am quite unable to attach any meaning, sound, &c., to the characters in which it is written. This is the fact of the case. My opinion is, that it contains neither character nor language known in any region under the sun: and this, without laying claim to any miraculous powers, I will venture to predict will turn out to be the fact. A similar paper was sent to me by Sir A. J. about a month or six weeks ago, which he told me came from Scotland, and which I returned with an answer somewhat like the present. If the authoress of these papers has indeed the miraculous gift of tongues, why does she not at once make out the proof, by giving out a composition in some tongue confessedly known to a few at least? This would put an end to all possible doubt; and this too, was the sort of proof given in the apostolic times: 'We do all hear them,' &c. But I am now diverging from my purpose.—I am, reverend and dear Sir, yours very faithfully, SAMUEL LEE."

quite ignorant who was by his side—"what a fuss Brougham and Scarlett have been making to get the organ arranged for Lutheran tunes for Chalmers." The half-hour with Coleridge was filled up without intermission by one continuous flow of eloquent discourse from the prince of talkers. He began—in answer to the common inquiries as to his health—by telling of a fit of insensibility in which, three weeks before, he had lain for thirty-five minutes. As sensibility returned, and before he had opened his eyes, he uttered a sentence about the fugacious nature of consciousness, from which he passed to a discussion of the singular relations between the soul and the body. Asking for Mr. Irving, but waiting for no reply, he poured out an eloquent tribute of his regard—mourning pathetically that such a man should be so throwing himself away. Mr. Irving's book on the "Human Nature of Christ" in its analysis was minute to absurdity; one would imagine that the pickling and preserving were to follow, it was so like a cookery book. Unfolding then his own scheme of the Apocalypse—talking of the mighty contrast between its Christ and the Christ of the Gospel narrative, Mr. Coleridge said that Jesus did not come now as before—meek and gentle, healing the sick and feeding the nungry, and dispensing blessings all around, but he came on a white horse; and who were his attendants?—famine, and war, and pestilence.

From listening to the mingled poetry and metaphysics of this wonderful man, Dr. Chalmers and his party returned to dine at Mr. Hoare's. "At dinner," says Mr. J. J. Gurney,* "we had an interesting party,—Dr. Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester; Dr. Lushington, the Civilian; Buxton, and a family party including our sister E. Fry. The conversation during dinner turned to the subject of capital punishments. Lushington, in the warmest terms, expressed his abhorrence of the system, and declared his opinion, that the poor criminal was thus hurried out of life and into eternity, by means of the perpetration of another crime, far greater, for the most part, than any which the sufferer himself had committed. He even indicated a *feeling*, that the worse the criminal the more improper such a punishment. Buxton rallied him, and restated his argument with great pleasantry: 'The Dr. assures us, that if your Lordship was condemned to the gallows, or you, Dr. Chalmers, were about to suffer the *ultimum supplicium*, he would be the last man to prevent the execution of the law, or prevent the translation of the virtuous

* "Reminiscences of Dr. Chalmers," by Joseph John Gurney, Esq.—(Not published

to a happier state; but to terminate the probationary existence of the most degraded of our race—the worst of robbers, or the most outrageous of murderers—was opposed at once to all the feelings of humanity, and to all the principles of religion.' After all, however, there is a great deal of truth in Dr. Lushington's statement, and substantially we were all agreed.

"After dinner a brisk discussion arose respecting the comparative *religious* condition of the Long Parliament, and of our representatives in the present day of latitudinarianism and laxity. Lushington contended that the advantage lay on the side of our modern senate, and that the looseness of the *present* was a less crying evil than the hypocrisy of *past* times. The Bishop and Chalmers took the other side, and not only demonstrated the religious superiority of the Puritans, but strongly insisted on the great principle, that it is godliness which exalteth a nation, and which can alone impart true strength and stability to human governments. Chalmers stated the points of the argument with great strength and clearness, and the Bishop confirmed what he said. In the evening Joanna Baillie joined our party; and after the Bishop and others were gone, we formed a sociable circle, of which Chalmers was the centre. The evidences of Christianity became again the topic of conversation. I rather think the harmony of Scripture, and the accordance and correspondence of one part with another were adverted to. This *evidence of accordance* is one to which Dr. C.'s mind is obviously much alive. He knows how to trace in the adaptation between one branch of truth and another, and especially between *God's religion* and man's EXPERIENCE, the *master-hand* of perfect wisdom and goodness.

"CHAL. 'The historical evidences of Christianity are abundantly sufficient to satisfy the scrutinizing researches of the learned, and are within the reach of all well-educated persons. But the internal evidence of the Truth lies within the grasp of every sincere inquirer. Every man who reads his Bible, and compares what it says of mankind with the records of his own experience—every man who marks the adaptation of its mighty system of doctrine to his own spiritual need as a sinner in the sight of God, is furnished with practical proof of the divine origin of our religion. I love this evidence. It is what I call the *portable evidence of Christianity.*'

"On the following morning he read the Scriptures to the family circle, and selected the latter half of John xiv. The

verse which peculiarly attracted his attention was verse 21, 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.

"When our conversation was concluded, my brother, Samuel Hoare, took me with him on the box of his chariot, and drove Dr. Chalmers and his highly pleasing wife to Wilberforce's, at Highwood Hall, beyond Hendon. Dr. C. and his lady were engaged to stay some days there, and we were glad of the opportunity of enjoying the company of the *senator emeritus*, together with that of Dr. C., for a few hours. Our morning passed delightfully; Chalmers was indeed comparatively silent, as he often is when many persons are collected, and the stream of conversation flowed between ourselves and the ever lively Wilberforce. I have seldom observed a more amusing and pleasing contrast between two great men than between Wilberforce and Chalmers. Chalmers is stout and erect, with a broad countenance—Wilberforce minute, and singularly twisted: Chalmers, both in body and mind, moves with a deliberate step—Wilberforce, infirm as he is in his advanced years, flies about with astonishing activity, and while, with nimble finger, he seizes on everything that adorns or diversifies his path, his mind flits from object to object with unceasing versatility. I often think that particular men bear about with them an analogy to particular animals: Chalmers is like a good-tempered lion—Wilberforce is like a bee: Chalmers can say a pleasant thing now and then, and laugh when he has said it, and he has a strong touch of humour in his countenance, but in general he is *grave*, his thoughts grow to a great size before they are uttered—Wilberforce sparkles with life and wit, and the characteristic of his mind is 'rapid productiveness.' A man might be in Chalmers's company for an hour, especially in a party, without knowing who or what he was—though in the end he would be sure to be detected by some display of powerful originality. Wilberforce, except when fairly asleep, is never latent. Chalmers knows how to veil himself in a decent cloud—Wilberforce is always in sunshine. Seldom, I believe, has any mind been more strung to a perpetual tune of love and praise. Yet these persons, distinguished as they are from the world at large, and from each other, present some admirable points of resemblance. Both of them are broad thinkers, and liberal feelers: both of them are arrayed in humility, meekness, and charity: both appear to hold self in

little reputation: above all, both love the Lord Jesus Christ, and reverently acknowledge Him to be their *only Saviour*."

In his interview with Sir Robert Peel, that distinguished statesman took occasion in a way most gratifying to Dr. Chalmers's feelings, to inform him that he had had the pleasure of recommending to the King that he should be nominated as one of His Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. This private announcement was confirmed by the following letter:—

"*Whitehall, June* 2, 1830.—DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to repeat to you the communication which I had the honour of making to you personally this morning: His Majesty has been pleased to signify his intention of nominating you one of His Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary in Scotland.

"I trust that it will be gratifying to your feelings to receive this appointment, unsolicited as it has been on your part, and conferred exclusively in consideration of your high character and eminent acquirements and services. I have great personal satisfaction in being the channel of this communication.—I am, my dear Sir, with sincere esteem, your faithful servant,

ROBERT PEEL."

Attracted by a noble instance of individual liberality, and by the prospect of a few days' intercourse with Mr. Foster and Mr. Hall, Dr. Chalmers had consented to open for public worship an Independent chapel, built by Mr. Hare in the neighbourhood of Bristol. On his arrival at Mr. Hare's, he found that a strong current of opinion hostile to the Established Church of England prevailed in that society into which he was thrown; and as his opening of the chapel might possibly lay his own sentiments upon this subject open to misinterpretation, he thought it right, as it certainly was both candid and manly, to close the sermon which he delivered upon this occasion with the following declaration:—

"I hold the Establishment to be not only a great Christian good, but one indispensable to the upholding of a diffused Christianity throughout the land. In spite of all the imputations and errors which its greatest enemies have laid to its door, we hold, that on the alternative of its existence or non-existence, there would hang a most fearful odds to the Christianity of England. We are ready to admit that the working of the apparatus might be made greatly more efficient; but we at the same time contend, that were it taken down, the result would be tantamount

to a moral blight on the length and breadth of our land. We think it might be demonstrated, that were the ministrations of your Established Church to be done away, they would never be replaced by all the zeal, energy, and talent of private adventurers. Instead of the frequent parish church, that most beauteous spectacle to a truly Christian heart, because to him the richest in moral associations, with its tower peeping forth from amidst the verdure of the trees in which it is embosomed, there would be presented to the eye of the traveller only rare and thinly scattered meeting-houses. The cities might indeed continue to be supplied with regular preaching, but innumerable villages and hamlets, left dependent on a precarious itinerancy, would be speedily reduced to the condition of a moral waste. Our peasants would again become Pagans, or under the name and naked form of Christianity, would sink into the blindness and brutishness and sad alienation of Paganism. But we are far from regarding with a jealous eye the zeal and exertions of other orthodox religious bodies. In connexion with an Establishment we wish ever to see an able, vigorous, and flourishing dissenterism. The services of dissenters are needed to supplement the deficiencies, and to correct and to compensate for the vices of an Establishment, as far as that Establishment has the misfortune to labour under the evil of a lax and negligent ministration, a corrupt and impure patronage. Such wholesome dissent is a purifier, and because a purifier a strengthener of the Church. I am willing to profess anywhere, and upon all occasions, my sense of the usefulness of such dissenters, and of the worth of their services; but there is no place where a homage for that order of society should be more profoundly felt and more willingly proclaimed than in a city which is honoured by the residence or the immediate vicinity of distinguished men belonging to that communion whose admirable writings have shed a lustre over our common Christianity, and who are themselves equally eminent for the mildness of their private worth and the majesty of their genius. Let churchmen be assured that their most dignified attitude, in reference to dissenters, is the attitude of fearlessness; and their most becoming part is that of a kind and friendly co-operation with them in all that relates to the moral and spiritual good of the population."

Dr. Chalmers did not reach Edinburgh till the 10th July. Of the two great public events by which this summer of 1830 was signalized, one had then already happened, and the other

was impending. The death of King George IV., which took place on the 26th June, opened up the way in England to the greatest political change which ever happened without a revolution; and "the three days" at Paris drove Charles X. from the throne of France, and sent him an exile to our shores. About a month after the French Revolution, Mr. Gurney was in Edinburgh, where, during a period of confinement, he had almost daily intercourse with Dr. Chalmers. "I have found his visits," he writes, "like two things of which I have lately experienced the vast importance—a tonic for the faint, and a crutch for the lame. The new Revolution in France, and the commotions which have since taken place in other parts of Europe, have of course been the subject of daily thought, meditation, and converse. 'I think,' said Dr. Chalmers, 'the Scriptures afford us good reason to believe that the ultimate diffusion of pure Christianity in the world must be preceded by commotion and confusion and distress of nations. Look at the new French Revolution—there is much that one approves at *present* both in its tendency and its results. But you see it has been effected by the growth of merely human intelligence—by the working of the unregenerate mind without a particle of Christian principle. It is just the striving of the natural wisdom and pride of man after that which we are apt to conceive to be the consummation of our happiness—*a condition of independence.* I am not one of those who underrate the value of civil and political liberty; but I am well assured that it is only the principles of Christianity which can impart true security, prosperity, and happiness, either to individuals or to nations. I am prepared to expect, that on the efforts which are now making in the world to regenerate our species, without religion, *God will impress the stamp of a solemn and expressive mockery.*'

"It is evident that Dr. Chalmers is deeply impressed with the opinion that an overwhelming tide is but too likely, ere long, to sweep down many of our civil, literary, and religious institutions. The spirit which prevails abroad he apprehends to be in somewhat active operation at home, and he ascribes its existence and increase to the wide dissemination of *superficial* knowledge. Chalmers is a great advocate for religious establishments.

"CHAL. 'I like to see the *earth* helping the *woman.* I do not plead very earnestly for any particular church, but I would have a well-formed machinery fixed in every country—ducts of irrigation—through which the predominant religion, whatever it is,

may diffuse its streams of Christian instruction. I do not perceive that when such a provision is absent, men are prone to supply the deficiency for themselves; and the practical effect appears to be that a large proportion of the population is left without any religious instruction at all.

"'The population in England and Scotland has immensely outgrown the provisions of the two Establishments—and what becomes of the surplus? They do not provide *themselves* with religious privileges, but are more than content to continue without them. I was furnished with a *picturesque argument* for Establishments, on the top of St. Paul's. When I looked eastward over the city of London, I beheld it *dotted* with spires—for the city was built at a time when the Church was able to meet the demands of the inhabitants. But westward the eye roams over a comparatively new town and new population, and a *spire* is hardly to be seen. On the whole, I conclude, that unless the law of the land provides churches, and a corresponding administration of the gospel, it is in vain to expect that the people will provide them for themselves.'

"I told Dr. Chalmers that this was almost the only subject, that I knew of, on which I did not *sympathize* with him. Nevertheless, I fully unite in sincerely deprecating the fall of any of our religious institutions by the rude hand of anarchy and infidelity. It ought to be remarked, that Dr. Chalmers's views on this subject are connected in his mind, not with a bigoted attachment to any particular form of religion, but only with an earnest desire for the *maintenance of Christianity itself.*

"Chal. 'The Scotch Establishment has one great advantage over that of England. It acknowledges no temporal head, and admits of no civil or Parliamentary interference with its doctrine and discipline. The State helps to support it, but has nothing to do with the conduct of its ministrations. This devolves solely on its Synod. It is not so with the Church of England; but I would not demolish the Church of England on that account—I would only restore to her her own Convocation. Were some little poisonous stream to find its way into the sources of the Nile, by which all the waters of the river were rendered insalubrious, it would be a foolish remedy to cut up and destroy the dikes by which those waters are conveyed through all the plains of Egypt. Good sense would dictate—*only*, the *stopping up of the small polluting fountain.*'

"Dr. Chalmers's conversations with us have been much more

frequently about *things* than *persons;* and indeed he has too much intelligence and power of mind to descend to a species of conversation commonly called gossip—which is the frequent refuge of many whose understandings are meagrely stored with information. Persons, however, who, from the combination of talent and oddity, have made a noise in the world, must lay their account for being the subject of conversation in all sorts of companies. Such a man is Edward Irving, who once acted as an assistant preacher to Dr. Chalmers, in St. John's Church at Glasgow.

"CHAL. 'When Irving was associated with me at Glasgow he did not attract a large congregation, but he completely attached to himself, and to his ministry, a limited number of persons, with whose minds his own was in affinity. I have often observed this effect produced by men whose habits of thinking and feeling are peculiar or eccentric. They possess a *magnetic* attraction for minds assimilated to their own.'

"Nevertheless, I observed, eccentricity, especially in people of serious religion, is extremely undesirable. I much prefer those broad intelligible qualities which attract the mass of mankind.

"CHAL. 'Yes, truly—after all, *gravitation* is much better than *magnetism*.

"'I undertook to open Irving's new chapel in London. The congregation, in their eagerness to obtain seats, had already been assembled about three hours. Irving said, he would assist me by reading a chapter for me in the first instance. He chose the very longest chapter in the Bible, and went on with his exposition for an hour and a half. When my turn came, of what use could I be in an exhausted receiver? On another similar occasion he kindly proffered me the same aid, adding, "I can be short." I said, How long will it take you? He answered, "ONLY ONE HOUR AND FORTY MINUTES." Then, replied I, I must decline the favour.'

"CRAIG.* 'My friend, Mr. P., invited a party to supper. Some of his guests had three miles to walk home after the meal. But *before* its commencement, Mr. P. requested Irving, who was one of the party, to read the Bible and expound. He began and continued a discourse, which manifested not even a tendency towards termination until midnight. The supper was of course either burnt up or grown cold. When the clock struck twelve,

* The Rev. Mr. Craig of Edinburgh.

Mr. P. tremblingly and gently suggested to him that it might be desirable to draw to a close. "Who art *thou*," he replied, with prophetic energy, "who darest to interrupt the man of God in the midst of his administrations?" He pursued his commentary for some time longer, then closed the book, and waving his long arm over the head of his host, uttered an audible and deliberate prayer that his offence might be forgiven.'

"The last accounts which I have heard from the 'West Country' indicate a *progressive descent* into the absurd and preposterous. I was struck with the simplicity of mind and genuine charitableness which Dr. Chalmers displayed in conversing on this subject, before its issue was quite so apparent as it is at present.

"CHAL. 'Were Erskine at home, I should be very happy to bring you together. He is a most amiable and pleasing person, and one whose consistency of conduct proves the genuineness of his piety. It is true, however, that his imagination overpowers his other faculties. He assures me, that a quarter of an hour's personal examination on the spot would convince me of the truth of the West Country miracles. Incredulous as I am respecting it, I do not presume to determine what may or may not be included within the infinite variety of Divine dispensation. I just hold myself open to evidence.'

"One morning, while Dr. Chalmers was with us, and was speaking with great liberality of certain Christians who differ from him in sentiment, Dr. —— joined our party; an amiable and pious man, about my own age, once well known and loved by some members of our family. Unhappily he has now fallen into a religious system the very opposite to Chalmers's—a system of the most rigid exclusiveness. So strangely is his spiritual vision perverted, that while he condemns all denominations of Christians as fatally erring, he appears to presume that the true *universal* church of Christ consists of himself and a few other individuals, who, while they reject the Sabbath, occasionally meet together in this place for devotional purposes. After Chalmers was gone, he began to unfold his views to me, which appear to be simply these:—that the Church of Christ is ONE; and that since he and his friends were the only persons who exactly conformed themselves to the model of the New Testament, they, and they only, were that ONE Church. I can hardly describe the odd feeling it gave me, just after I had been expatiating in the broad fields of Dr. Chalmers's heart and intellect, to be thus

suddenly thrust into the narrowest of imaginable corners. The contrast was instructive, and enhanced my value for that mighty stream of Divine love and charity which overleaps all the barriers of pride and prejudice. May I ever be preserved from becoming a latitudinarian in religion! but while I am deeply convinced that on no other foundation can any man stand with safety but *Jesus Christ*, I never more clearly saw than I do at present, that this foundation has a *breadth* proportioned to its stability. Christianity is a law of liberty. It may be said to teem with the riches of a divine *liberality*. God 'giveth to all men LIBERALLY, and upbraideth not.' I am disposed to think that the *breadth* of every system of religion, which has Christ for its basis, is one of the best tests by which we may try its genuineness and its truth. I afterwards told Chalmers what had passed between Dr. —— and myself. He put on a countenance of great good humour. 'It reminds me,' said he, 'of an elderly gentleman, of whom I once knew something, who was fully persuaded that true Christianity was exclusively to be found in himself and an *old wife*. When the old lady died, the universal church was restricted to his single person.'

"I mentioned a work, popular among the Unitarians, which solves all the attributes of God into pure *benevolence*—denominates sin 'moral evil'—ascribes it to the direct appointment of God, and presumes to infer, that it not only promotes the general good, but, taken in connexion with its corrective consequences, in the end enhances the happiness of the sinner. Hence it follows, that if a man murders his parents, or flays his children alive, he will be the better for it in *the long run*.

"CHAL. 'It is a dangerous error to reduce the Divine attributes to the single quality of goodness. Our best metaphysicians (especially Brown) teach us, that the *ethical virtues* are in their nature unalterably independent. Justice is an ethical virtue, distinct in its origin, character, and end, and must not be confounded with any other. These principles apply to the moral attributes of God.' Yes, I said, they are blended, but not confused.

"CHAL. 'There is union in them, but not unity.—The harmony, yet distinctness, of the Divine moral attributes, is most instructively *inscribed* on the atonement of Christ.' Truly, I replied, that is a point where justice and benevolence meet—where God has displayed at once His abhorrence of sin and His mercy to the sinner.

"Chal. 'Brown had very low and inadequate views of the character of God. The same may be said of Paley—witness his founding his system of morals on expediency. This was indeed a degradation in a Christian and moral philosopher, and the more so, as even a Cicero could declaim against "utilitas" as the basis of morals.' I mentioned an anecdote which I have heard of Paley in his last illness, which is said to have had the authority of William Hey, the late noted surgeon at Leeds, and which, if true, is remarkably consoling. When not far from his end, Paley, in conversing with some of his family or friends, took a calm review of his several works. He expressed the deep regret and dissatisfaction which at that awful time he felt in the recollection of his 'Moral Philosophy.' He was happy to believe that his 'Natural Theology' and 'Evidences of Christianity' were sound and useful works; but the book on which his mind then dwelt with the greatest pleasure was his 'Horæ Paulinæ.'

"Chal. 'I am not surprised at this. It is an admirable statement of evidence, and displays a more masterly hand than any of his other works.' Our Lord has declared, that except we are 'converted, and become as little children,' we shall 'in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven.' I have heard that this lucid and powerful writer became a little child, in the best sense of the terms, before he died. I have also heard it stated, on what appeared to be good authority, that had his posthumous sermons been chronologically arranged, they would have displayed a gradually progressive change from a sort of semi-pelagianism, to a sound and evangelical view of Christianity.* It is delightful to be able to *ascribe* such a man as Paley to the company of true believers in a crucified Redeemer."

Upon the accession of William IV. to the throne, a deputation from the Church of Scotland was appointed to wait upon his Majesty, and to present a congratulatory address. Having been nominated as one of the deputation, Dr. Chalmers left Edinburgh early in October, making a considerable circuit in his way to London. From Shrewsbury, where he enjoyed for a day or two the hospitalities of Sir John B. Williams, the biographer of the Henrys, he wrote to Mrs. Chalmers that upon this occasion he would address his journal letters to each of his daughters in rota-

* The sermons of Dr. Chalmers, subjected to the same method of arrangement as that above suggested in regard to those of Paley, exhibit a still more striking alteration and progress of religious belief.—See Posthumous Works, vol. vi.

tion—"The lucky one," he adds, "will be she who gets the account of my presentation to the King and Queen." At Hereford he received a kindly welcome from the Rev. Mr. Gipps. "Breakfasted with him, and afterwards visited the cathedral—not so inferior a structure as I had been led to believe. Then ran up to the top of the cathedral tower, where I enjoyed a most glorious English prospect—a fine undulating country, all in a glow with the autumnal foliage of its woods, and entwined by the river Wye, on which Hereford is situated. Then dined with Mr. Gipps, and afterwards addressed his Sabbath-scholars, who were assembled in the chancel of the church, which was quite filled with genteel grown-up people, who overflowed into the church itself; and addressing, as I did, from a pulpit, it was tantamount to a sermon. I was afterwards told that Gipps would be taken to account for it by the dignitaries of the place. Walked in the Castle green, which is quite beautiful.

"*Oct.* 18.—Started at six. Got upon the top of the coach to Monmouth at seven. This not the direct road to Gloucester, but I was in quest of scenery. Monmouth is twenty miles from Hereford, and the approach to it for four miles is one of the most superb landscapes I ever enjoyed. Then to the top of the steeple, and took delighted cognisance of the whole panorama. I pronounce Monmouth to be the most central and commanding place for scenery in England. I hope at some future period to live a week there, with so many of my own and so many of the Morton family, and to have a distinct pleasurable excursion each day. Breakfasted half-way from Hereford to Monmouth. Wrote the first page of this letter in a coffee-house there. Got into the mail for Gloucester at twelve. Was obliged to take an inside, and had great difficulty in exchanging it with an outside, which I succeeded, however, in doing, and was borne along through such scenes of enchantment and loveliness as are surpassed nowhere. Ross is pre-eminent in this way; but the coachman would not allow me time to run up to its churchyard, and take a passing look of the finest prospect in England." After visiting his sister's family in Gloucestershire, Dr. Chalmers proceeded to Oxford.

"*Saturday, Oct.* 23, 1830.—My dear Grace,—One of the young Menteiths soon came to me, and conducted me to Dr. M'Bride, Principal of Magdalene Hall, who took me along with the two Menteiths through the magnificent assemblage of colleges and libraries, among which gardens and academic groves

were intermingled with the most venerable architecture, whose minarets, intermingled with the autumnal foliage of the wood, composed one of the finest spectacles I ever beheld—a spectacle greatly enhanced by the proudest literary associations, and the appearance of students gliding along the walks and amongst the arcades, in the monastic establishments of their order. The most striking object is the Bodleian Library, the second, it is said, in the world. They have begun to place books on separate subjects in separate apartments; and it will give you some idea both of their wealth, and also what an extensive thing literature is, that they the other day gave £2080 for a collection of books on *Hebrew learning* alone, and which fills a very large room. I think I have heard you profess a great desire to learn Hebrew, and therefore this room will be very much in your taste. From the top of the Radcliff Library we had a noble prospect of Oxford in all its glory of spires and towers and colleges. There are twenty-four different colleges: All-Souls is perhaps the richest of the structures—the most beauteous pinnacles being arranged along its quadrangle. Altogether the view presents us with the very finest composition of noble buildings I ever looked upon. Another very striking object was the Chapel of Christ Church, which is also the Cathedral of the diocese. There was service performing in it; and it being now so dark as to require the light of wax-candles, this, accompanied with the music of the choristers, the various dresses in white and scarlet of the ecclesiastics, the richness of the monuments, and the general style of the architecture, produced a very striking effect. We looked in at the dining-hall of the College, where there were distinct tables spread for the fellows, and noblemen, and gentlemen commoners, and commoners. They had not yet sat down to dinner, but I felt interested in seeing how the students, who all dine in public, were grouped. In retiring, met with Mr. Bruce, son to Lord Elgin, who is at this College. Dined with Dr. M'Bride, where there was a select party of lofty talent and learning assembled to meet me. First, Dr. Whately, author of a book on Logic, to whom I delivered a note of introduction; secondly, Dr. Burton, Professor of Theology, another very distinguished writer; thirdly, their wives, very accomplished and able women; fourthly, other heads and fellows of Universities; and in the forenoon I was introduced to Dr. Shuttleworth, an eminent preacher and publisher of sermons. I was greatly interested though much tired and fatigued. Dr. M'Bride

insisted on my going with him, so that, though I had fixed my quarters in the Angel Inn, I was obliged to send for all my luggage, and reposed for the night in a delicious academic retreat. Went to bed about eleven.

"*Sunday.*—Delighted in the morning with the ring of Oxford bells. The look-out from my window, too, was most interesting. Attended the chapel services of Magdalene Hall at half-past eight in the morning. Each hall and college has a separate chapel of its own. There were about forty young men in attendance. I must confess myself tired with the length and repetition of the English service. After breakfast Dr. M'Bride took me to the University Church, where the music, the splendid procession of the masters, the richness of their dresses, and the crowded attendance of the students, were all most interesting. The sermon was one of lofty talent by Dr. Shuttleworth. A number of Scotch students and others crowded round me after the sermon—a son of Lord Moncreiff, the two Menteiths, Mr. Bruce, Sir William Dunbar, Mr. Pusey, his brother, Professor of Hebrew, &c. Walked over the beautiful grounds of several colleges, made calls, amongst the rest Dr. Simmonds, whom Mrs. Chalmers knows. I have been persuaded by the urgency of the people here to preach in the evening. Called on Dr. W., a very powerful and original man; but I find the people here all love better to speak than to hear, so that I who give way on these occasions had less to do in that way.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, Oct.* 28, 1830.—MY DEAR MARGARET,—This is the big and busy day. Got up at seven. Went out to order the loan of a Court hat, which is promised me by twelve. A general dressing, and anxiety on all hands to be as snod* as possible. A breakfast at which all the members of the deputation were present; Dr. Singer, Dr. Cook, Dr. M'Knight, Dr. Lee, myself, Mr. Paul, Mr. Sinclair, Sir John Connel. We are, besides, to have Sir Henry Jardine, Mr. Pringle of Yair, and Dr. Stewart of Erskine, as attendants. A vast deal of consultation anent our movements to and from. We are all on edge. We have to make three bows; and the question is, whether we shall all make them on moving towards the throne, or after we have spread ourselves before it, and there is such a want of unanimity and distinct understanding about it, that I fear we shall misbe-

* *Anglice*, neat.

have. However, time will show, and I now lay down my pen till it is over.

"We assembled in our hotel at one. The greatest consternation amongst us about hats, which had been promised at twelve, but had not yet arrived. There were four wanting; and at length only three came, with the promise that we should get the other when we passed the shop. We went in three coaches and landed at the palace entry about half-past one. Ascended the stair; passed through a magnificent lobby, between rows of glittering attendants all dressed in gold and scarlet. Ushered into a large anteroom, full of all sorts of company walking about and collecting there for attendance on the levee: military and naval officers in splendid uniforms—high legal gentlemen with enormous wigs—ecclesiastics from archbishops to curates and inferior clergy. Our deputation made a most respectable appearance among them, with our cocked three-cornered hats under our arms, our bands upon our breasts, and our gowns of Geneva upon our backs. Mine did not lap so close as I would have liked, so that I was twice as thick as I should be, and it must have been palpable to every eye at the first glance, that I was the greatest man there—and that though I took all care to keep my coat unbuttoned, and my gown quite open: however, let not mamma be alarmed, for I made a most respectable appearance, and was treated with the utmost attention. I saw the Archbishop of York in the room, but did not get within speech of him. To make up for this, however, I was introduced to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was very civil; saw the Bishop of London, with whom I had a good deal of talk, and am to dine on Friday; was made up to by Admiral Sir Philip Durham; and was further introduced, at their request, to Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls, to Lord Chief-Justice Tindall, to the Marquis of Bute, &c. But far the most interesting object there was Talleyrand—whom I could get nobody to introduce me to—splendidly attired as the French Ambassador, attended by some French military officers. I gazed with interest on the old shrivelled face of him, and thought I could see there the lines of deep reflection and lofty talent. His moral physiognomy, however, is a downright blank. He was by far the most important continental personage in the room, and drew all eyes. I was further in conversation with Lord Melville, Mr. Spencer Percival, and Mr. Henry Drummond. The door to the middle apartment was at length opened for us, when we entered in processional order. The Moderator

first, with Drs. M'Knight and Cook on each side of him; I and Dr. Lee side by side followed; Mr. Paul and Mr. George Sinclair, with their swords and bags, formed the next row; then Sir John Connel and Sir Henry Jardine; and last of all, Mr. Pringle, M.P., and Dr. Stewart. We stopped in the middle room—equally crowded with the former, and alike splendid with mirrors, chandeliers, pictures, and gildings of all sorts on the roof and walls—for about ten minutes, when at length the folding-doors to the grand state-room were thrown open. We all made a low bow on our first entry, and the King, seated on the throne at the opposite end, took off his hat, putting it on again. We marched up to the middle of the room, and made another low bow, on which the King again took off his hat; we then proceeded to the foot of the throne, and all made a third low bow, on which the King again took off his hat. After this the Moderator read his address, which was a little long, and the King bowed repeatedly while it was reading. The Moderator then reached the address to the King upon the throne, who took it from him and gave it to Sir Robert Peel on his left hand, who in his turn gave the King his written reply, which he read very well. After this, the Moderator went up to the stool before the throne, leaned his left knee upon it, and kissed the King's hand. We each in our turn did the same thing; the Moderator naming every one of us as we advanced. I went through my kneel and my kiss very comfortably. The King said something to each of us. His first question to me was, 'Do you reside constantly in Edinburgh? I said, 'Yes, an't please your Majesty.' His next question was, 'How long do you remain in town?' I said, 'Till Monday, an't please your Majesty.' I then descended the steps leading from the foot of the throne to the floor, and fell into my place in the deputation. After we had all been thus introduced, we began to retire in a body just as we had come, bowing all the way with our faces to the King, and so moving backwards, when the King called out, 'Don't go away, gentlemen, I shall leave the throne and the Queen will succeed me.' We stopped in the middle of the floor, when the most beautiful living sight I ever beheld burst upon our delighted gaze,—the Queen with twelve maids of honour, in a perfect spangle of gold and diamonds, entered the room. I am sorry I cannot go over in detail the particulars of their dresses; only that their lofty plumes upon their heads, and their long sweeping trains upon the floor, had a very magnificent effect. She took her seat on

the throne, and we made the same profound obeisances as before, advancing to the foot of the steps that lead to the footstool of the throne. A short address was read to her as before; and her reply was most beautifully given, in rather a tremulous voice, and just as low as that I could only hear and no more. We went through the same ceremonial of advancing successively and kissing hands, and then retired with three bows which the Queen returned most gracefully, but with all the simplicity, I had almost said bashfulness, of a timid country girl. She is really a very natural and amiable-looking person. The whole was magnificent. On each side of the throne were maids of honour, officers of state, the Lord Chancellor, a vast number of military gentlemen, and among the rest the Duke of Wellington. My next will be to Helen. God bless you, my dear Margaret.—I am, your affectionate father, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, Oct.* 29, 1830.—MY DEAR HELEN,—I did not finish my description of our interview with the Queen in my letter to Margaret, for after we left the grand state-room, we remained in the middle room; and after us the Corporation of Dublin, a very large body, went with addresses to the King and Queen. There were some very magnificent people among them; and as a great number had to be introduced, it took up a long time, so we had to wait half an hour at least in the middle room till the levee began, when the two inner doors between the middle and great state-rooms were thrown open. The King, instead of being upon the throne, now stood on the floor. There was an immense number of people introduced to him, going in a very close and lengthened column from the outer room by one corner door of the great state-room, passing the King and retiring through an avenue of state attendants by the other corner door. I kissed his hand the second time, and was named both by him and Sir Robert Peel. After this we remained in the middle room a considerable time, and at length left the Palace. We had to wait a long time in the door-lobby till our coaches drew up for us. The crowding and calling of coaches had a very animating effect. We got to our hotel at four—waited there half an hour. Our coaches came for us again to take us to the Mansion-House where we were to dine with the Lord Mayor. This is a magnificent house, and has a very noble dining-room. The Lord Mayor himself was unwell, and could not be with us. His chaplain did the honours for him. There were about fifty. We assembled

in the drawing-room. There were about six ladies; and I was very graciously received by the Lady Mayoress and the Lady Mayoress-elect, the latter of whom I had the honour of leading to the great dining-hall. The Lady Mayoress-elect will be Lady Mayoress at the great civic feast to their Majesties, so that I had the honour of leading the very lady to dinner whom the King will lead to the great Guildhall dinner in about a fortnight. It was truly a civic feast. I had the honour of sitting second on the right hand from the Lady Mayoress, there being the Lord Mayor-elect between me and her, so that I sat between the Lord and Lady Mayor-elect, to be Lord and Lady Mayor in a few days. They were both as kind and cordial to me as possible, as was also the Lady Mayoress. There are some venerable customs handed down from very remote antiquity, which I took great delight in witnessing and sharing in. After dinner one of the portly and magnificent waiters stood behind the Lady Mayoress with a large flagon having a lid that lifted, and filled with the best spiced wine. He then called out 'silence,' and delivered the following speech from behind the Lady Mayoress, with the great flagon in his hand:—'Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, the Lord Mayor, the Lady Mayoress, the Lord Mayor-elect, the Lady Mayoress-elect, my masters the Sheriff and Aldermen of the good city of London, bid you hearty welcome to this our ancient town, and offer you a cup of love-and-kindness in token of good feeling and good fellowship.' I have not done justice to the speech, for those Aldermen present were named in it, among the rest the famous Aldermen Waithman and Sir Claudius Hunter. After this speech by the crier, the cup was given to the Lady Mayoress, who turned round with it to her neighbour the Lord Mayor-elect; he lifted the lid and kept it in his hand till she drank, both standing; she then gave it to him, but not till she wiped with a towel the place she had drunk at; he put on the lid, and turned round to me, who rose; I took off the lid, he drank, wiped, gave the cup to me; I turned round to my next neighbour, the Lady Mayoress-elect, she rose and took off the lid, I drank, wiped, and gave the cup to her, who put on the lid, turned to her next neighbour, &c. &c., and so the cup, or great flagon rather, went round the whole company. Another peculiar observance was, that instead of hand-glasses for washing, there was put down an immense massive plate of gilt silver, with a little rose-water poured into it, and placed before the Lady Mayoress; she dipped the corner of her

towel into it, and therewith spunged her face and hands, and said plate went round the table, and each of us did the same. It was most refreshing. Then came toasts and speeches. The Moderator gave one in reply to the Church of Scotland; and the Lady Mayoress declared she would not leave the room till I spoke, so there was a particular toast for me, and I had to make a speech, which I concluded with a toast to the Lady Mayoress. Mr. George Sinclair was asked by her Ladyship to return thanks in her name, which he did with a speech, &c. After the ladies retired I sat between the Lord Mayor, who took the chair, and Alderman Sir Claudius Hunter, who was particularly kind to me. We drank tea with the ladies; and I had much cordial conversation with the *eminentes* who were there, as Alderman Waithman, Mr. Hartwell Horne, author of the 'Introduction;' Mr. Alexander Chalmers, author of the 'Biographical Dictionary;' Sir Peter and Lady Laurie, &c. I should have mentioned that I gave a second little speech in compliment to Mr. Horne, whom I offered as a toast. We went off in our carriages about ten, much delighted with the day's work, and retired to bed soon after our arrival.

"*Thursday.*—Started at seven. Breakfasted with Mr. Spencer Percival along with Mr. George Sinclair. A great deal of talk about the new miracles, which Mr. Percival is strongly inclined to believe. Mr. Henry Drummond was of the party. We left them between ten and eleven. Mr. Sinclair took me to Lady Howe's, whose husband is the Queen's Chamberlain. She is the daughter of Lord Cardigan, and is the mother of eight children —the finest female specimen of the English aristocracy I ever saw, uniting the utmost grace with the utmost dignity in her appearance, while at the same time her manner and conversation are characterized by the utmost simplicity and *piety* and good sense. She had a conversation with the Queen lately, in which she begged not to be included in the invitation to Sunday dinners, and the result was most satisfactory.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, Oct.* 30, 1830.—MY DEAR FANNY,—You must have observed, if you attended properly and still keep in mind the conclusion of my letter to your sister Helen, that I then, Miss Fanny, brought down the narrative, you understand, to the dinner of Thursday last. But before that dinner, Dr. Singer, Sir John Connel, and myself, took a coach, which, in return for our

taking it, took us to the Old Bailey. There we had the high honour of being placed on the Bench beside the Justices Garrow and Park, two of the twelve Judges of England. We saw some trials, and one poor man sentenced to be transported for embezzlement fourteen years. Sir Claudius Hunter took me to the next chambers where trials were going on. Mr. Denman presided, and we talked together on the footing of old acquaintances—I having met him some years ago with Mr. Brougham in Glasgow. We afterwards dined in an adjoining apartment with the Judges and City Functionaries, under the same roof with the remanded criminals that filled the vast prison-house of Newgate. The Lord Mayor-elect was in the chair. All were as kind to me as possible. Justice Park was born in Edinburgh, and is a famous rattle in conversation. He is old enough to have seen the North Bridge fall. Sir Claudius Hunter presented me with a pair of rock crystal lenses, which, when put into a frame, will make me excellent spectacles. I was introduced in the course of the day to Charles Phillips the famous Irish orator, and to Adolphus, also a barrister, and historian of George III. We had to speechify here again, too. We left about eight, and got to bed early. . . At six took a coach to Mr. Murray's, Albemarle Street, bookseller, where I dined. My great introductions here were to Dr. Philpots, now Bishop of Exeter, and *Washington Irving*, author of the Sketch-book, &c. Dr. Philpots was as kind as possible, and has given me since an introduction to Durham. He requests a present of my book on Endowments, which is exciting, and *most justly* exciting, more and more attention in this our day. . . . Had a very interesting call from Mr. Irving between one and two while I was in bed. He stopped two hours, wherein he gave his expositions; and I gave at greater length and liberty than I had ever done before my advices and my views. We parted from each other with great cordiality, after a prayer which he himself offered and delivered with great pathos and piety.*—I this day finished my second per-

* This, we believe, was their last meeting. The remonstrances of Dr. Chalmers had no effect in dislodging from the mind of Mr. Irving his implicit faith in the restoration of miraculous gifts to the Church. How strong this belief remained with him to the last, will appear from the following affecting extract from a paper drawn up by his father-in-law, the late Dr. Martin of Kirkcaldy:—

"Of his implicit obedience to what he believed to be the voice of Jehovah, one of the most striking instances was what led to his dying in Glasgow. His medical advisers had recommended him to proceed before the end of autumn to Madeira, or some other spot where he might shun the vicissitudes and inclemency of a British winter. But some of the oracular voices which found utterance in his church had proclaimed it to be the will of God that he should go to Scotland, and do a great work there. Accordingly, after an equestrian tour in Wales, by which his health appeared at first to be improved, but the benefit of which

usal of the Greek New Testament. It is my purpose to read it just once over in the year till I have accomplished ten perusals of it.

"And now, Miss Fanny, this sheet is yours; but I think all the series should be bound together as the record of my present London journey; and it were well if all my similar records in times past were sewed and kept in the same manner. Be a good girl. I pray God to bless you and Mamma and all your sisters.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, Wednesday, Nov.* 3, 1830.—MY EVER DEAREST GRACE,—Dr. Andrews tells me that the populace were very outrageous yesterday against the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, which enhances my regret at not being there, for I would have liked to have seen what sort of thing a London row is. . . . I may also add, that I sent two copies of that great work on Endowments from Whittaker's to Drs. Whately and M'Bride in Oxford. Finally, I would say at present that I wish for a strong government; and I mean to reply to Lord Brougham's letter to that effect, as soon as I have got home and read it.*

THOMAS CHALMERS."

he lost through exposure to the weather and occasional preaching, contrary to the injunctions of his physician, he arrived at Liverpool on his way to the North. In that town he was taken alarmingly ill, and was unable for several days to quit his bed; but no sooner could he rise and walk through the room, than he went, in defiance of the prohibition of his medical attendant, on board a steamboat for Greenock. From Greenock he proceeded to Glasgow, delighted at having reached the first destination that had been indicated to him. From Glasgow it was his purpose to proceed to Edinburgh; but this I need not say he never accomplished. So much, however, was his mind impressed with its being his duty to go there, that even after he was unable to rise from his bed without assistance, he proposed that he should be carried thither in a litter, if the journey could not be accomplished in any other way; and it was only because the friends about him refused to comply with his urgent requests to that effect that the thing was not done. Could he have commanded the means himself, the attempt at least would have been made. Nor, though his frame of mind was that of almost continual converse with God, do I think that he ever lost the confidence, that after being brought to the very brink of the grave, he was still to mark the finger of God in his receiving strength for his Scottish mission, till the last day of his life was far advanced, when one of the most remarkable and comforting expressions which he uttered seemed to intimate that he had been debating the point with himself, whether he should yield to the monitions which increasing weakness gave him of approaching dissolution, or retain his assurance that he should yet be re-invigorated for his distant undertaking. 'Well,' said he, 'the sum of the matter is, if I live, I live unto the Lord; and if I die, I die unto the Lord; living or dying, I am the Lord's;'—a conclusion which seemed to set at rest all his difficulties on the subject of his duty. So strongly had his confidence of restoration communicated itself to Mrs. Irving, that it was not till within an hour or so of his death that she entertained any idea of the impending event."

* "MY DEAR SIR,—I congratulate you sincerely on the favourable prospects of some of those great causes in which (as indeed in most) we feel interested in common. Really slavery cannot now expect much longer protection from a Government so weak, that it is even about to give Parliamentary Reform as a sop, and to save itself for a few months.—Believe me, ever most respectfully and sincerely yours,

H. BROUGHAM."

The above note was written when the Duke of Wellington was Premier, and not long before that celebrated declaration against any Parliamentary Reform which led to the overthrow of the Government and the bringing in of Lord Grey's administration.

CHAPTER XV.

SUDDEN DEATH OF DR. ANDREW THOMSON—PUBLIC TESTIMONY TO HIS CHARACTER AND WORTH.

Dr. Chalmers was not a member of the General Assembly of 1830, nor were any of those great questions in which he was specially interested brought forward for discussion. To the succeeding General Assembly, that of 1831, every member of the Church of Scotland may turn with pride when he desires a proof how readily erroneous doctrine can be brought under the review of its Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, and how promptly and faithfully the decisions of that Court have been given forth. Two probationers, both on the eve of their settlement as ordained clergymen, were deprived of their license as preachers of the Gospel, because they had declared it to be their belief that Christ had taken on Him our "fallen" nature. The writings of their guide and master, Mr. Irving, being brought under the notice of the Assembly, the errors contained in them were emphatically condemned; while any Presbytery before which he might appear claiming the privileges either of a licentiate or ordained minister of the Church, was instructed to call him to its bar. After a sederunt of unparalleled length, the sitting commencing at eleven o'clock on the forenoon of Tuesday the 24th May, and not closing till a quarter past six o'clock on the morning of the 25th, Mr. Campbell, minister of Row, charged with holding and teaching the doctrines of universal atonement and pardon, and that assurance is of the essence of faith and necessary to salvation, was solemnly deposed from the office of the holy ministry. Dr. Chalmers took no part in the discussions which led to these momentous results. He was not in Edinburgh when the Assembly began its sittings; and on the very day when it was engaged in discussing that case he writes:—"In regard to Mr. Campbell, &c., it would have required a whole month to have mastered the recent authorship on these topics, and to have prepared myself to my own satisfaction for taking

part in the deliberations of the Assembly regarding them. As far as my light goes, I have rendered advice to Dr. M'Farlan and others on the subject." He never questioned either the necessity or the justice of any of the sentences passed by the Assembly; but he did not hesitate to say, that could a window have been opened into Mr. Campbell's breast, it would have been seen that he did not differ so greatly from many of his brethren in the ministry, as, looking simply to the evidence of statements and facts, they were judicially compelled to believe.

In the period intervening between these two Assemblies of 1830 and 1831, the Church of Scotland was deprived of one of the most eminent of its ministers. In the full vigour of his mental and physical energies, Dr. Andrew Thomson had taken part in the proceedings of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, on Wednesday the 9th of February. He left the Presbytery Hall about five o'clock in the afternoon. Meeting a friend by the way, and conversing with all his accustomed vivacity, he had reached his house in Melville Street. In front of his own door, and as his friend was leaving him, he turned rapidly round, as if to say something which he had forgotten, but fell back senseless upon the pavement. He was carried instantly into his house, and every effort to restore animation was made without delay. The tidings of the deplorable event passed like lightning through the city. Dr. Chalmers hearing the fearful rumour hastened to the spot: but every attempt to reanimate the lifeless frame had failed. In a moment the spirit had passed into eternity. Meeting with his class on the following day, Dr. Chalmers closed his lecture as follows:—

"I meant, gentlemen, to have expatiated on this subject at greater length, and perhaps would have done so with greater vigour, but I must confess that the sad and saddening event of yesternight has unhinged me out of all strength for the requisite preparation. At the ordinary time employed in framing a lesson for others I was called away to be a learner myself—to read a lesson which of all others is the oftenest told yet the oftenest forgotten—to gaze upon features which a short time before were instinct with living energy, but which were then fast locked in the insensibility of death. I should not have felt myself justified in thus adverting to it had it only stood connected with personal griefs or personal interests of my own; but, gentlemen, it is an event of deepest interest to the members of a theological school, and more especially to those who are now training for the Church of

Scotland, standing apprised, as I doubt not you all are, of the heavy loss that Church has sustained in the noblest and most distinguished of her ministers. A time of deep emotion is not the time for analysis; yet the characteristics of Dr. Thomson's mind stood forth in such bold and prominent relief, that it needs but their bare enumeration to be recognised by the most superficial observer. The first and foremost of these characteristics was a dauntless uncompromising honesty in the maintenance of all which he deemed to be the cause of truth and righteousness. But, gentlemen, I must spare myself the execution of this task, for I feel the wound to be greatly too recent, and that the afflicted heart keeps all the other faculties of the soul in abeyance. At present I have no steadiness of hand for drawing a portrait every lineament of which opens a fresh and bitter recollection. There is still an oppressive weight on the subject which makes all attempts at delineation impossible; and rather far than sketch the likeness of one who, with a suddenness so extraordinary, has been drawn away from us, would I now mingle in sympathy with his friends, or weep with his deserted family."

Tuesday the 15th of February was the day of Dr. Thomson's interment. Two thousand gentlemen in mourning, including the magistrates of the city, ministers of all denominations, the professors of the University, and members of other public bodies, followed his remains to the grave. Along the streets through which they passed every shop was shut, while upwards of 10,000 saddened spectators lined the pathway and crowded every window, and clothed the very house-tops, as the mournful procession passed by. Never before had there been such a funeral in Edinburgh, nor had a testimony so general, so spontaneous, so profound, and so heartfelt, ever been offered to the memory and worth of any of her citizens. On the following Sabbath, while preaching the funeral sermon in St. George's Church, Dr. Chalmers thus alluded to the melancholy event:—

"It is as if death had wanted to make the highest demonstration of his sovereignty, and for this purpose had selected as his mark him who stood the foremost and the most conspicuous in the view of his countrymen. I speak not at present of any of the relations in which he stood to the living society immediately around him—to the thousands in church whom his well-known voice reached upon the Sabbath—to the tens of thousands in the city, whom, through the week, in the varied rounds and

meetings of Christian philanthropy, he either guided by his counsel or stimulated by his eloquence. You know, over and above, how far the wide, and the wakeful, and the untired benevolence of his nature carried him; and that, in the labours and the locomotions connected with these, he may be said to have become the personal acquaintance of the people of Scotland,—insomuch that there is not a village in the land where the tidings of his death have not conveyed the intimation that a master in Israel has fallen; and I may also add, that such was the charm of his companionship, such the cordiality lighted up by his presence in every household, that, connected with this death, there is, at this moment, an oppressive sadness in the hearts of many thousands even of our most distant Scottish families. And so a national lesson has been given forth by this event, even as a national loss has been incurred by it. It is a public death in the view of many spectators. And when one thinks of the vital energy by which every deed and every utterance were pervaded —of that prodigious strength which but gamboled with the difficulties that would have depressed and overborne other men—of that prowess in conflict, and that promptitude in counsel with his fellows—of that elastic buoyancy which ever rose with the occasion, and bore him onward and upward to the successful termination of his career—of the weight and multiplicity of his engagements; and yet, as if nothing could overwork that colossal mind, and that robust framework, the perfect lightness and facility wherewith all was executed—when one thinks, in the midst of these powers and these performances, how intensely he laboured, I had almost said how intensely he lived, in the midst of us, we cannot but acknowledge, that death, in seizing upon him, hath made full proof of a mastery that sets all the might and all the promise of humanity at defiance. . . .

"But the lesson is prodigiously enhanced when we pass from the pulpit to his household ministrations. I perhaps do him wrong in supposing that any large proportion of his hearers did not know him personally—for such was his matchless superiority to fatigue, such the unconquerable strength and activity of his nature, that he may almost be said to have accomplished a sort of personal ubiquity among his people. But ere you can appreciate the whole effect of this, let me advert to a principle of very extensive operation in nature. Painters know it well; they are aware how much it adds to the force and beauty of any representation of theirs when made strikingly and properly to contrast

with the background on which it is projected. And the same is as true of direct nature, set forth in one of her own immediate scenes, as of reflex nature set forth by the imagination and pencil of an artist. This is often exemplified in those Alpine wilds, where beauty may at times be seen embosomed in the lap of grandeur, as when, at the base of a lofty precipice, some spot of verdure, or peaceful cottage-home, seems to smile in more intense loveliness, because of the towering strength and magnificence which are behind it. Apply this to character, and think how precisely analogous is the effect, when, from the groundwork of a character that mainly in its texture and general aspect is masculine, there do effloresce the forthputtings of a softer nature, and those gentler charities of the heart which come out irradiated in tenfold beauty, when they arise from a substratum of moral strength and grandeur underneath. It is thus when the man of strength shews himself the man of tenderness; and he who, sturdy and impregnable in every righteous cause, makes his graceful descent to the ordinary companionships of life, is found to mingle, with kindred warmth, in all the cares and the sympathies of his fellow-men. Such, I am sure, is the touching recollection of very many who now hear me, and who can tell, in their own experience, that the vigour of his pulpit was only equalled by the fidelity and the tenderness of his household ministrations. They understand the whole force and significancy of the contrast I have now been speaking of—when the pastor of the church becomes the pastor of the family; and he who, in the crowded assembly, held imperial sway over every understanding, has entered some parents' lowly dwelling, and prayed and wept along with them over their infant's dying bed. It is on occasions like these when the minister carries to its highest pitch the moral ascendency which belongs to his station. It is this which furnishes him with a key to every heart;—and when the triumphs of charity are superadded to the triumphs of argument, then it is that he sits enthroned over the affections of a willing people.

"I must now satisfy myself with a few slight and rapid touches on his character as a man. It is a subject I dare hardly approach. To myself he was at all times a joyous, hearty, gallant, honourable, and out-and-out most trustworthy friend—while, in harmony with a former observation, there were beautifully projected on this broad and general groundwork some of friendship's finest and most considerate delicacies.

By far the most declared and discernible feature in his character, was a dauntless, and direct, and right-forward honesty, that needed no disguise for itself, and was impatient of aught like dissimulation or disguise in other men. There were withal a heart and a hilarity in his companionship, that everywhere carried its own welcome along with it; and there were none who moved with greater acceptance or wielded a greater ascendant over so wide a circle of living society. Christianity does not overbear the constitutional varieties either of talent or of temperament. After the conversion of the apostles, their complexional differences of mind and character remained with them; and there can be no doubt that, apart from and anterior to the influence of the Gospel, the hand of nature had stamped a generosity, and a sincerity, and an openness on the subject of our description, among the very strongest of the lineaments which belong to him. Under an urgent sense of rectitude he delivered himself with vigour and with vehemence in behalf of what he deemed to be its cause—but I would have you to discriminate between the vehemence of passion and the vehemence of sentiment, which, like though they be in outward expression, are wholly different and dissimilar in themselves. His was mainly the vehemence of sentiment, which, hurrying him when it did into what he afterwards felt to be excesses, was immediately followed up by the relentings of a noble nature. The pulpit is not the place for the idolatry of an unqualified panegyric on any of our fellow-mortals; but it is impossible not to acknowledge, that whatever might have been his errors, truth and piety and ardent philanthropy formed the substratum of his character; and that the tribute was altogether a just one, when the profoundest admiration, along with the pungent regrets of his fellow-citizens, did follow him to his grave." *

* See Works, vol. xi. pp. 197-219.

CHAPTER XVI.

COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION OF HIS WORK ON POLITICAL ECONOMY—OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF ITS FAVOURABLE RECEPTION—THE REFORM BILL—DR. CHALMERS'S OPPOSITION TO IT—DR. WELSH'S APPOINTMENT TO THE CHAIR OF CHURCH HISTORY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. JEFFREY—PUBLICATION OF THE BRIDGEWATER TREATISE "ON THE ADAPTATION OF EXTERNAL NATURE TO THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONSTITUTION OF MAN."

On the 1st January 1827, Dr. Chalmers made this entry in his Journal:—"My chief earthly ambition is to finish a treatise on Political Economy, as the commencement of a series of future publications on Moral Philosophy and Theology. Consecrate this ambition, and purge it of all sin and selfishness, O God!" His appointment to the Theological Chair had arrested the execution of this fondly cherished project. The arrest, however, was but temporary. In November 1830 he commenced a weekly lecture, continued throughout the session, on the leading topics in the science of Political Economy; and on the 12th of April 1831, he sat down to the work of embodying in a regular and methodical treatise the reflections and preparations of many bygone years upon this favourite science. To the composition of this treatise the whole summer of 1831 was unremittingly devoted. Before his winter labours commenced it was ready for the press, and was published in January 1832. There was not one of his mental products more carefully matured, as there was none to which he himself was more fondly attached. It was the favourite child of his intellect—clung to all the more tenderly that it got a very different welcome and entertainment from that which had been given to its elder brethren. He was himself aware beforehand of the unpropitious circumstances amidst which it was ushered into the world. As its sheets were passing through the press, the Reform Bill was passing through the House of Commons. The country was convulsed beyond all precedent. It was clear either that that Bill must pass, or that the British Constitution must encounter the perils of a revolution. Dr. Chalmers was not in favour of the Reform Bill. He had no faith in many of the principles upon

which it ordinarily was advocated. He could see no clear and valid ground for the assertion, that every citizen of a state had a right to be personally represented in its Legislature. He would have advocated the removal of the many and gross abuses by which the former system of representation was disfigured—he would have widened considerably the basis of the representation: but he thought that the measure proposed by Lord John Russell went farther than was necessary for the appeasing of the popular demand; and he believed that the popular anticipations of the benefits to accrue from it were many of them false, and all of them exaggerated. It was not that he considered those into whose hands the elective franchise was proposed to be confided as unfit for the trust—it was not that he grudged them the privilege about to be bestowed upon them—it was not that he looked with an evil eye upon the advance of the popular intelligence, or had any fears as to the admission of a larger number of his countrymen within the class of electors. But he had studied long and most earnestly that question, which now at last appears to have arrested the attention both of speculative and practical men—the question how the great mass of the labouring population of the country, in so many instances toil-worn and overdriven, could be sustained in sufficiency and comfort—could be prevented from sinking, as he saw many of them doing, into greater straitness of circumstances, and into the necessity of severer toil. He heard it on all hands asserted that this great change in the mode of electing representatives was to effect a mighty amelioration upon the economic condition of the people. He utterly disbelieved such assertions; and more particularly as to that class of the community on whose behalf his own labours and sympathies had for years been expended. He was satisfied that it was to build up the labouring man of Britain in an egregious and misleading delusion, to direct him to the mode in which the members of the House of Commons were appointed, or to the measures which they might adopt, as to the main fountain of any great and permanent improvement in his economic condition. Despite therefore of all his predilections on the side of popular liberty, and all his hatred of oppression and corruption in government, Dr. Chalmers ranked himself among the opponents of the Reform Bill. And he had the same reasons for apprehension as to the fate of his forthcoming volume that he had as to the effects of Parliamentary Reform, for the reigning principle of that volume was the same with that on which his repugnance to the

Reform Bill was based. It was not a purely scientific treatise on Political Economy that he was giving to the world; it was rather a survey of all the devices for enlarging the resources and adding to the comforts of the community which political economists had suggested, and which, now that the power seemed coming into their hands, political reformers might be ready to execute. It was a searching discussion of each of these proposed expedients, conducted according to the strictest laws of that science under whose fostering care they had been obtruded upon public notice, with the object of making it appear that each and all of them must necessarily fail in accomplishing the desired result. A volume which declared this to be its main purpose at the beginning, and which pursued that purpose with undeviating and unrelenting tenacity to the end, was not likely to get a cordial welcome from those whose whole habits of thinking led them to assign supreme importance to that class of measures whose efficacy it was intended to depreciate. But the demonstration of the limited range and efficiency of all mere politico-economic expedients was intended by Dr. Chalmers only as the stepping-stone to the grand conclusion, that the one and only means whereby a steady, progressive, and secure advance in the economic estate of any population, and more especially of a population such as ours, in an old country of limited extent, could be insured, was the spread of right principles, and the prevalence of moral and religious habits among the people themselves. He had here to encounter not only the prejudices of men wedded to their own peculiar theories, but the prejudices of men who put little if any value on the Church, or on Christian education, as a power affecting the social position and material comfort of the working-classes. They might have borne more readily to be told that their own instrument was impotent, if this had not been told them for the very purpose of exalting into solitary and supreme importance another instrument in whose efficiency they had as little confidence as its advocate professed to have in theirs. As he looked around and contemplated the elements among which it was to embark, it was not without reason that in launching this treatise on Political Economy, Dr. Chalmers said —"We are not sanguine either of a general or of an instant reception for the doctrines of our work. Its novelties may long be disregarded or derided as paradoxes. And it is not the achievement of a day to overturn the principles of a reigning school.

"And if not very hopeful of an instant acquiescence in our principles, far less do we look for the instant adoption of our practical suggestions. The urgencies of the country may perhaps speed onwards the commutation of tithes, and the measure of a universal education. The commutation of taxes into a territorial impost will be the work of a later age; though we should rejoice even now, did we witness a commencement however humble, an approximation however slow, to this great political and economical reform.

"May God of His infinite mercy grant, that whatever the coming changes in the state and history of this nation may be, they shall not be the result of a sweeping and headlong anarchy; but rather, in the pacific march of improvement, may they anticipate this tremendous evil, and avert it from our borders. There is a general impression upon all spirits, that something must be done. But to be done well, it must not be by the hand of violence, but by the authority of legitimate power under the guidance of principle; by a government having both the wisdom and righteousness to direct, and the strength to execute. Amid the conflicts and agitations of our social state, it will be the heart's desire of every Christian, the fondest prayer of every true patriot, that Religion and Reason may ever preside over the destinies of our beloved land."

The reception of the volume was not different from that which its author had anticipated, but he could scarcely have been prepared for the flippant style in which he was characterized as one "incompetent to reason on this subject," who had adopted a "most portentous and abominable doctrine"—"a miserable sophism which lay at the bottom of his whole economical system."* Dr. Chalmers's explanation of the singular rapidity with which capital recovers itself, and regains all its former sufficiency after periods of wholesale destruction, was reckoned at the time among the minor sophisms with which his work was replete; yet we find one of the latest authorities (an authority not likely to be swayed by any peculiar bias in Dr. Chalmers's favour) saying, "So fatal is the habit of thinking through the medium of only one set of technical phrases, and so little reason have studious men to value themselves on being exempt from the very same mental infirmities which beset the vulgar, that the simple explanation was never given (so far as I am aware) by any political economist before Dr. Chalmers—a writer many

* See "Quarterly Review," vol. xlviii. pp. 39, 69.

of whose opinions I think erroneous, but who has always the merit of studying phenomena at first hand, and expressing them in a language of his own, which often uncovers aspects of the truth that the received phraseologies only tend to hide."* That time shall effect a like change of opinion in favour of other portions of the more purely scientific departments of Dr. Chalmers's work —that the economists of a future age shall speak as favourably of his other labours within their own domain, as Mr. Mill does of this single speculation, it might be presumptuous to affirm; but as to the great general principle which the treatise was written to illustrate and enforce, we can scarcely doubt that the period of its general recognition is drawing nigh. The history of opinion and practice as to the best methods of promoting comfort, will be the same with that as to the best methods of preventing crime. A very general conviction already exists that punishment has failed to check crime—that it has had scarcely any sensible effect in diminishing its amount—that we have been working all the while at the wrong end, wasting upon police, and jails, and emigrant ships, and penal colonies, what would have been far better and more productively employed in bringing education and moral and religious influences to bear upon that class of the community out of which criminals are generated. It has become almost a motto with us, that prevention is better than punishment. It will be the same as to the economic condition of the lowest classes of the commonwealth, although opinion may take here a longer period to make a like transition. At present it is the fond hope that by adding to the productiveness of our own soil, and by opening up easier access to the corn of other countries, by the enlargement of capital and the consequent increase of employment, provision will be made for sustaining at their present standard of enjoyment our growing population. And our civic and legislative philanthropists finding that notwithstanding the advances of national prosperity, large sections of the people instead of rising are sinking in the scale, are busy with manifold external appliances, by which to lift up the sinking mass. Their labours will not be wholly fruitless, but at best they will avail only to retard a descent which they will not be able to prevent; and when their failure becomes as manifest as that of penal inflictions in checking crime, then to the motto that prevention is better than punishment, there

* "Principles of Political Economy," by John Stuart Mill, vol. i. p. 94. London, 1848.

will come to be added this other motto, that character is the parent of comfort—the best creator, preserver, distributor of wealth.

"In these circumstances," says Dr. Chalmers, "that is, when the means cannot be made larger for the population, it becomes abundantly obvious that nothing can save us from the miseries of a straitened condition, but a population small enough for the means. The highway to this is education. And this is a precious use of the enlargements which are still before us, and by which the families of the land are translated for a time from extreme misery into a state of comparative ease. They then become fitter subjects for education, than when sunk in the distress and desperation of abject poverty. When viewed in the light of absolute or ultimate resources, we have no great value either for the removal of prohibitions from the corn trade, or for the removal of tithes and taxes from agriculture, or finally, for emigration. But when these expedients are viewed in the relation of subserviency to the education of the people (because they afford a temporary lightening of the pressure that is now upon their families; and along with this, a spirit, and a leisure, and a means for their moral and literary culture), in this light they may prove of incalculable service to the good of humanity. But still the position remains, that it is education, and that only, wherein the whole positive efficiency lies for a permanent amelioration in the state of the lower orders. Education is the specific; and the other expedients are at best but the circumstances for a more fit and powerful ministration of it. But the whole effect of these expedients, when once put into operation, will speedily be exhausted. The favourable opportunities which they afford last but for a season only. They are opportunities which cannot be recalled; and if not improved for the purposes of a general education, they will leave the state of the population more irrecoverable than before.

"We cannot bid adieu to our argument, without making the strenuous avowal, that all our wishes, and all our partialities, are on the side of the common people. We should rejoice in a larger secondary, and a smaller disposable population; or, which is tantamount to this, in higher wages to the labourers, and lower rents to the landlords. But this cannot be effected save by the people themselves—and that, not with violence on their part, or by any assertion, however successful, of a political equality with the other orders of the State. There is no other way of achiev-

ing for them a better economical condition, than by means of a more advantageous proportion between the food of the country and the number of its inhabitants; and no other way of securing this proportion than by the growth of prudence and principle among themselves. It will be the aggregate effect of a higher taste, a higher intelligence, and above all, a wide-spread Christianity throughout the mass of the population; and thus, the most efficient ministers of that gospel which opens to them the door of heaven, will be also the most efficient ministers of their temporal comfort and prosperity upon earth. Next to the salvation of their souls, one of our fondest aspirations in behalf of the general peasantry is, that they shall be admitted to a larger share of this world's abundance than now falls to their lot. But we feel assured that there is no method by which this can be wrested from the hands of the wealthier classes. It can only be won from them by the insensible growth of their own virtue. The triumph will be a glorious, but, to be effectual and enduring, it must be a pacific one—achieved not on the field of blood, or amid the uproar of a furious and discordant politics. It will be a sure, but a silent victory—the fruit of a moral warfare, whose weapons are not carnal but spiritual; and which shall at length come to a prosperous termination, not in strife and anarchy and commotion, but in showers of grace from on high upon the prayers and labours of the good."*

The quiet tenor of the period during which the work on Political Economy was written was occasionally discomposed by negotiations and correspondence consequent upon the death of Dr. Meiklejohn, Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers could not fail to take a lively interest in the appointment of a successor to this chair, and that interest was quickened into anxiety by the fear that a plurality was about to be created. This fear was relieved by the following letter from Mr. Jeffrey, then Lord Advocate for Scotland:—

"*London*, *June* 26, 1831.—My dear Sir,—You probably know by this time that the appointment of —— to the Church History Chair has been suspended, and I rather think that it will not now be united to any Church living.

"When a different purpose was entertained it was under an impression that its separate emoluments were so inconsiderable as to make it altogether impossible that it could be kept by itself, and most certainly not in consequence of any insensibility to the

* See Works, vol. xx. pp. 39-41

bad consequences of such conjunctions generally, or indifference to the dissatisfaction which any more examples of them would excite in the Church. I am anxious to make this statement, not so much in vindication of the slight and humble part I may be supposed to have had in the matter, as in justice to those higher and more responsible advisers of the Sovereign, with whom the appointment rests; and I have great pleasure in assuring you, that they are fully alive to the importance of the principle which you have so long and so zealously advocated, and that I am persuaded they will never act in opposition to it where it is possible to give it effect.

"Any little efforts I can contribute shall not be wanting either to this or to any other cause in which you take an interest, being fully satisfied that I can have no better test of the tendency of any measure to confer a benefit on mankind than that it receives your deliberate support.—Believe me always, with the greatest esteem and respect, my dear Sir, your obliged and faithful servant, F. JEFFREY."

It was not till three months after the date of this letter, in the course of which interval the vacant chair had been offered to and been declined by the Rev. Mr. Aitken of Minto, that Dr. Chalmers was at last relieved and delighted by the announcement that Dr. Welsh had received the appointment.

"*London, Sept.* 29, 1831.—MY DEAR DR. CHALMERS,—We have deferred to your high authority, and finally agreed to appoint Mr. Welsh. We rely implicitly on your estimate of the man, and feel—all of us who were called upon to decide on the applications—that it was impossible to refuse the most gifted teacher of theology of our age the choice of the individual whom he so decidedly preferred as his associate in the University where he presides over these studies.

"I do not know whether Lord Melbourne has distinctly explained to you that *this* was the ground of our decision, but whether it affords you any gratification or not, it is too gratifying to me to know that it was so, to let me refrain from making you acquainted with the fact.

"I cannot tell you how I have been longing for the quiet and the friends of my distant home, and how my heart sinks when I think how uncertain and probably distant my return to them may be. It does not tend to lighten this anxious longing that we seem fast hastening to a more appalling crisis in our domestic

affairs than I ever fancied I should live to witness. It would be frightful indeed if we were guided only by human wisdom.

"It would be very soothing to me to know that you sometimes think of me not without regard. I can truly say that the contemplation of your pure and lofty character always elevates and composes me.—Ever very respectfully yours, F. JEFFREY."

Whilst revolving the project of a lectureship and publication on Political Economy, Dr. Chalmers had received the following communication from the Bishop of London:—

"*London, Oct.* 1, 1830.—MY DEAR SIR,—You may perhaps have heard that the late Earl of Bridgewater left the sum of £8000 to be disposed of by the president of the Royal Society, in procuring a treatise or treatises to be written in proof of the wisdom and benevolence of the Deity as manifested in the works of creation.

"Mr. Davies Gilbert is of opinion it may with advantage be treated of under eight distinct heads, one of which is the adaptation of the physical constitution of man to his intellectual and moral faculties, or *vice versa;* another is the provision made by the Deity for the wants and comforts of man in the works of nature.

"Mr. D. Gilbert having consulted me on the subject, I told him, that if you could be prevailed upon to undertake the former of these heads it would be well disposed of, and accordingly he has authorized me to propose it to you. The expenses of publication will be defrayed out of the legacy, after which I suppose that there will be a sum of from £700 to £800 payable to the writer of each treatise.

"It would give me great pleasure to learn that your name might adorn the list.—I remain, dear Sir, with sincere respect, your very faithful servant, C. J. LONDON."

Much gratified by an invitation which associated him with so many eminent men in the accomplishment of so important a service, Dr. Chalmers willingly undertook the office thus assigned to him: and the summer months of 1832 were given up to the composition of a treatise "On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man." The treatise was published in 1833, and notwithstanding the depreciatory notice of it in the Quarterly Review, it met with a very large amount of public approbation and acceptance. Two editions of

fifteen hundred each were disposed of as soon as published. In 1834 a third edition of the same number of copies was called for by the public, after which its sale in the form of a Bridgewater Treatise was arrested by its being incorporated in the first, second, and fifth volumes of that series of its author's works, the publication of which commenced in the year 1836. We are invited thus to regard the Bridgewater Treatise as a portion of that more extended work on Natural Theology to which our attention will hereafter be directed.

CHAPTER XVII.

OFFER OF THE WEST CHURCH IN GREENOCK—LETTER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—APPROACH OF THE CHOLERA—APPOINTMENT OF A FAST-DAY, DR. CHALMERS'S SERMON AND PRAYER—SCHEME OF NATIONAL EDUCATION FOR IRELAND—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. STANLEY.

THE ministerial charge of the West Church in Greenock having recently become vacant, the patron, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, requested Dr. Chalmers to accept of that living: a generous and unsolicited offer, which was thus gratefully declined:—

"EDINBURGH, *December* 27, 1831.

"TO SIR MICHAEL SHAW STEWART.

"DEAR SIR MICHAEL,—I deeply feel the whole force of the compliment you have done me in offering to my acceptance the most lucrative ecclesiastical living in Scotland, and whose endowments, I believe, are nearly double those of the one which I now occupy. You may well believe that nothing could induce me to decline the honour and the advantage of such a proposal but a firm conviction of the superior importance of a theological chair to any church whatever, along with the rooted preference which I have ever felt for the professorial over the ministerial life.

"My personal gratitude to yourself for this truly handsome proposition is in every way as strong and as heartfelt as if I had acceded to it. You have in fact conferred upon me a substantial favour by having placed within my reach a benefice so lucrative. You have enabled me to say, in language which cannot be mistaken, in what estimation I hold the professorships of theology throughout Scotland; and in pleading, whether for the virtuous patronage or for the adequate endowment of these high offices, your offer of the parish of Greenock will effectually shield me from any ungenerous imputation to which I might otherwise have been exposed.

"Permit me to state the cordial satisfaction I feel in the deep sense which you express of the responsibility that attaches to the exercises of the Church patronage wherewith Providence

hath invested you; and with my most earnest prayers both for your public usefulness and for your highest personal interests, I have the honour to be, dear Sir Michael, your much obliged and most obedient servant, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The sensitiveness to ungenerous imputations evinced in this letter had been quickened by the recent publication of a Report of the Royal Commissioners for the Visitation of Colleges in Scotland. This Report placed Dr. Chalmers in so ambiguous a position, that as his only method of defence he published that letter to the Royal Commissioners which has already been alluded to in this volume.* In transmitting a copy of this pamphlet to Sir Robert Peel, he sent with it the following letter :—

"*February* 16, 1832.

"To SIR ROBERT PEEL.

"DEAR SIR ROBERT,—I have taken the liberty of sending you a pamphlet on the subject of the Commissioners' Report on Scottish Colleges, wherein they have implicated me, in opposition to all the evidence, in the foul charge of an illegal suppression. It grieves me to take up a moment of your attention on a matter that personally interests myself, and still more that I find it impossible to complete my vindication without bringing forward a statement which must seriously affect the conduct and respectability of some of your own personal, or at least political, friends. I have said no more in the publication than I felt to be necessary for the purposes of self-defence; but I may take the opportunity of mentioning to you, that the appropriations of College revenue which I all along resisted, but which the Commissioners first privately sanctioned and then publicly condemned, were made to an amount that would have accumulated to £64,000, out of a fund expressly designed by the law for the maintenance of the buildings, which buildings, nevertheless, were suffered to fall into such utter disrepair as to require a grant, that was obtained through the interest of Lord Melville, of £23,000 for the reparation of them.

"In these fearful times, when all our establishments are in danger, I hold it of more importance, that, situated as I am at the highest fountain-head of the Scottish Church, the stain which the representation of the Commissioners would have fastened on my character should be done away, than that either

* See pp. 89-92.

their feelings should be spared, or even that their reputation should be left entire.

"I am a thorough Conservative, but I feel assured that it is only by a resolute adherence to principle, without regard to persons, on the part of those who are influentially or conspicuously placed in society, that our institutions will stand. I owe you many apologies for this intrusion, and with much gratitude for all your kindness to me, I have the honour to be, dear Sir Robert, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The times had been truly fearful. The rick-burnings of Kent, the machine-breakings of the manufacturing counties, the political riots of Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol,* told too clearly what a dark and fiery spirit possessed the lowest classes of the people. In that great civil contest into which the general community had been plunged, the aggressive vehemence of one party, and the unyielding obstinacy of the other, had kept the country trembling for months on the edge of revolution; while over the whole land there had been hanging a vague mysterious terror, the fear of the approaching pestilence, now visibly on its march to England across Europe. In January 1831, a motion for the appointment of a day of public humiliation and confession of sin had been brought before the Presbytery of Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers resisted that motion as inopportune, introduced as it had been at a season of great political agitation. "I hold," he said, in addressing the Presbytery on this occasion, "I hold the question now before us to be one of the utmost difficulty. I have both the deepest veneration for the piety which has prompted this motion and the utmost confidence in the efficacy of prayer; but it is obvious that these feelings do not supersede the question—what is there in the present circumstances of the country which specially calls for a public and authoritative act on the part of the Presbytery?—and the effect of which act, if it shall go the length of an appointment, would be a compulsion on every minister within our bounds to hold a public service in his parish, whatever his opinion may be as to the expediency of the measure, and a compulsion on every layman within these parishes, whatever his opinion may be, to suspend his worldly business upon the occasion. I confess my dislike to this inter-

* At the first passing of the Reform Bill through the House of Commons there was a popular demand for an illumination in Edinburgh. Dr. Chalmers did not illuminate, and, in common with many others, had the windows of his house in Forres Street broken by the mob.

position of authority on our part, until the country shall be unequivocally in that state which would lead to a far more general acquiescence in the measure than I fear is at present to be looked for; and greatly more to my taste than any expression which had in it aught of the ingredient of force would be the willing piety of the heart, the offering of our spontaneous and unconstrained services. I should therefore have vastly preferred that these gentlemen, instead of moving the Presbytery upon the subject, had held congregational fasts among their own people. It is precisely the direction I would myself have taken in their circumstances. I happen to think that there is a loud call both for public and individual prayer in the present circumstances of our nation, but that on a principle in which I would not expect such a degree of sympathy from my brethren as might warrant the attempt to carry them along with me, and I would therefore have limited the matter to my own pulpit, if I had had one, and to those of my own people who chose to join with me. They are not, in my estimation, the burnings of Kent —they are not the disturbances of Ireland—they are not the general heavings of political turbulence and disorder all over Europe, that bode the most of coming disease and judgment upon our land—they are the fearful symptoms of an infidelity, reaching even to our high places, that would put all interventions of prayer and of Providence to scorn, and dethrone the great God of heaven and earth from His practical ascendency over human affairs. There is one ground on which I do feel comfort at the introduction of this topic in the hearing of my brethren. Here the subject will be treated at least with decency and respect. There will be no vulgar merriment—no coarse and revolting impiety—no marks by the hands of reporters of those 'laughings,' and 'loud laughings,' which, happen in what assembly they may, call for the deepest regret and concern; and when they do happen in the highest assembly of the nation, look like the fearful token of a country on the eve of its destruction, because of a country forsaken by its God." *

After a year of suspense and exaggerated terror, the much dreaded cholera at last approached our shores. Breaking out at Sunderland and Newcastle, it made its way northward towards Edinburgh, and had already reached the neighbouring town of Haddington. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, at their meeting

* Referring to the jests and laughter with which the proposal of a Fast-day was received by one or two members of the House of Commons.

on the 25th January 1832, resolved that Thursday, the 9th February, should be observed as a fast-day within their bounds. In consequence of the announcement that it was the intention of Government to appoint a day for a national fast, some members of the Presbytery conceived that it would be becoming and judicious to suspend the Presbyterial appointment, and. for the purpose of effecting such a suspension, a *pro re nata* meeting of Presbytery was held on Saturday the 4th February. Meanwhile, however, the destroying scourge had crossed the city gates, and commenced its fatal work in the pauper haunts of the old town and the village of the Water of Leith. The call to immediate humiliation was more urgent than ever, and the proposal to suspend the Presbyterial fast was successfully resisted. "My first, my main reason, indeed," said Dr. Chalmers, upon this occasion, "for wishing an earlier Presbyterial fast, and not waiting till a later national one, is that in every case of urgent and immediate danger, I should like the speediest and promptest application of the remedy that is suited to it. For the averting of disease, I believe in the healing virtue of medicine, but for the averting of disease I believe also in the healing virtue of prayer. I would rather, therefore, have a fast in a few days than a fast in a few weeks, on the very principle that I would rather take the proper medicine in an hour than delay taking it till to-morrow. I hold that religion is a mockery, and the Church and the priesthood are but a solemn imposition on the world, if there be no substantial efficacy in prayer—if there be no such process as that of a real and actual interchange between Heaven and earth, of ascending petitions on the one hand, of descending mercies and fulfilments on the other. But believing, as I do, in the doctrine of prayer, in the plain and literal import of it, as being an asking on the one side and a receiving on the other, I would have the speediest possible day for public and social prayer, and that for the business object of laying the speediest possible arrest on the progress of the destroyer. When once this principle takes full possession of the mind, all other considerations are of a subordinate and secondary character. If only confident of the effect of prayer in propitiating the favour of God, one cares less and thinks less of the effect it may have upon men.

"And yet this latter object ought not to be undervalued, nor am I at all unwilling to enter on the question of the effect which any measure of ours may have on the minds and feelings of general society. There is no subject on which men are more

apt to go astray than when pronouncing on the state of the public taste or the public sentiment in regard to any given question. Each man takes his impression from that part of the public wherewith he himself has personally and immediately to do; and perhaps it will be just set down as my individual variety of opinion on this matter, but I must confess it to be my strong, indeed my confident impression, that by our perseverance in the resolution of last Presbytery on the subject of the fast, by our holding it, even in the prospect of another which we are bound to hold with equal solemnity and reverence, we shall earn the blessings and the grateful acknowledgments of all that is best principled and best conditioned among the families of Edinburgh.

"On this question I do feel for the character and independence of our Church. The inconvenience of a double fast is a bagatelle when compared with the permanent stain that we shall inflict by this method of avoiding it. Did ever the ecclesiastical give way to the civil in such a manner before? and shall we compare the temporary awkwardness that will soon be got over, with the perpetual mischief of the conspicuous precedent held forth by this metropolitan Presbytery in the sight of all the land? I hailed with delight the Presbyterial appointment, though, from my absence on the day of its being made, I had no share in it; and I hail with equal, perhaps with surpassing delight, the promise of a national appointment. I rejoice in the public recognition of God by our rulers, whether in Church or State; and there are thousands and tens of thousands amongst us who will most cordially do honour to both.

"It has been said that men will not suspend their secular business on the Presbyterial fast-day, and that, in particular, the civil authorities will not acknowledge it. Our services will not be the less interesting, and I may add not the less effective, though none but simple and spontaneous worshippers—the worshippers of the heart—are found to share in them. The strength of our Church lieth not in the countenance of power, it lies in the religion of our people; and I promise, if our appointment for Thursday shall stand, such a general response to it on the part of the population, as will cause every lover of our Establishment to rejoice. And if the civil authorities do refuse their countenance to it, we, I trust, shall never be wanting in all loyalty and respect to them. The men who do profoundest homage to the Presbyterial fast, will do profoundest homage to

the national fast also. We shall do the one, and most assuredly not leave the other undone."*

By a majority of twenty-two to eleven, the Presbytery of Edinburgh resolved to keep to their original appointment; and in the general and devout observance of the day, Dr. Chalmers's anticipations were more than verified. The national fast was not kept till the 22d February. During the interval, in Edinburgh, as in other large towns, most extraordinary and disgraceful exhibitions of popular ignorance and misguided passion had occurred. The medical faculty, notwithstanding all the pains that they had taken in preparing for the disease on its approach, and the chivalrous devotion of their attempts to stay or mitigate it after it had appeared, became the objects of popular suspicion and malice. Riotous crowds assembled round the cholera hospitals, and would scarcely suffer the patients to be admitted, or the medical officers to do their duty. In their visits to some of those wretched tenements where the disease prevailed, the benevolent exertions of Dr. Abercrombie, and other leading members of his profession, were repaid by rudest insult. Under these circumstances, in conducting the devotional services of the national fast-day in St. George's Church, Dr. Chalmers offered up the following prayer:—

"Do Thou, O Lord, ward off from us the farther inroads of that desolating plague which, in its mysterious progress over the face of the earth, has made such fearful ravages among the families of other lands. Hitherto, O God, Thou hast dealt mildly and mercifully with the city of our own habitation. Do Thou pour out the spirit of grace and supplication upon its inhabitants, and spare them, if it be Thy blessed will, the inflictions of that wrath which is so rightfully due to a careless and ungodly generation.

"We pray, O Lord, in a more especial manner for those patriotic men whose duty calls them to a personal encounter with this calamity, and who, braving all the hazards of infection, may be said to stand between the living and the dead. Save them from the attacks of disease; save them from the obloquies of misconception and prejudice; and may they have the blessings and acknowledgments of a grateful community to encourage them in their labours.

"Above all, we pray, O God, that the infidelity which places all its reliance on secondary causes, may never sway either the

* From the original MS.

councils of this city, or the councils of this nation.* May there at all times be the public recognition of a God in the midst of us. And let not the defiance or the levity of irreligious men ever tempt us to forget that mighty unseen Being, who has all the forces of nature at His command—who sits behind the elements that He has formed, and gives birth and movement and continuance to all things."

On the evening of the day on which this prayer was publicly offered up, Dr. Chalmers received the following note from one of the Judges of the Court of Session:—"I hope you will excuse my taking the liberty of requesting that you would commit to paper that admirable portion of your last prayer this afternoon, which more especially referred to those engaged in warding off, and using the necessary means for relieving those afflicted with cholera. Nothing, I am persuaded, would tend so effectually to remove the prejudices of the lower orders against the Medical Board, which I fear prevail pretty extensively, than the knowledge of this solemn appeal in their behalf to Almighty God having been put up by one so justly entitled to public confidence and respect; and there is nothing, I also am persuaded, at present more essentially necessary to the public welfare, so far as this pestilence is concerned. Your giving me permission to use it for this purpose, if you think fit to comply with my request, will oblige," &c. The prayer, I believe, had already been committed to paper by one of the audience. It appeared soon afterwards in one of the newspapers of the day, was printed in a separate form, and circulated through Edinburgh.

The sermon which Dr. Chalmers preached on the occasion above alluded to, was upon a very favourite topic—On the consistency between the efficacy of prayer and the uniformity of nature.† In illustrating the subject, he said—"But, instead of propounding our doctrine in the terms of a general argument, let us try the effect of a few special instances, by which, perhaps, we might more readily gain the consent of your understanding to our views.

"When the sigh of the midnight storm sends fearful agitation into a mother's heart, as she thinks of her sailor boy now exposed to its fury on the waters of a distant ocean, these stern disciples of a hard and stern infidelity would, on this notion of a rigid and

* In the House of Commons, the recognition of God's hand in the pestilence had been denounced by one member as "cant, hypocrisy, and humbug."

† See the discourse in Works, vol. vii. p. 234; and the same subject more elaborately treated in Works, vol. ii. pp. 314-358.

impracticable constancy in nature, forbid her prayers, holding them to be as impotent and vain, though addressed to the God who has all the elements in His hand, as if lifted up with senseless importunity to the raving elements themselves. Yet nature would strongly prompt the aspiration; and if there be truth in our argument, there is nothing in the constitution of the universe to forbid its accomplishment. God might answer the prayer, not by unsettling the order of secondary causes—not by reversing any of the wonted successions that are known to take place in the ever-restless, ever-heaving atmosphere—not by sensible miracle among those nearer footsteps which the philosopher has traced—but by the touch of an immediate hand among the deep recesses of materialism, which are beyond the ken of all his instruments. It is thence that the Sovereign of nature might bid the wild uproar of the elements into silence. It is there that the virtue comes out of Him, which passes like a winged messenger from the invisible to the visible; and, at the threshold of separation between these two regions, impresses the direction of the Almighty's will on the remotest cause which science can mount her way to. From this point in the series, the path of descent along the line of nearer and proximate causes may be rigidly invariable; and in respect of the order, the precise undeviating order, wherewith they follow each other, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation. The heat, and the vapour, and the atmospherical precipitates, and the consequent moving forces by which either to raise a new tempest, or to lay an old one, all these may proceed, and without one hair-breadth of deviation, according to the successions of our established philosophy, yet each be but the obedient messenger of that voice, which gave forth its command at the fountain-head of the whole operation; which commissioned the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth, and made lightnings for the rain, and brought wind out of his treasuries. These are the palpable steps of the process; but an unseen influence, behind the farthest limit of man's boasted discoveries, may have set them agoing. And that influence may have been accorded to prayer—the power that moves Him who moves the universe; and who, without violence to the known regularities of nature, can either send forth the hurricane over the face of the deep, or recall it at His pleasure. Such is the joyful persuasion of faith, and proud philosophy cannot disprove it. A woman's feeble cry may have overruled the elemental war, and hushed into silence this wild

frenzy of the winds and the waves, and evoked the gentler breezes from the cave of their slumbers, and wafted the vessel of her dearest hopes, and which held the first and fondest of her earthly treasures, to its desired haven."

In 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons to which were referred the various Reports of the Commissioners of Education, had recommended a system to be adopted for Ireland, "which should afford, if possible, a combined literary and a separate religious education; and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which prevailed in Ireland, as to render it in truth a system of National Education for the poorest classes of the community." In 1831, under Earl Grey's administration, His Majesty's Government resolved to make the experiment of carrying this recommendation into effect. Mr. Stanley's Letter to the Duke of Leinster gave the first official announcement of the scheme which it was proposed to institute. According to the instructions contained in this Letter, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was to be empowered to constitute a Board, consisting of persons professing different religious opinions, for the superintendence of National Education. This Board was to exercise a complete control over the schools erected under its auspices; and, in particular, over all the books employed, whether in the combined literary, or the separate religious instructions. It was required of all schools placing themselves under the Board, that they should be kept open for four or five days in the week, at the discretion of the Commissioners, for moral and literary education *only;* and that the remaining one or two days in the week should be set apart for giving separately such religious instruction to the children, as should be approved of by the clergy of their respective persuasions. The Board was also to "permit and encourage the clergy to give religious instruction to the children of their respective persuasions, either before or after the ordinary school-hours on the other days of the week." A book of Scripture extracts, drawn up under the immediate supervision of the Commissioners, was to be employed in the combined instructions given during the ordinary school-hours; and it was understood that a register should be kept of the attendance of the children at the different places of worship on the Sabbath days.

The publication of this scheme evoked a most determined opposition. It awakened the keen hostility of the advocates and supporters of the Kildare Street Society; a society which stood

at the head of those engaged in the enlightenment of Ireland, to which large Government grants had hitherto been annually extended, and from which they were henceforth to be withdrawn. In the schools connected with that Society attendance was imperative on a daily class for the reading of the Holy Scriptures: while from the ordinary instructions of the schools constituted under the new Board, the Bible was to be withdrawn. The friends of Scriptural education in Ireland, who had noticed with delight that the number of Roman Catholic children receiving the benefit of the instructions given in the Kildare Street Schools had been progressively increasing, were struck with consternation at this change. It seemed to be unequal and unjust; to be at once a violating of the first principles of equity, and a public dishonour done to the Word of God, that, in deference to the Roman Catholic priesthood, the children of Protestant parents should be deprived during the ordinary school-hours of that kind of instruction which they most highly prized, and that a brand should be put upon the Holy Scriptures by this authoritative prohibition of their employment. To the materials of opposition which the system itself supplied, others were added. Political rancour swelled the tide of offended religious feeling. The new scheme of education was denounced as a fit progeny of Whig invention—a godless system devised by men who cared less for the truth of God than for their own political popularity, and who had sacrificed the one to gain the other. The excited Orangemen of Ireland, who rose unanimously to resist the measure, invoked the aid of all true Protestants; and having found, as they imagined, a most effective weapon of assault against the Government, they wielded it with a hearty good-will. The opposition thus created was most formidable. From all parts of the country, petitions against the scheme flowed in upon the House of Commons. In the condemnation passed upon the leading features of the new system, Scotland was disposed at once to join. On the 2d April 1832, an extraordinary meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh was held for the special consideration of this subject. It was moved that the Presbytery should forthwith petition Parliament against the Government plan of education for Ireland. Although it was very ably and temperately introduced and recommended, Dr. Chalmers was not prepared to accede to such a motion. "We all know, Moderator," * said he, "that this has been a question very keenly agitated elsewhere;

* From the original MS.

that it has given rise in many quarters to a very busy fermentation; and that certainly one ingredient of this fermentation is what I trust will never be admitted within the limits of any ecclesiastical court in the Church of Scotland. The fact is too glaring to be denied, that often, very often, there has been a great deal more of politics than of religion in this opposition to the scheme of education in Ireland; and that thousands are the individuals who care not a straw for Christianity, who have gladly seized upon the topic, and now wield it as a mere instrument of annoyance, and, they hope, of eventual overthrow to the existing administration. I trust that the very respectable movers of the question in this place, will give me full credit when I acquit them, as I do most cordially, of any sinister, any secondary design of this sort; indeed, we should all, I am firmly persuaded, feel it a sad prostitution of our Presbytery to be made the organ of any State party whatever. But now that the matter is brought before us, it is our part rightly to entertain it, and feeling purely and proudly independent, whether on the politics of the Ministry, or the politics of the opposition, calmly and conscientiously, as best we may, to give upon it a sound and Christian-like deliverance. Certain it is, that Government is now engaged with a problem of great difficulty; and our becoming part is not in a factious spirit to embarrass, but in a friendly, and withal frank and honest spirit, to lay our sentiments before them. And I have no scruple in avowing it as my own sentiment, that in the instance chiefly complained of, they have made a most unfortunate departure from right principle. Their great error—which they share in common with their predecessors—the error, in fact, into which our rulers were betrayed even anterior to that measure of Emancipation which I happen to have most cordially approved of, and in which error they seem to have persisted ever since, is to have made the Catholics, or any other class of subjects whatever, parties in the negotiation. All along they have been far more anxious to find out what would please the Catholics than to find out what was in itself right. Now, instead of treating either with Catholics or Orangemen upon this question, it would have been far better had they in the exercise of their independent wisdom, framed their own independent measure, adopting not what was at the time the most popular, but what, in the light of abstract and immutable truth, was the best constitution of a school, and then held it forth as the only constitution they would stand by, and which they offered to the

acceptance of the population." Dr. Chalmers proceeded to state what it was in the constitution actually adopted for the schools, which appeared to him to be objectionable. This new Board was to charge itself with the attendance of the pupils in the churches of their various denominations. He could conceive nothing more unseemly—nothing more calculated to obstruct the light making its way in the darkened mind—than such a Board thus setting itself up, and declaring that the children of Catholics should go only to their own place of worship, and that the children of Protestants should go nowhere but to theirs. To the employment of Scripture extracts in school instruction, there could be no general objection; but to a book framed by a mixed Board, and intended to supersede the entire Word of God, he had an insuperable repugnance. His confidence was strong in the efficacy of a Bible circulated with no other seal upon it than the seal of its own inspiration—no other sanction upon it than the high name and authority of heaven; but "let it but undergo a process of distillation through the alembic of a human council or human commission, and, however slightly it may have been changed, it sustains a damage; it comes out to public view in the character of a book moulded by human hands so that priests might approve, instead of standing forth in the character of a book which neither priests nor people dare to meddle with. The original authority is overshadowed by the political or ecclesiastical; and, in place of being listened to as the voice that speaketh from heaven, it is listened to as a voice proceeding from a conclave of fellow-mortals upon earth." His main, however, and capital objection, lay against the exclusion of the Bible from the work of ordinary instruction. A daily Bible class—a class not for half-learned children, but for full and finished readers—a class not compulsory on any, but optional to all, he held to be an integral and indispensable part of all rightly-constituted schools, and that part the Government had unwisely and unrighteously repudiated.* But notwithstanding these objections, he was not prepared to approach the Legislature with a summary condemnation of the measure. Before taking such a step it was his anxious desire that the Presbytery should not only be decided on the principles of the question, but conversant with all its details, that they should so fully inform themselves, and be so thoroughly prepared, that any remonstrance they might make to

* Dr. Chalmers's final and most mature judgment upon this subject will be found in the last chapter of this volume.

Government should be at once worthy of them to offer and of importance for the Government to receive. He moved, therefore, that in the meantime a committee should be appointed to prosecute inquiry. This motion was unanimously agreed to. A committee was appointed, with Dr. Chalmers at its head, which was instructed to use all diligence and to report to the next meeting of Presbytery. Dr. Chalmers lost little time in placing himself in communication with many influential individuals, both among the favourers and opponents of the Government scheme. Two days after the meeting of Presbytery we find the following entry in his journal:—"Writing many letters as convener of the Irish Education Committee;" and a few days afterwards, "overwhelmed with letters on the subject of Irish schools." Lord Melbourne informed him that he had so far misapprehended the meaning of the regulation as to a register of attendance at church, that it was not intended to oblige the children to attend the churches of their own denomination; but that all difficulty as to this regulation was likely to be removed by its withdrawal. Shortly afterwards the Archbishop of Dublin, as a member of the Board, announced that the measure of registering the attendance of children at the different places of worship was relinquished. Dr. Chalmers had put the following query:—"In the controversy on this question I observe it affirmed on the side of Government, that all Protestant children may have daily reading in the whole Bible if they will; but is not this only if the clergyman, or teacher employed by him other than the regular schoolmaster, be daily at his post, and is not this attendance very precarious?" Lord Melbourne's reply to this query was, "The parents of the children, and their religious teachers, may make any arrangement they please for the children reading the Bible out of school-hours;" an answer which obviously implied that the Board was not to charge itself in any way with the matter. To the leading Parliamentary opponent of the scheme Dr. Chalmers put this query, "If it were made part of the regular schoolmaster's duty to have a whole Bible class for all advanced scholars who chose to be taught, not out of school-hours, but during some part or other of the regular school diet, would not that satisfy the Protestants?" The answer was, "I can have no hesitation in saying that it would not satisfy the Protestants."* In the Kildare Street Society's

* "St. Andrews, *May* 10, 1825.—My dear Sir,—I like the project of your London friends in regard to Ireland. My attention was at one time directed to the precise question

schools the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures was authoritatively and universally enforced, no child being allowed the benefit of the other lessons of the school without taking part in this, and nothing short of this would satisfy those whose opinions this member represented. Dr. Chalmers discovered here that form of *ultraism*, in the endeavour to avoid which the Government had but fallen into another. He objected to force being used, whether that force was employed for or against the daily reading of the Bible in the schools. Of that intermediate method which he was disposed to recommend, he found a perfect and very interesting example in those schools which the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had established in certain districts of the Highlands where a Catholic population prevailed. In these schools a daily Bible class was taught, but the teachers were instructed "not to press on the Catholic children any instruction to which their parents or their priest objected as interfering with the principles of their own religion." * To the schools established upon this principle, Roman Catholic children were sent without reluctance, mingling in the same classes with Protestants, without jealousy or distinction, and not unfrequently joining in the exercises of the Bible class.

The effect of that full and special examination to which the Government system was subjected was to enhance rather than extenuate Dr. Chalmers's repugnance to it; and when, on the 26th of April, he came before the Presbytery with the Report of the Committee, which he had drawn up, he prefaced it by saying, "I was bound to make all possible inquiries, and after giving my best attention to the scheme, I am obliged to confess myself more averse to its character, and more fearful of its consequences, than before." In reviewing the most important provisions of the plan that Report observed, "The first of these provisions which the Committee would notice, is that by which

—in the case of the Society for Catholic Schools in Glasgow—where we obtained very favourable terms from the priest, that is, the liberty of making the Bible a school-book. This, however, was obtained with some difficulty; and I remember my distinct feeling then to have been what it is still, that even had the Bible been interdicted, it would have been our duty to persevere, and on the principle that a Catholic population, with the capacity of reading, are a more hopeful subject than without it.

"The only caution I would suggest to a society formed on such a principle should be, not to hold themselves forth as superseding, but only as supplementing the operations of previous societies. In this way they will provoke less hostility, and do a great deal more good. —I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

"THOMAS CHALMERS.

"To THOMAS ERSKINE, Esq.,
of Linlathen."

* From the Report submitted to the General Assembly of 1829.

in the general and joint education of the scholars, consisting both of Protestants and Catholics, for four or five days in the week the use of the Bible as a school-book is prohibited, and that not because of its literary unfitness for this office, but because of its religious unfitness, in the estimation of the Catholic priesthood, for being employed as a book of juvenile or popular education. The most common, because perhaps the most obvious, objection to this regulation, is the privation of Scriptural instruction to which it subjects the Protestant children; but to the minds of your Committee, there appears another strong objection against it, and which could not be done away though other days were specified and other methods were pointed out by which the privation might be compensated or made up for to the children of Protestants. The religious unfitness of the Bible for free and general use, whether in schools or through society at large, is, we are aware, the prevalent conception of the Romish priesthood; but should the regulation in question be adopted, the conception will be embodied in British law, and it does appear a signal departure from the spirit of that legislation which has obtained in this country for several generations, if, for the first time, an express restriction be laid on the use of Scripture by the authority of the State. . . . It does not appear to your Committee that a book of Scripture extracts is at all unsuitable for schools, but all depends on the purposes for which such a book may have been formed. It essentially changes the character of such a compilation, when, instead of being given as a *specimen* of the Bible it is given as a substitute for the Bible; or when, instead of certain parts of Scripture being admitted for the literary object of easy reading or of adaptation to the gradual advancement of the learners, certain parts are excluded because of a religious objection by the priests as members of any denomination. It is this surrender of the truth and wisdom of God to the partialities or the prejudices of men which vitiates the transaction. Nor do we escape from the evil however indefinitively near the substance and doctrine the book of extracts may be to the whole Bible. If any part of Scripture, however small, have been given up in deference to a religious antipathy, if any words, however few, have been taken out of this book because they are offensive to the principles or feelings of a particular sect, then, in concession to the demands of that sect, the integrity of Heaven's Record is violated, and the same malign character adheres to the principle of the compromise, whatever is the

material extent, whether great or small, to which it may be carried. . . . The only remaining feature of this scheme to which we would direct the attention of the Presbytery, is that by which the toleration of the Catholics on the part of the Government has advanced towards positive favour. On the days for separate religious instruction the clergy of both denominations are not only permitted, but permitted and *encouraged*, to give religious instruction to the children of their own persuasion. . . . This seems to proceed on the ground that the mere existence of a sect, irrespective of all consideration of its tenets, is in itself a sufficient reason not merely for its being permitted but for its being fostered and patronized. In such a policy of a like treatment of different denominations, however opposed they may be in their pretensions and principles, there is a virtual surrender of the great reason on which a Protestant establishment is upheld either in this or in any other land."

The Report concluded by stating, that if the Presbytery should see fit to approach the Legislature, it was the opinion of the Committee that such approach should be made not in the attitude of opponents—that their petition should be one as much of suggestion as of censure, showing all due sympathy with those who had taken in hand so arduous a task, and giving all due credit to the pure and patriotic impulses by which they were animated. The Report was unanimously and cordially approved, and a petition to Parliament was forwarded, the chief prayer of which was that a daily Bible class, which it should be optional for the children to attend, should be institnted in each school, and that the use of the book of extracts, and the setting apart of separate days for distinctive religious instruction, should be relinquished. The ample discussion given to this subject in the metropolitan Presbytery was but a prelude to that awaiting it in the General Assembly of the Church. In the interval between the two discussions the following interchange of letters between Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Stanley took place :—

"Edinburgh, *May* 12, 1832.

"To Mr. Stanley.

"Sir,—I take the liberty of writing to you in conseqnence of a communication I lately had from Mr. Murray on the subject of the Government scheme for the National System of Edncation in Ireland.

"I am quite certain that much of the opposition to this scheme

has had its origin in political bias, but I feel confident that in the Presbytery of Edinburgh it has been in the main a movement of principle. It was brought before us unexpectedly by one of the members of our Court, and we found that we could not blink the question, nor readily acquit ourselves of it, without passing our deliberate opinion on its merits. That opinion has been given without the slightest tincture of a political feeling on the part of a great majority, and is now put forth in a petition, not against the scheme, but on the subject of the scheme.

"We think the Catholics ought to be satisfied by the attendance on the Bible class being made voluntary, and that by this simple regulation all which is due to liberality, and the equitable claims of various denominations, is fully discharged. That the legal and authoritative exclusion of the Bible from school for any number of days in the week should have proved so offensive to the feelings of many Protestants, does not appear to me in the light of a mere sensitive or irrational antipathy, but, instead of this, the retreat of a great principle from a measure that goes to stigmatize the Word of God and subordinate His authority to the authority of men. Yet I am quite sensible that I would need to expand and enforce this consideration at great length, in order to make out to the apprehensions of many, a complete or lengthened vindication of the principle which, apart altogether from politics, actuated strongly and honestly the religious classes of the country in their opposition to the Government scheme. In my opinion, it were wise in legislating on this subject not to restrict the Bible to half an hour, or any specified time whatever, and not to name the Catholics as the party for whose benefit the exemption from attendance was provided. An enactment of great generality would serve the purpose of quieting alarm, and it were prudent that the details of its practical application should be left to the discretion of those concerned in the getting up or management of the school, if it were barely provided that all schools raised, or in any degree upheld by Government, should have a daily Bible class, to be attended by those who were capable of reading, and that unless when parents or natural superiors interposed to prevent that attendance. I would most willingly give up, as uncalled for, and for various reasons inexpedient, the whole apparatus of separate religious instruction for Catholics and Protestants. Permit me to say, that I should hold it the great excellence of such a law that a dispensation from attendance on the Bible class is right, not in concession to the

priests, but in concession to the parents—not in deference to a religious prejudice, but in deference to the great natural right, even the right of fathers, to have the oversight of the religious education of their families.

"I am abundantly sensible of the existing diversity which there is in the statements of the parties interested on the subject of the numbers among the Catholics who are contented to receive Scriptural education. I have been in the habit, for many years, of attending to the progress of education in Ireland, and I must retain my belief, that however averse the Catholic priests are to this education, the Catholic people have no such aversion to it, and that, however resisted at the outset, let there only be schools all over the land where daily Scripture lessons may be had, in less than half a generation the habit of repairing to them would become universal. I do think it of mighty importance to commence a system with a right principle, and would infinitely rather a slow progress at first than more rapid progress under a system vitiated with a principle that is radically wrong; and I believe it will be found in this, as in every other instance, that sound principle and sound policy are at one. Looking generally at Europe, it will be found that the civilisation of every people keeps pace with the advancement of Scriptural education; and it does appear like the traversing of the wide historical order, and in opposition to all the lessons of experience, to institute a process for humanizing Ireland, the commencement of which is marked by a limitation on the use of that Book, the free circulation of which may be said to have originated all the light and liberty of our modern day. The one system will rivet the ascendency of Catholic priesthood in Ireland, the other will weaken, and at length destroy it. How desirable this latter consummation is, even in a civil and economical point of view, may be gathered from a comparison between the Protestant and Popish districts of Ireland, and still more abundantly from the relative condition of the people in the Popish and Protestant countries of Switzerland and Germany, and indeed throughout all Europe. On the whole, I should lament if, for the sake of gaining the very doubtful, and I fear short-lived, satisfaction of the Catholics, with aught that you will do for them, you were to act in contravention to that large and magnanimous policy, whose permanent, though perhaps more distant results, are all on the side of social order, and both the moral and economic wellbeing of every people.

"I was examined on this subject by a Committee of the House of Commons on Irish Poor-laws, in May 1830, and I still adhere to the ideas expressed by me on that occasion.—I have the honour to be, &c. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"IRISH OFFICE, *May* 19, 1832.

"SIR,—I had the honour a few days ago of receiving your letter of the 12th instant, on the subject of Irish education. You will, I am convinced, find, in the circumstances of the last few days, and in the consequent uncertainty whether the scheme would ever be carried to maturity, a sufficient excuse for my not having returned you an immediate answer. Objections on the ground of principle are at all times difficult to answer, more especially when supported by weight and ability like yours; but the question here appears to me to be, not whether we have selected the best possible abstract system of education, but whether we have selected the best which was applicable to the case, without at the same time violating any principle; and in this view, undoubtedly, there is much which one would assent to for Ireland, the majority being Catholics, which we should object to in England or Scotland, where the great majority are Protestant. Perhaps I might go farther, and say, that in this, as in many other cases, the greatest difficulty arises in legislating for Ireland as a whole, the north and the south being as dissimilar as two separate countries. In this particular subject, therefore, regulations may be called for as applicable to a general system, which might not have been necessary or desirable if confined to Ulster alone. And if I recollect right—for I write without book, if you have the means of referring to a speech of mine in the House of Commons last year, on the Irish estimates, in which I first opened this plan, I pointed out the effect which had been produced by the compulsory reading of the Scriptures under the Kildare Place Society, in limiting the schools to the Protestant province, or rather in producing a very great disproportion between that and the other three provinces. The difference, then, between us and the Kildare Place system is, that they required from *all* children of sufficient age, whether Protestant or Catholic, to read some one chapter in the Bible every day, and the consequence was that many Catholic children left the schools as soon as they arrived at the highest, or Bible class. We, on the other hand, *permit* the Bible to be read every day; we *encourage* the reading and study of it on two days; we *require* the reading of selections, on

which all agree, on every day in the week. Surely this cannot be called the 'exclusion of the Bible from school for any number of days in the week,' nor 'stigmatizing the Word of God, by subordinating His authority to the authority of men.' The Bible, in one sense, is excluded from all schools during the hours which are devoted to instruction of a different kind; and how very large a proportion in all schools do those hours bear to those in which it is practically admitted, that is, in which the children have the use of it. We say, then, let those hours be *all* the hours at which Roman Catholics are compelled to attend, let those Protestant parents, nay, if you will, let those Catholic parents, who think fit, send their children at earlier or later hours, when the Bible is known and acknowledged to be read, but do not *compel* Catholic children to be present at a period when neither their natural nor their spiritual guardians can interfere to prevent undue influence being exercised to induce them to join in that of which they disapprove.

"You allow that the religious ordering of their families belongs by a great natural right to fathers. I might say that, in a certain degree, *this* is subordinating 'the authority of God to the authority of man,' for it admits the right of a father to restrict the education of his child in the Word of God. We do not altogether deny the authority of the spiritual pastors of our Church; but the Catholic carries his doctrine on this head farther, and considers himself bound to submit his opinion on these points more implicitly to theirs. We are legislating, then, for a Catholic country; we are anxious to extend our instructions into that country as widely as possible; we are anxious to give to the Catholic population as much of a Scriptural education as they will receive. By alarming the jealousy of their clergy, we at the same time run counter to their prejudices, and we indispose them to receive any portion of our instructions; on the other hand, by showing them that we insist on nothing which they avowedly object to, we prevail on them, perhaps, to admit much which they would otherwise have rejected; and I confess that if this be in any degree a compromise, it is one in my mind entirely consistent with principle—with Protestant principle—and with an anxious desire to extend as widely and as fully as possible the knowledge of the Word of God.

"I shall feel myself bound to pay every attention to your petition. I am fully convinced it proceeds from none but honest and religious motives. I rejoice to have an assurance from you,

that 'it is a petition not against the scheme, but on the subject of the scheme;' and I am not without hopes that it may be made to appear, though not within the compass even of so extravagant a letter as this, that there is really but a very narrow ground of difference in our practical views of this most important subject.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

E. G. Stanley.

"Rev. Dr. Chalmers."

The ground of difference between Mr. Stanley and Dr. Chalmers did certainly appear to be narrow. Mr. Stanley was willing that the Protestant children should meet half an hour earlier, or remain half an hour later than the others, for the purpose of Scriptural instruction. Dr. Chalmers desired that such instruction should be given during the ordinary school-hours, the Catholics to have perfect liberty to join in it or not. In one of those short and pithy forms of expression which he was in the habit of using, Dr. Chalmers characterized the difference as lying in this,—that in the one way of it the Bible was made to skulk from the Catholics, in the other, the Catholics were made to skulk from the Bible. Being in the Moderator's chair, Dr. Chalmers took no part in the debate on the Irish Education Scheme in the ensuing General Assembly. That debate was considerably modified and abbreviated by an announcement from the Solicitor-General, that a communication had been made to him by Mr. Stanley, in which he said that he saw no objection to the institution of a daily Bible class, imperative on the Protestant and optional to the Catholic children. Although a doubt still continued to hang over the meaning of the Chief-Secretary's announcement, the Assembly satisfied itself with petitioning in terms equivalent to those which the Presbytery of Edinburgh had employed.

The Presbyterian Church in Ireland, influenced by the same considerations, assumed at first the same attitude of hostility. But her interest in obtaining such a modification of the defects, as would place within her reach the obvious benefits of the scheme, was much more urgent; and her negotiations for this object were finally successful. At an early stage, if not from the period of their compilation, the use of the Scripture extracts was left optional. At first every school receiving Government aid was bound to adhere strictly to the regulations drawn up by the Board. Latterly, where the school-house has not been built

by the Board, which in the north of Ireland is the usual case, the local patrons draw up their own regulations, submit them to the Commissioners, and, if approved of, are bound only by them—central control yielding thus to local authority. At an interview with the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year 1840, a deputation from the Presbyterian Church submitted a model constitution for these schools, which received the sanction of the Government. That constitution contains the following clause:—"The times for reading the Holy Scriptures, and for catechetical instruction, are so arranged as not to interfere with or impede the scientific or secular business of the school; and no child, whose parents or guardians object, is required to be present or take part in these exercises, and no obstruction shall be offered to the children of such parents receiving such instruction elsewhere as they may think proper." For the children of their own and other Protestant communions, the Presbyterian Church has secured all that Dr. Chalmers desired. In their schools the day for separate religious instruction is done away. The Bible is read during the ordinary school-hours; "the extent of its use subject to no control but the will of the parents, expressed through committees of their own free choice, and the greatest convenience of the attending scholars." Subject to the provision that instruction in them be not forced, the Westminster Catechisms are also freely used during the ordinary school-hours. The schools under the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church, enjoying the advantages of the Government bounty, are thus in their constitution and practice identical with those schools in the Highlands under the General Assembly of the Scottish Establishment, to which Dr. Chalmers pointed as a "beautiful and perfect example, unexceptionable in its principles, and most beneficial in its results."

CHAPTER XVIII.

MODERATORSHIP OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY—ABOLITION OF SABBATH BREAKFASTS —DEBATE ON CALLS—ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE ACT OF ASSEMBLY 1834, DENOMINATED THE VETO LAW.

It has already been incidentally mentioned that in the General Assembly of 1832 the honour was conferred on Dr. Chalmers of placing him in the Moderator's Chair. There was one observance which custom had connected with that office to which he looked forward with a painful solicitude. The daily public dinners given by the Royal Commissioner, as well as the daily public breakfasts given by the Moderator, were held on both the Sundays which occurred during the sitting of the Assembly. The Sabbath breakfasts he might by his own authority discontinue, but from attendance at the Sabbath dinners, to which the Moderator was always specially invited, how could he be relieved? Anticipating the perplexity to which he would be exposed, he addressed the following letter to His Majesty's Representative, Lord Belhaven, before the commencement of the Assembly :–

"Edinburgh, *May* 3, 1832.

"My Lord,—On the chance, which I now see to be a likely one, of my becoming Moderator of the next General Assembly, there is one point respecting which I beg to throw myself on the indulgence of your Lordship. I could not without pain be present at the public dinners on the Sundays; and I feel that nothing more is necessary than the bare communication of this feeling to make your Lordship willing to dispense with my attendance on these occasions. I have made no one else privy to this communication, preferring that the matter should be adjusted by a liberal and understood arrangement between your Lordship and myself, to its becoming the subject of a public discussion. At the same time, let me not disguise my conviction (and I ask your Lordship to pardon the liberty I take in expressing it), that it were greatly better if both the dinners were altogether dispensed with. I feel quite assured, my Lord, that did such an arrange-

ment originate with yourself, it would be felt as a strong additional claim to those already possessed by your Lordship on the respect and gratitude of the Church of Scotland.—With many apologies for this intrusion, I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD BELHAVEN."

This letter met with the most gracious reception. The personal request was not only at once acceded to, but the general suggestion was willingly adopted. The Sabbath dinners, as well as the Sabbath breakfasts, were then and have since that time been discontinued; and, "I believe I may add," says Lord Belhaven, "that no measure ever gave more universal satisfaction." It is a pleasing mark of distinction and remembrance which attaches thus to Dr. Chalmers's Moderatorship.

Dr. Chalmers's position as Moderator forbade his taking any active part in the discussions of this Assembly. There was one of its debates to which he must have listened with peculiar interest. So many as eight presbyteries and three synods had sent up overtures to the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court, supplicating the Assembly to devise some means for preventing the settlement of unacceptable ministers, and for giving significancy and effect to what had been reduced to a dead form—the call by the people. According to the immemorial usage of the Church of Scotland, the following steps are necessary to be taken in the induction of a clergyman. By a deed of presentation laid upon the table of the Presbytery the patron nominates to the vacant living. In this document he requires the Presbytery "to take trial of the qualifications" of the presentee; "and having found him fit and qualified for the function of the ministry, at the said parish of —— to admit and receive him thereto, and give him his act of ordination and admission in due and competent form." In pursuance of this requirement, the first thing done by the Presbytery is to enjoin the presentee to preach in the vacant church, on one or two appointed Sabbaths, that the people over whom he is to be ordained may have some knowledge and trial of his qualifications. Thereafter a day is fixed, of which due intimation from the pulpit is given to the parishioners, on which the Presbytery assembles in the church of the vacant parish, for the purpose of moderating in, or presiding at the call. At this meeting, after public worship conducted by the member of Presbytery appointed to preside, a

paper is presented, the tenor whereof is as follows :—" We, the heritors, elders, heads of families, and parishioners of the parish of ——, within the bounds of the Presbytery of ——, and county of ——, taking into consideration the present destitute state of the said parish, through the want of a Gospel ministry among us, occasioned by the death of our late pastor, and being satisfied with the learning, abilities, and other good qualifications of you, Mr. A. B., and having heard you preach to our satisfaction and edification, do hereby invite and call you, the said Mr. A. B., to take the charge and oversight of this parish, and to come and labour among us in the work of the Gospel ministry, hereby promising to you all due respect and encouragement in the Lord. We likewise entreat the reverend Presbytery of —— to approve and concur with this our most cordial call, and to use all proper means for making the same effectual, by your ordination and settlement among us, as soon as the steps necessary thereto will admit. In witness whereof, we subscribe these presents," &c. This document the people are invited to subscribe in presence of the Presbytery, and the signatures having been completed, and the Presbytery, sitting in judgment upon the call as now presented to them, having sustained it as sufficient, enter thereafter upon the trial of the literary and theological attainments of the presentee. Having satisfied themselves as to these, they appoint a Sabbath for *serving the edict*, as it is termed, or for publicly announcing to the congregation of the vacant parish, the proposed day of ordination ; to which announcement the notification is appended, that if any one knows any reason against the admission of the presentee, he is to present himself before the Presbytery and give in the same. On the day fixed for the final and solemn act of ordination, before proceeding to the religious services, the report of the member who served the edict is called for and received, and again by public proclamation of the officer of the Court, the opportunity is offered to any who have objections to the life or doctrine of the presentee to come forward and substantiate them. No such objections having been tendered, after public worship the presentee is required to stand up, and in presence of the congregation, to answer a series of questions, the last of which is as follows :—" Do you accept and close with the call to be pastor of this parish, and promise through grace to perform all the duties of a faithful minister among this people ?" After an affirmative reply to this and the preceding queries, in not one

of which is any allusion made to the patron or his presentation, the Presbytery, by prayer and the laying on of hands, do solemnly set him apart to the office of the holy ministry.

In following the different stages of this proceeding, it may have struck the reader who is conversant chiefly with the principles and practice of the English Establishment, that according to the mode of admission now described, the title to the benefice is not completed till the spiritual act of admission is performed; that the enjoyment of the benefice is inseparably conjoined with the cure of souls; and that no other ordination to the holy office is recognised than that which establishes a relationship between the minister and his flock, involving the obligation that he shall reside within the bounds of a particular parish, and that he shall personally discharge the duties of the sacred office. Nor will it fail to strike the attentive observer, that the inquiry into the presentee's acceptability to the people, made by means of the call, takes precedence of the trial of his literary and theological qualifications, and that it is upon the invitation given to him by the people that the spiritual act of ordination is grounded. It rests indeed with the Presbytery to determine what amount of popular consent or concurrence should entitle them to proceed with any settlement. For many years after the restoration of patronage by the Act 1712, full effect was given to the popular voice; the cases being numerous in which the nominee of the patron was rejected solely because of the opposition of the congregation; and not a single instance occurring in which the attachment of three or four signatures barely to the call was held to be sufficient. Matters changed, however, as the century advanced. The leading ecclesiastics, by whom the decisions of the Supreme Court were guided, were hostile to the admission of the concurrence of the people as an indispensable element in the formation of the pastoral tie. A cold indifference, lapsing in not a few instances into doctrinal latitudinarianism, spread through the ministry, generating a very strong antipathy to that popular taste which, whenever it was permitted to express itself, gave its testimony so unequivocally in favour of the purity and the warmth by which an evangelical ministry is distinguished. It became, finally, the opinion of the majority in the General Assembly, that effect should be given to the presentation of the patron, with an entire disregard of any opposition, however strong or prevalent among the people. The only apparent use of a call being to ascertain the presentee's accep-

tability to the people, if no weight whatever was to be given to that element, the natural and becoming step would have been to dispense altogether with this part of the process of admission. But it would have been too violent an invasion of the ancient practice of the Church to venture upon such a step. The Assembly contented itself therefore with establishing by a series of decisions, that any amount of signatures to the call, however small—the attachment to it of a single name—was sufficient. The form of the call was preserved, but all meaning was taken out of it. It marks, however, how strong the hold was which the ancient practice had, that long after the call had been bereft of all real significance, and degraded to an idle ceremonial, the General Assembly of 1782 "did, and do hereby declare, that the moderation of a call in the settlement of ministers, is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of this Church, and ought to be continued." And this motion was carried not against a counter one that the call should be done away, but against one which, after a declaration "that the moderation of a call is agreeable to the immemorial practice of the Church," proceeded to say, that "not having sufficient evidence laid before them that any Presbyteries had departed so far from established usage as to lay aside the moderation of a call in the settlement of a minister," the Assembly should simply "dismiss these overtures as at this time unnecessary."

That course of ecclesiastical proceeding by which, in the settlement of ministers, the expression of the popular will was rendered nugatory, was highly offensive to a faithful minority among the clergy who adhered tenaciously to the principles and practice of an earlier and purer period of their Church. It seemed to them to be worse than meaningless to send the presentee to preach—to invite so solemnly the expression of congregational opinion, and then to slight and overbear it. It was, besides, a very flagrant breach of what the acknowledged standards of the Church, and of what various General Assemblies, from the Reformation downwards, had declared to be a fundamental principle of the Church, "that no minister shall be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation." * Clerical

* "The General Assembly, considering, from Act of Assembly, August 6, 1575, Second Book of Discipline, chap. iii. par. 4, 6, 8, registrate in the Assembly books, and appointed to be subscribed by all ministers, and ratified by Acts of Parliament, and likewise by the Act of Assembly 1638, December 17th and 18th, and Assembly 1715, Act 9th, That it is, and has been since the Reformation, the principle of this Church that no minister shall be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation, do therefore seriously recommend to all judicatories of the Church to have a due regard to the said principle in

resistance, however, was unavailing. The Supreme Ecclesiastical Court had decided that the will of the people, however expressed, should not be suffered to raise any barrier in the way of the settlement of the minister, and all inferior judicatories must obey its edict. Presbyteries, upon whom the painful duty was laid of ordaining ministers in opposition to the almost unanimous and most resolute resistance of the people, remonstrated, but those remonstrances were unheeded. They asked to be relieved from performing the office of ordination. In some cases the relief was virtually granted by appointing other ministers to discharge the duty who were not restrained by such scruples. In other cases the relief asked for was peremptorily refused, and those whose consciences were known to be most tender were authoritatively enjoined to be present or to preside at the ordination. For his disobedience to an order of this kind one minister, selected as an example, was deposed, others voluntarily resigned their livings, while many who preferred submission to separation, influenced by the consideration that it was the practice and not the constitution of the Church that was at fault, contented themselves with lifting their earnest protestations against the course the Church had taken.

At first, when the danger threatened them of having unacceptable ministers obtruded on them, the people had appealed to the General Assembly. They soon found that no sympathy was to be met with there, and offended by the manner in which their objections were characterized, or caricatured, they ceased to make any appearance before the Supreme Court. Every other door of relief being closed against them, in a few melancholy instances they were seduced into acts of illegal violence. On the day set apart for the ordination, the church-doors were found closed or barricaded, or a mob appeared who would not suffer the Presbytery to proceed with their ungracious work, or the ministers were separately waylaid and borne off, so that when the hour for the public service came, in an empty church the presentee was left in inglorious solitude, without a Presbytery to ordain him. Against such methods of opposition the aid of the civil power was asked and granted, and the unseemly sight was witnessed of Presbyteries going forward to the ordination service

planting vacant congregations; and that all Presbyteries be at pains to bring about harmony and unanimity in congregations, and to avoid everything that may excite or encourage unreasonable exceptions in people against a worthy person that may be proposed to be their minister, in the present situation and circumstances of the Church, so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God and edification of the body of Christ."—Act of Assembly 1736.

guarded by dragoons—of ministers placed in their parishes at the point of the bayonet. More generally, however, resistance when found to be ineffectual was given up, in some cases to sink into sullen compliance, which took soon the form of religious indifference, in others to take advantage of the law of toleration, and quietly to desert the communion of the Church. In half a century the rise of upwards of two hundred Dissenting chapels, and the withdrawal from the pale of the Establishment of more than one hundred thousand of the population, told what these violent settlements had done.

The present century brought with it a better spirit. The peculiar doctrines of the Gospel met with a larger and heartier acceptance; the ministries of Dr. Thomson in Edinburgh and Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow doing much for the vindication and propagation of evangelical truth. Fired with the zeal which an earnest reception of these doctrines kindles, a goodly number of the clergy caught the inspiration of the olden times, and longed to have them back again. A fresh interest in the affairs of the Church began to be manifested by pious and influential laymen. The growing minorities in the General Assembly, by which pluralities were condemned, gave token that the days of moderatism were numbered. The question of pluralities, however, did not fairly test the Church, nor bring out into distinct opposition the two leading parties of which it was composed. This was done effectually by the question as to the settlement of ministers. There were a few among the evangelical clergy who, contemplating the great improvement which had taken place in the mode in which patronage was exercised, and fearful of the issues to which the controversy might lead, would have wished that a few years more of peaceful progress should elapse ere the shock of the collision came. But by the overwhelming majority it was felt that there could be no farther delay. They stood committed so soon as even any hope of victory was opened, to take up the old struggle which their forefathers had bequeathed to them. The times at last seemed favourable, and not a few secondary considerations conspired to urge them on.

The late great change in the political state of the nation affected by the extension of the franchise, now led many to put questions like these—were civil rights to be yielded to them, and rights that they prized more dearly to be withheld?—were they to have the free choice of their political, but no part whatever in the appointment of their religious guides?—were abuses

in the State, the demand for whose removal was but a cry of yesterday, at all hazards to be done away, and was that abuse, the evil of a high-handed and unchecked Church patronage, the cry for relief from which had been heard through Scotland for more than 200 years, to be utterly disregarded? There was a small band of men who, made hopeful by the spirit thus excited, were for laying the axe at once to the root of the evil, and boldly demanded that patronage should not be regulated, but destroyed. A few years before this time, a society had been formed in Edinburgh under the auspices of Dr. Andrew Thomson, whose object was to purchase the right of presentation, with a view to its after exercise in such a way that the evils of an unlimited patronage might be alleviated. This society altered its character after the passing of the Reform Bill, requiring that patronage should be altogether abolished. Its appeal was so widely responded to (although chiefly among the laity), that numerous petitions for the abolition of patronage were presented to Parliament, till Government was induced to appoint a Committee of Inquiry.

Another and more menacing society arose—a society formed in Edinburgh, denominated "The Voluntary Church Association," whose aim was the overthrow of all religious Establishments. Excited by the first enjoyment of the political franchise, and over-estimating perhaps the amount of their political influence, the members of this society believed that the time had come for striking the decisive blow under which all Church Establishments were to fall. Clear enough and strong enough was the first note of assault they sounded:—"That a compulsory support of religious institutions,"—so runs the statement of the "Fundamental Principles of the Association,"—"is inconsistent with the nature of religion, the spirit of the Gospel, the express appointment of Jesus Christ, and the civil rights of man; that its tendency, as exhibited by its effects, is to secularize religion, promote hypocrisy, perpetuate error, produce infidelity, destroy the unity and purity of the Church, and disturb the peace and order of civil society." It was an open, honest, and very bold attack. At the first, till the real strength of this party was tested both in the field of debate and in the arena of political agitation, its onset was felt to be alarming, and there was no true friend of the Church of Scotland who did not feel more urged by the danger which appeared to threaten her, to remove every real grievance of which her members might complain.

Early in 1833, a member of the Government having asked Dr. Chalmers's opinion and advice on the topic of patronage, received the following reply :—

"Edinburgh, *February* 26, 1833.

"Dear Sir,—The subject of patronage is greatly too complicated, in the present state of it, for my specifying all at once by what one practical or particular measure it can be fully rectified. I propose making a study of it during the month of April, which I cannot well do at present when fully engaged with the labour of my classes and other preparations. I should deprecate any precipitate legislation on the subject, and am disposed to regret that the Lord Advocate did not give his consent to a special committee for taking it into consideration.* This is the only practical measure that I would venture to suggest; and I do think that by this means the Legislature may attain to a solid and comprehensive view of the question in all its bearings, and which would be much facilitated by the testimony of many of our clergymen, who I know are bestowing their anxious thoughts upon the subject. However patronage is to be modified, there is one principle which I think the Church must firmly abide by, and that is its own ultimate power of deciding (even after a presentation is laid upon the table) whether, viewing all the circumstances of the case, it is for the Christian good of the population of that parish that that presentation shall be sustained. The concurrence of the ecclesiastical court has been too much lost sight of for half a century as an indispensable element to the validity of every induction. I am sorry that I cannot confidently at present recommend anything more specific; but I have no doubt that difficulties will clear away, as the new lights which earnest and persevering attention generally awakens shall be made to arise upon the question.—I have the honour to be, &c.

Thomas Chalmers.

"To the Right Hon. Charles Grant."

Dr. Chalmers devoted the month of April to the study of the subject, that he might be prepared to take an effective part in the discussions of the approaching General Assembly. In the preceding year eleven inferior courts had urged the topic on the

* One of the grounds on which the Lord Advocate withheld his consent was, that the Call was likely to be made efficient in the approaching General Assembly. As this was not done by the Assembly of 1833, and as the friends of the abolition of patronage continued to urge the matter in Parliament, the Government yielded, and a Committee of Inquiry was appointed on the 27th February 1834.

consideration of the Assembly, this year no fewer than forty-two had overtured to the same effect; and could the evangelical party but agree as to a specific measure, there was a strong probability that they should be able to carry it. A few days before the Assembly met, a number of influential clergymen and elders assembled for private deliberation. Dr. Chalmers's suggestion was, that without resorting to its legislative the Church should employ its judicial authority in effecting better and purer ministerial appointments. It had been by a series of individual decisions that the call had been reduced to a nullity—by a series of opposite decisions let it be restored to significance and effect. With a general intimation given to them that they should pay regard to the great and fundamental principle of Non-intrusion, let it be remitted to Presbyteries to decide what amount of signatures to the call should be required, and by a succession of right decisions by the Supreme Court let a sound and satisfactory precedent be established. Dr. Chalmers's preference for this method was grounded chiefly on the consideration that under it no question as to the legality of the Church's procedure could arise; for if she but retraced her own footsteps—putting forth the same power by which the opposition of the people had been set aside, exercising that power in a precisely similar way although to an opposite result—the competency of her procedure could be open, he thought, to no challenge. His suggestion, however, was not accepted. Its adoption, it was conceived, would protract indefinitely a satisfactory settlement of the question, and leave the Church meanwhile exposed to all the dangers to which the Voluntary agitation on the one hand and the Anti-patronage agitation on the other were exposing her. The decisions as to what constituted a sufficient call might vary. In prosecuting their rights parishes might be exposed to protracted litigation, and even after a precedent, such as was anticipated from the improved state of feeling in the Church and country had been established, it would rest upon comparatively precarious ground. It was resolved, therefore, that by some act of legislation, controlling the proceedings of the inferior Courts, the General Assembly should at once establish a uniform practice. Dr. Chalmers's second and more urgent advice was, that concurrently with their own act of legislation they should make immediate application to the Government, so that the civil sanction might be appended to the Assembly's act. He advised this, not because he had any doubts himself as to the Church's power to legislate, but because

such doubts had been expressed by others, and it would be better, he thought, to free the matter at first from all risk and uncertainty. In this instance he deferred to the influential judgment of Lord Moncreiff. That eminent lawyer and devoted friend of the Church of Scotland, deprecated in the strongest terms any application to the Government, or any casting of a question so purely Scottish into the hands of English legislators. Perhaps, also, a consideration of the difficulty to which it might expose the Government of the day should the settlement of such a question be forced upon them, may have had some weight in determining his Lordship's judgment. It was certainly, however, to the urgency of his remonstrance, and to the strength of his assurance that it lay undoubtedly within the legalized functions of the Church to deal with the matter as was proposed, that Dr. Chalmers yielded, although he afterwards regretted that he had done so. There still remained, however, for deliberation, the question as to what specific form the proposed legislation should take. It might either be required, that before a call was sustained the signature of a majority of the parishioners should be attached to it; or, without defining any amount of positive concurrence as necessary, the dissent of the majority might be held as a bar to the settlement, leaving the settlement to be proceeded with in all cases where such dissent did not occur. Of these two methods the second was evidently the milder check on patronage. It was quite possible, that where no such opposition to a presentee existed as should warrant the arrest of his settlement, ignorance or apathy among the people might keep a majority from signing in his favour. But it was not likely, except where a very strong and general repugnance was felt, that a majority should come forward to dissent. It would only be in extreme cases that this would happen, cases in which settlements, if effected, would be in most patent and flagrant violation of the fundamental principle of Non-intrusion. It was resolved, therefore, that the milder measure of a popular veto should be proposed. This step was taken, not in a spirit of hostility to patronage, but the reverse. It was meant to preserve rather than to destroy. The friends and first proposers of the Veto Law did not wish to see patronage done away. They desired, indeed, to see it so limited or restrained that the conscientious convictions of Christian congregations might not be trampled on, but the great majority of them, with Lord Moncreiff, were strenuously opposed to its abolition. It was with some difficulty that the few members of the

Church Courts, who at this period were demanding the entire abolition of patronage, were induced to support the measure which the leaders of the evangelical party had adopted. To Dr. Chalmers was committed the responsible office of introducing the measure in the General Assembly of 1833. The first half of his speech on this signal occasion was directed against those members of his own party who cherished what he conceived to be extravagant expectations as to the great spiritual enlargement that would result from certain projected reformations in the external order or practice of the Church—first, or very prominent among which was the total abolition of patronage and the substitution of popular election in its stead.

After some remarks, directed chiefly against the system of popular election, he proceeded—"I am aware of the theoretical partiality which many of my friends have for the whole system of our ministerial appointments being out and out ecclesiastical, which it would be if, as by the Act of Assembly 1649, the nomination were vested in the Session, and the power of objecting in the people, and the final judgment, where these two parties were at variance, in the Presbytery. Even the Act of Parliament 1690, by which the nomination is vested, not in the elders alone, but in the elders and heritors, might be accommodated to this theory by the single qualification of heritors being communicants. Whether the same qualification applied to our existing patrons, that they should be in communion with the Church, and so within our own ecclesiastical pale, and under our own ecclesiastical control, whether this would reconcile them more to the present system of patronage, I do not know. But however much we may differ respecting the initiative, I not only feel inclined to go as far, but would even go farther than the advocates, either for the Act of Parliament 1690, or for the Act of Assembly 1649, respecting the safeguard or the check. The great complaint of our more ancient Assemblies, the great burden of Scottish indignation, the practical grievance which, of all others, has been hitherto felt the most intolerable and galling to the hearts of a free and religious people, is the violent intrusion of ministers upon parishes. An effectual provision against this enormity, this unfeeling outrage, which in the exercise of a reckless and unprincipled patronage has so often been perpetrated in our beloved land, an outrage by the appointment of an ungodly pastor on the rights of conscience and religious sensibilities of a sorely aggrieved people—a provision against so deep and so wide a

moral injury as this to the families of a parish, I should feel the most valuable of all the legislative expedients or devices which could be proposed on the present occasion, and would welcome it all the more cordially if we had not to go in quest of it without the limits of our actual ecclesiastical constitution, or in other words, if instead of enacting a new law we had but to declare our interpretation of an old one. Now the law of calls places such a facility in our hands; and, as I feel I must not take up the time of the Assembly, let me state at once, and without further preamble, my own preference as to the best way of restoring significancy and effect to this now antiquated but still venerable form; and this is by holding the call a solid one which lies, not in the expressed consent of the few, and these often the mere driblet of a parish, but, larger than this, which lies in the virtual or implied consent of the majority, and to be gathered from their non-resistance or their silence. In other words, I would have it that the majority of dissentient voices should lay a veto on every presentation.

"In this power of a negative on the part of the people there is nothing new in the constitution or practice of the Church of Scotland. It is the great barrier, in fact, set up by the wisdom of our forefathers against the intrusion of ministers into parishes. It could make no appearance in the First Book of Discipline 1560, where it was provided that the people should have the initiative, or that the ministers should be appointed, not with their consent, but by their election. But after the probation of eighteen years, we have the Second Book of Discipline 1578, where the election is made to proceed by the judgment of the eldership and with the consent of the congregation, and care is expressed 'that no person be intrusit contrar to the will of the congregation or without the voice of the eldership.' This interdict by the people is farther recognised and ratified in the Act of Assembly 1649, and of Parliament 1690. It is, in fact, the appropriate, the counterpart remedy against the evil of intrusion. If we hear little of the application or actual exercise of this remedy during the times it was in force, it was because of a great excellence, even that pacific property which belongs to it of acting by a preventive operation. The initial step was so taken by the one party as to anticipate the gainsayers in the other. The goodness of the first appointment was, in the vast majority of instances, so unquestionable as to pass unquestioned; and so this provision, by its reflex influence, did then what it would do still—it put

an end to the trade of agitation. Those village demagogues, the spokesmen and oracles of a parish, whose voice is fain for war, that in the heat and hubbub of a parochial effervescence they might stir up the element they love to breathe in, disappointed of their favourite game by a nomination which compelled the general homage, had to sheathe their swords for lack of argument. It was like the beautiful operation of those balancing and antagonist forces in nature which act by pressure and not by collision, and, by means of an energy that is mighty but noiseless, maintain the quiescence and stability of our physical system. And it is well when the action and reaction of these moral forces can be brought to bear with the same conservative effect on each other in the world of mind, whether it be in the great world of the state, or in the little world of a parish. And the truth, the historical truth, in spite of all the disturbance and distemper which are associated with the movements of the populace, is, that turbulence and disorder were then only let loose upon the land, when this check of the popular will was removed from the place it had in our ecclesiastical constitution, and where it was inserted so skilfully by the wisdom of our fathers, that, instead of acting by conflict, or as a conflicting element, it served as an equipoise. It was when a high-handed patronage reigned uncontrolled and without a rival, that discord and dissent multiplied in our parishes. The seasons immediately succeeding 1649 and 1690, when the power of negation was lodged with the people, not, however, as a force in exercise, but as a force in reserve—these were the days of our Church's greatest prosperity and glory, the seasons both of peace and of righteousness. Persecution put an end to the one period, and unrestricted patronage put an end to the other.

"But the last element in the composition of this affair, and to which I have scarcely yet adverted, is the power of the Church. For let the ancient privilege of a negation be again given to the people, and there will come to be a tripartite operation ere a minister shall be fully admitted into a parish—not a business, however, unmanageably complex on that account, else whence the rapid and smooth and practicable working of the British Legislature? And here the question at once occurs, whether shall the objection taken to the presentee by the majority of the people be submitted for review to the Presbytery, as by the Acts of 1649 and 1690, or shall it be held conclusive so as without judgment by us to set aside the presentation? My preference is

for the latter, and I think that I can allege this valid reason for it. The people may not be able to state their objection save in a very general way, and far less be able to plead and to vindicate it at the bar of a Presbytery, and yet the objection be a most substantial one notwithstanding, and such as ought, both in all Christian reason and Christian expediency, to set aside the presentation. I will not speak of the moral barrier that is created to the usefulness of a minister by the mere general dislike of a people—for this, though strong at the outset, may, being literally a prejudice or a groundless judgment beforehand, give way to the experience of his worth and the kindness of his intercourse amongst them. But there is another dislike than to the person of a minister—a dislike to his preaching, which may not be groundless, even though the people be wholly incapable of themselves arguing or justifying the grounds of it—just as one may have a perfectly good understanding of words, and yet, when put to his definitions, not be at all able to explain the meaning of them. This holds pre-eminently of the Gospel of Jesus Christ manifesting its own truth to the consciences of men, who yet would be utterly nonplussed and at fault did you ask them to give an account or reason for their convictions. Such is the adaptation of Scripture to the state of humanity—an adaptation which thousands might feel, though not one in the whole multitude should be able to analyse it. When under the visitations of moral earnestness, when once brought to entertain the question of his interest with God, and conscience tells of his yet uncancelled guilt and his yet unprovided eternity—even the most illiterate of a parish might, when thus awakened, not only feel most strongly, but perceive most intelligently and soundly, the adjustment which obtains between the overtures of the New Testament and the necessities of his own nature. And yet, with a conviction thus based on the doctrines of Scripture and the depositions of his own consciousness, he, while fully competent to discern the truth, may be as incompetent as a child to dispute or to argument it; and when required to give the reasons of his objection to a minister at the bar of his Presbytery, all the poor man can say for himself might be, that he does not preach the Gospel, or that in his sermon there is no food for his soul. It were denying the adaptation of Christianity to human nature, to deny that this is a case which may be often and legitimately realized. With a perfect independence on the conceits, and the follies, and the wayward extravagance or humours of the popu-

lace, I have, nevertheless, the profoundest respect for all those manifestations of the popular feeling which are founded on an accordancy between the felt state of human nature and the subject-matter of the Gospel. But in very proportion to my sympathy and my depth of veneration for the Christian appetency of such cottage patriarchs, would be the painfulness I should feel when the cross-questionings of a court of review were brought to bear upon them; and the men, bamboozled and bereft of utterance by the reasonings which they could not redargue, or, perhaps, the ridicule which they could not withstand, were left to the untold agony of their own hearts—because within the Establishment which they loved, they could not find, in its Sabbath ministrations or week-day services, the doctrine which was dear to them. To overbear such men is the highway to put an extinguisher on the Christianity of our land—the Christianity of our ploughmen, our artisans, our men of handicraft and of hard labour; yet not the Christianity theirs of deceitful imagination, or of implicit deference to authority, but the Christianity of deep, I will add, of rational belief, firmly and profoundly seated in the principles of our moral nature, and nobly accredited by the virtues of our well-conditioned peasantry. In the olden time of Presbytery—that time of scriptural Christianity in our pulpits, and of psalmody in all our cottages—these men grew and multiplied in the land; and though derided in the heartless literature, and discountenanced or disowned in the heartless politics of other days, it is their remnant which acts as a preserving salt among our people, and which constitutes the real strength and glory of the Scottish nation."*

Dr. Chalmers concluded by moving that the dissent of a majority, with or without the assignment of reasons, should be of conclusive effect in setting aside the nomination of the patron, save when it was clearly established that this dissent was founded on corrupt and malicious combination. In the Assembly of 1833 this motion was lost; a majority of twelve having voted against it. The intervening twelvemonth having given full opportunity for renewed deliberation in the Assembly of 1834, of which Dr. Chalmers was not a member, it was reintroduced by Lord Moncreiff, and carried by a majority of forty-six. Moulded into the form of an "Overture and Interim Act on Calls," Lord Moncreiff's motion was expressed in the following terms:—"*Edinburgh, May* 31, 1834.—The General Assembly declare, That it

* See Works, vol. xii. pp. 375-394.

is a fundamental law of the Church, that no pastor shall be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and in order that the principle may be carried into full effect, the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain, that it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: And farther declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation."

Such was the Veto Law. Intended as a final and pacifying measure, it was proposed after the maturest deliberation. After a year's interval, in the course of which it was subjected to the severest scrutiny, it came before the General Assembly of 1834, approved by the most eminent legal advice, and sanctioned by the authority of the legal and political advisers of the Crown in Scotland. It was carried, before any of the chapel-ministers had been introduced into the Church Courts, by a clear majority of all the different constituencies of which the General Assembly is composed; and two months after its passage, it had this judgment pronounced upon it in the House of Lords, from the lips of Lord Brougham,* at that time Lord Chancellor of England:—

"My Lords, I hold in my hand a great number of petitions from a most respectable portion of His Majesty's subjects in the northern parts of this island, all referring to one subject—I mean Church patronage in Scotland, which has greatly and powerfully interested the people of Scotland for many months

* Dr. Chalmers had been credibly informed, and always believed, that at an early stage, and before its passage through the General Assembly, the Veto Law had been submitted to Lord Brougham, and received the imprimatur of his approval.

past, and respecting the expediency of some change in which there is hardly any difference of opinion among them. The late proceedings in the General Assembly (viz., in passing the Veto Law) have done more to facilitate the adoption of measures which shall set that important question at rest, upon a footing advantageous to the community, and that shall be safe and beneficial to the Establishment, and in every respect desirable, than any other course that could have been taken; for it would have been premature if the Legislature had adopted any measure without the acquiescence of that important body, as no good could have resulted from it. I am glad that the wisdom of the General Assembly has been devoted to this subject, and that the result of its deliberations has been these important resolutions (namely, the Veto Act) which were passed at the last meeting."

CHAPTER XIX.

A TWO MONTHS' TOUR—THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND—THE CAVES OF DERBYSHIRE—MEETING OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT CAMBRIDGE—CANTERBURY AND CHICHESTER—EARLHAM—THE FEN COUNTRY—PETERBOROUGH AND ELY CATHEDRALS—THE BORDER LINE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Some rest and refreshment was required after four years of incessant literary and professorial toil, during which an entire course of Theological Lectures, his work on Political Economy, and his Bridgewater Treatise, had been composed. Dr. Chalmers found the rest and refreshment most congenial to him in a two months' tour, one main object of which was to gratify an ambition he long had cherished, and lived to realize, of having seen and ascended to the summit of all the cathedrals of England. Thirty large folio journal letters, directed to each of his daughters in succession, contain the record of this tour. Omitting the earlier portion of this record, let us ask the reader to join Dr. Chalmers, as, after a pleasant visit to his friend Dr. Duncan at Ruthwell Manse, he broke what was to him new ground at Kendal.

"*Tuesday, June* 18, 1833.—I took out my place from Kendal to Bradford, and the scenes which most particularly struck me were, 1*st*, a vale behind a barren rocky hill, after leaving the Liverpool road; 2*d*, the mountain prospects which open upon us in scaling the barrier to Kirkby Lonsdale; 3*d*, Kirkby Lonsdale itself, with the house of Carus Wilson on the banks of the Lune; 4*th*, the view of majestic Ingleborough, the monarch of this Alpine region, looking down on the numerous secondaries around him; 5*th*, and most glorious of all, the rock scenery on the stage to Settle, the rocky crescent on our approach to this town being the finest spectacle of the kind I saw. I know not how the superb town of Giggleswick should have been so named, for surely there is nothing in superb magnificence that is fitted to set one a giggling. The rock overhanging Settle is a noble individual object, and altogether this town, with its environs, forms one of the most memorable to me of all English panoramas. 6*th*, The knolls and ever-recurring straths of that extended

pastoral scenery which overspreads the whole West Riding of Yorkshire, and where, though the mountains are without dignity and the vales remarkable for nothing so much as their rich pasturage, yet, altogether, the extent and endless succession as one horizon and one panorama give place to another, impress one very powerfully with the amplitude and exuberance of Nature. Dined at Skipton. Found a fair at Bradford, where I alighted, and was somewhat annoyed in my transition to the coach for Halifax. I had first to get a porter to carry my luggage through the crowds to a distant part of the town from which that coach started, then was told that the coach had not come in, and I could not get a place till it arrived; then had not a hole to put my head in, as every room swarmed with drinking and drunken market people; then, as I did not like to be far away from my luggage in an open and crowded coach-office, had to keep my station near the door, where, as fortune would have it, there was a large circular assemblage of swine, on the margin of which I stood and contemplated their habitudes and politics, for I could perceive an action and reaction, a competition for food, a play of emotions reciprocating from the one to the other, of which emotions, however, anger is far the most conspicuous, prompting to a bite or a scart, and even an occasional engagement. Speaking of politics, you have heard me say that a man of refinement and education won't travel through England on the tops of coaches without becoming a Tory. My Toryism has been further confirmed this day. There was a Quakeress girl, with a still younger companion, travelling from their boarding-school home, and this was all well enough; but there were also the feeders and wool-staplers of the West Riding, fat and unintelligent, with only pursy and vesicular projections on each side of their chins, and a superabundance of lard in their gills, whose manners well-nigh overset me, overloading our coach with their enormous carcases, and squeezing themselves, as they ascended from various parts of the road, between passengers already in a state of compression, to the gross infraction of all law and justice, and the imminent danger of our necks. The days were when I would have put down all this; but whether, from the love of peace, which grows with age, or perhaps from some remainder of the enfeebling influenza, which, however, is getting better, my quiescence predominated.

"My next to Eliza. I am now at Huddersfield, and have heard from Mr. Fox, who expects me shortly at Derby. Kindest

regards to mamma and all the sisterhood; and, with my earnest wishes for you all, and more especially that your souls may prosper, I am, my dearest Anne, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"To Miss ANNE J. CHALMERS."

"*Huddersfield, June* 19, 1833.—MY DEAR ELIZA,—I have to premise that my journal left off at the point of time when I was standing on the confines of a large conglomeration of squeaking pigs, from which situation, however, I was at length called away by the arrival of the Halifax coach. Having had enough of swinish society for the day, both on the street of Bradford town and on the top of Kendal coach, I took an inside berth, and got quietly and comfortably, with a decent lady and gentleman as my only companions, to Halifax, six miles from Bradford, between six and seven o'clock. It is a wretched country along the greater part of this stage, which is by a new road. But on the approach to Halifax, you have the deep excavations and lofty swells of a verdant landscape, studded with hamlets, and diversified with very agreeable varieties of broken surfaces. The stage from Halifax to Huddersfield, of eight miles, is much of the same character. I was so extravagant as to traverse it in a post-chaise, there being no other conveyance, after having rambled a little among the streets of Halifax. On entering Huddersfield I found that in respect of fairs, I was out of the frying-pan into the fire; for before my inn door, the George, there was a prodigious assemblage of people at a market; and I had to wait some time ere I could get a room for the evening. The crowd was vastly augmented by there being furthermore a political meeting in the open air, and the whole of the spacious market-place was filled with the multitude. Mr. Oastler held forth on the sufferings of the factory children, and was enthusiastically cheered. I saw from my window, but heard not. Then followed, to me an original scene, the burning of the Factory Commissioners, and Captain Fenton, one of their obnoxious members of Parliament, and another unpopular master-manufacturer, in effigy. The figures were fearfully like men; and it being now dark, the conflagration lighted up the whole square, and revealed the faces of the yelling myriads, so as to give the aspect and character of Pandemonium to the scene. The burning figures were tossed ferociously in the air; and to renew their combustion were dashed into a bonefire from time

to time. The spectacle, I am sure, is a depraving one, and fitted to prepare the actors for burning the originals instead of the copies.

"Before I resume my narrative, I may say by way of qualifying my observations on Toryism, that though I hold a strong while virtuous government, and under the direction of the higher intelligence of our best educated men, to be the best regime for a country, yet I feel it wrong to nourish contempt for any human being: 'Honour all men' is the precept of Scripture. We should not despise any of those for whom Christ died; and the tendency so to do is one of those temptations to which refinement and knowledge are apt to expose us, and which ought to be resisted.

"*Wednesday.*—Rose at eight. Took a gig at Huddersfield for the day, and went through the heart of a country unvisited by coaches, among the heights of Cheshire and Derbyshire, and over what is called the Backbone of England, the water running on opposite sides of it to the east and west coasts of the island. Had to make long walks up the steeper ascents for the relief of my horse; and a good many drizzling showers fell in the course of this day's journey. I was on the whole, however, very comfortable, with a man at my side driving me who seems very civil, and my books, of which I read plentifully—in particular, Mede's Latin work on Prophecy. My geographical taste was much gratified, in spite of the frequent coarseness and deformity of a scene consisting of great protuberances of black moss rising to the elevation of mountains, but alternated at times with fresh and deep valleys. We journeyed thirty-five miles to Castleton in Derbyshire, near which are many mineral curiosities.

"*Thursday.*—This has been a day of marvels! Rose after six. Went first to the Peak Cavern, close to the village of Castleton. It is entered by a most magnificent archway, at the farther end of a chasm flanked with lofty precipitous walls, and then forms into a noble alcove, surmounted by a most majestic natural canopy of rock, and at length narrowing into an aperture small enough to be furnished with a gate, which the guide keeps under lock and key. Here each visitor is furnished with a lighted candle; and as the guide devolved his task upon his two sons, and I treated my gig-driver to the spectacle, we had four lights to illuminate our path. We had often to stoop and almost to crawl, from the lowness of the roof, though the greater

part of our way, consisting of nearly half a mile, we could walk upright; and the roof often ascended and the sides widened so as to form magnificent halls, and at one place in particular, which branches off near the end of this mighty excavation, the roof rises so high as to elude every expedient for the observation of it. For instance, there is a ladder which rises about thirty feet, which the guide ascends, and on the top of it he places a blue or green light, which he sets fire to, and which lasts several minutes, sending forth its lurid gleams far and wide through the cavern, yet the roof at this place is lost in the distance. The exhibition was made to us, and it is a very glorious one. I should have mentioned that long before we came thus far, our progress was interrupted by a subterranean lake of water named *Styx*, over which we were ferried in a boat kept there for the purpose. Also, that about half way, there is a recess in the side of the cavern high above our pathway, named the *chancel*, and where, when the party is large enough, a band of musicians is stationed, who from the impalpable darkness above cause their mysterious music to break upon the ear of the awe-struck listeners. The guide told me that he had not brought them to-day for as each of them (and they vary in number from four to fourteen) must have half-a-crown, he thought it too expensive for one person. I know your mamma will think this guide a very sensible man; but I confess your papa to have been so enthusiastic as almost to regret the want of these musicians, who with clarionet, flute, hautboy, and bugle-horn, would have made the rocky welkin ring and re-echo to their melodies, even in spite of the ten shillings that the four would have cost me. To make up for this in some measure I got what you would not have consented to, a blast—that is, a gunpowder explosion beneath a piece of rock, and by which miners detach what they want from the main precipice. We stood in a situation of safety, while a discharge was made like the report of loudest artillery, the echoes of which were flung back again from all parts of the cavern, and at length died away in a deep hollow moaning apparently from the mouth. I told the guide that when I came back with my daughters, I would dispense with the blast (unless they, thunder-haters as they are, should choose it), and give them the music in place. And with this compromise we parted in great good humour.

"Tell mamma that what I had meant was an ordinary letter to her occasionally, between the folio sheets of the journal, but

so as not to exceed three transmissions in the week. So long, however, as the materials for filling up my folios are so superabundant, this part of the plan must be kept in abeyance; and, meanwhile, let all the letters though differently addressed be formed into a joint property, and placed in one common deposit. —With God's best blessing on all, I am, my dear Eliza, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Matlock, June* 22, 1833.—MY DEAR GRACE,—My last letter closed with the account of the Peak Cavern, and at the termination thereof you will find me standing in its mouth, and taking my last look of its noble gateway. Proceeded thence towards the inn to breakfast. After breakfast ordered the gig, and was carried to the Bagshaw Cavern, recently discovered, and full of crystallized minerals, stretching along the walls or depending in icicles from the roof. The exploration of it is very fatiguing; first, the descent of 126 steps under the earth; second, a passage often narrow and requiring a very low stoop; third, steps and scrambles to the lateral cavities that we met with on our way. This is perhaps the greatest natural curiosity in Derbyshire, though more of a scientific than spectacular character; and this, combined with its difficulty of access and distance from the inn, causes it to be less frequented. The poor man who shows it is evidently a man of talent and humour—has seen better days, and wrote an account of his cave which is now all sold off. He tells me that it was an elaborate work, and written with more humour than was ever brought into play before on any subterranean subject, and that it has gained him a great reputation. He begged me to speak in favour of his cavern, which was too little visited. Its great peculiarity is, that out and out it is completely natural, not a tool being lifted within it, save in the construction of its descending steps. In one place the passage widens into a chamber called Paradise, all in a sparkle with large and beautiful crystals, then contracts again, and winds laterally and by a scrambling ascent into another chamber, at least equal to the former and more lofty, called Calypso's Cave, then terminates in a third, which, though it receives no name, is nearly as good as the two former. Walked our fatiguing way back again, and welcomed the light of day. We had three candles, each of us holding one. I should have mentioned that I had to put on another coat and hat at the guide's house; and a worse coat or worse hat I never saw on the back or head of

any carter or scavenger in the land, insomuch that I was a spectacle to the children of the village, who shouted and laughed behind me; and even the driver of my gig, though a grave, silent, and simple lad of twenty-two, could not restrain his merriment. By the way, though it is a little more expensive, I always take him to the sights along with me; first, because I found a great ignorance of Derbyshire curiosities in Huddersfield, and I want to make him more enlightened and enlarged than his fellow-citizens; second, because I always feel a strong reflex or secondary enjoyment in the gratifications of other people, so that the sympathy of his enjoyment greatly enhances my own; and, thirdly, because I get amusement from the remarks of his simple wonderment and not very sagacious observation; and it has now passed into a standing joke with me, when leaving any of our exhibitions, that 'there is no such fine sight to be seen at Huddersfield.' Drove back to the inn at Castleton, where, after a short excursion to the castle immediately above the Peak Cavern (and which, by the way, belonging of old to the Knights of Peveril, gave birth to Sir Walter's novel of 'Peveril of the Peak'), I dined about three. After dinner, I walked with my companion of the gig to Speedwell Mine, a very noble curiosity, where, after a descent into the bowels of the earth of 106 steps, we entered a boat which carried us along a subterranean canal of nearly a mile, one half of which only is described by us. We have a regular archway over our heads, cut out for the convenience of the miners, and which still remains though the work is abandoned. The two boatmen propel us by pushing with their hands against the sides of the tunnel. They placed some candles along the tunnel on each side near the entrance, and which were seen by us all the way, and with their reflection in the water had a very pretty and pleasing effect,—at the distance of nearly half a mile they shrunk into the appearance of distant stars. But how shall I describe the scene at the termination of our voyage?—a scene to the description of which I fear that even your pen would be inadequate, yea, even in its sublimest mood, when set to an exercise in composition that shall bear off the palm of victory from all your classfellows. The canal is crossed about half way by a mighty chasm which reaches to an unknown height above us, and an unknown depth beneath us. An arch has been thrown over it on which we alight at the termination of the first half of the canal, and might, if we so chose, pass on to the second half, and be carried

forward in a boat another quarter of a mile. But as it is just the same with the last quarter of a mile, we therefore go no farther than to this arch, guarded by a strong iron railing to keep us from being precipitated into the mysterious abyss below. Here we stood; and as we were under a hill many hundred feet high, there was room for an altitude above our heads of invisible termination, while the termination of the horrible pit beneath our feet was alike invisible. Down this tremendous chasm there thundered a roaring water-fall; and we were furnished with blue lights that we might be enabled to trace its way as far as possible. The man ascended a ladder along the side of the cataract, and placed a gunpowder preparation on one of the crannies, which blazed and sparkled and shot up gleams of illumination for several minutes, which left unrevealed, however, the roof that was over us. And then more fearfully glorious still, he descended a ladder and placed another light beneath us, and by the side of the foaming cataract, which shed momentary radiance far and wide and deep among the Plutonic recesses of this scene of wonders, but left the secret of its bottom untold. I never took in so powerful an impression by the eye from any spectacle as from this last one, though the one above us too was particularly fine. Sky-rockets have been thrown up without reaching the roof, or bringing it within the observation of human eyes. We returned from this impressive scene in the boat, and by the way put fire to a blast which had been prepared for our entertainment, when, after passing it for a few minutes, it whizzed and exploded with a noise which made the vaulted tunnel to ring and reverberate all over. And could I describe the effect with the eloquence, or in the terms of a boarding-school Miss, I would say that such a roar of cannonading never bellowed or bounded so majestically on the auditory organs of awe-struck and astonished hearers. When we made our egress up the steps and again returned to the light of day, I made my gig-driver acknowledge, and I am sure with perfect sincerity, that 'no such thing is to be seen or heard at Huddersfield.' Returned to the inn at Castleton. Took our gig there and drove on to Bakewell, fourteen miles distant, over a fine upland country, but which at length on our approach to Bakewell, on the banks of the Wye, assumed another character, and presented a very fine specimen of English comfort and beauty. Got at Bakewell into a spacious, elegant, but withal most civil and comfortable inn, under the sign of the Rutland Arms, a little after eight. Was ushered into a very snug sitting

room, with a bedroom immediately off it, and went to my needful repose between ten and eleven.—I am, my dear Grace, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Derby, June* 24, 1833.—MY DEAR MARGARET,—If you cannot read my letter easily, get mamma to read it for you.

"*Friday*, 21*st*.—Rose at eight; had a most comfortable breakfast at Bakewell, with a pleasing village ramble before among its neat houses and picturesque foliage. After breakfast looked into a good sermon-book, very properly lying in the room, and was pleased to find it pervaded with the true and precious savour of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Had a few minutes of genial conversation with the landlady—who has recently lost her husband—Mrs. Greaves, a fine specimen of an old English gentlewoman. Left this place at ten in our gig: the road went through a succession of verdant fields and along the beautiful river Wye, abundantly fringed with trees of massive foliage—that sort of scenery which I have great love for, intermediate between the mountainous and the champaign—undulating into moderate elevations, waving with luxuriance to their very summits, and affording shelter to many sweet recesses, where cottages lie deeply embosomed, each in its own little plantation. At two miles from Bakewell crossed the Wye to Haddon, an old family seat of the Dukes of Rutland, but now deserted, though still kept up as the most perfect specimen in all England of those old baronial castles which attest the magnificence and hospitality of the feudal times. Rambled with great delight among its venerable halls; its chapel and turret-rooms still partially adorned with painted glass windows and faded tapestry of noble ladies' workmanship, and stately furniture of curious and manifold device, among which I gave the homage of my chiefest admiration to the massive arm-chairs, of amplitude enough for the capacious hoops and lofty head-dresses of the great-grandmother duchesses of other days. I reached the summit of the highest tower in company with my faithful Achates, the gig-driver, whom I made to confess, as he surveyed the courts and the terraced gardens below, that 'there was no such place in all Huddersfield.' Tell Eliza, that lover of puns, that after our visit to *Hadd-on* Hall we had to *hadd-on* to Chatsworth Hall, the magnificent seat of the Duke of Devonshire: there is one thing, however, which takes off from the character of magnificence, and that is the newness of a great part of its architecture, besides its being

Grecian It does not impress the imagination with baronial grandeur half so much as Haddon Hall does; and then its grounds, though partaking in that general character of ornate and beautiful scenery which belongs to the whole of this region, have nothing very wondrous or enchanting to recommend them; moreover, there was still a building operation going on, and the new carpentry which this gave rise to was not altogether in keeping with the nobleness of certainly one of the most distinguished of our great aristocratic mansions. A princely succession of rooms, with painted roofs and walls, first-rate pictures, tapestry, gilded and gorgeous furniture, coronation arm-chairs, gigantic mirrors, windows consisting of one pane of glass seven feet by four, busts and statues innumerable, rich carpets, a spacious and well-stocked library, a suite of brilliant state-rooms, beds which you could not ascend without a ladder, surmounted by crimson canopies, hundreds of bedrooms which we did not enter, corridors and staircases of amazing amplitude, &c. &c., through all which I was conducted by a female servant, and for which I gave her five shillings, having previously given two shillings and sixpence to the porter for passing me through the courts and entering me into the ducal palace. I was then put into the hands of the gardener, who showed a part of the domain. The thing which you would have liked best to see was the water-works, kept in play by a fountain over which a temple was erected, and on the summits of which were placed a number of water gods, and lions and dolphins, and a variety both of land and sea animals, all in stone. On opening a pipe the water rushed in torrents from their mouths, besides rising to a great height in volumes of foam from the middle of a pool, and so great was the quantity that it rushed in mighty overflow down a broad channel, descending by steps to a lower part of the grounds, and at length terminating in a subterranean duct, by which it was carried under the ground. Near this is an artificial tree, which, on the opening of a stop-cock, sends out from the ends of all its branches thin jets of water, and which amused the little Princess Victoria so much, that when asked, on her visiting Chatsworth some months ago, which of all the things she had seen she liked best, she said it was the squirting tree. We had, besides this, two magnificent water-jets thrown open for us, one sixty, another at least a hundred feet high. From this I ascended to the top of a high tower, which the servants told me visitors never went to, and that I would find it locked. I nevertheless walked to the foot of it,

and it so happened that an old man was there feeding peacocks, and had it open at the time. He allowed me to go to the top of it, and I got one of the best views which the country affords, besides having a great deal of jocular talk with the peacock-feeder, to whom I gave a shilling for his civility. And you may tell Eliza that I found this man the best *worth chatting with* of any person in and about all *Chats-worth.* On descending from the tower and the high ground it stood upon, I re-entered my gig, which two little boys kept for me at the stables, and I got further leave from the servants to drive a good deal more through the grounds than is commonly allowed to visitors. The following circumstance will perhaps explain this deference of theirs to my wishes. I took my gig-driver with me through the whole exhibition, nor was any objection made to show him everything, even the finest rooms, going with me everywhere. I gave him my hat and silver-headed stick to carry, and he kept behind at a most respectful distance, while I walked before with a book in my hand, which I consulted, and in which I jotted down all the remarkables that I saw. There were several numerous and highly elegant parties that were seeing the house at the same time; and I learned afterwards, from a gentleman belonging to one of them, to whom I was introduced at Derby, that my appearance, which I have no doubt, in conjunction with that of my Huddersfield post-boy, was sufficiently picturesque, had excited a great deal of speculation, and that the conclusion which one and all of them came to was that M. P. Chalmers's papa was a foreign nobleman. Left Chatsworth about three; and my companion, the Knight of the Whip, confessed, as we drove off from the grounds, that there was 'no such sight to be seen in all Huddersfield.' Drove through a highly ornamented series of landscapes along the Derwent to Matlock: when we got to Matlock Bridge the scenery became quite exquisite, from the mixture of rock and verdure on the east bank of the river, a composition which has always a peculiarly agreeable effect on my vision; it forms a beautiful rather than a sublime range of intermingled wood and rocky precipice for two miles. My gig-driver could not refrain the expression of his honest enthusiasm, and the fissures and cavities of the rocks particularly attracted him. 'Why,' says he, 'what great rents between them rocks there—a man could almost creep under some of them!' and so out with other sayings, which were summed up and reduced to the oft-repeated generality, which I again and for once more extorted from him, that 'no such fine

things were to be seen at Huddersfield.' We reached Matlock at six, and here I parted with my honest and simple-hearted driver, having previously, and just before, ascertained from him his name. It is John Dean. He can scarcely read, he tells me, and on this subject I gave him my solemn advice, telling him, even as I now tell you, that many perish for lack of knowledge, and that he must prepare himself for an acquaintance with that precious Bible which is able to make him wise unto salvation, through the faith that is in Christ Jesus. A person who has given you three days' service, and from whom you have extracted three days' amusement, has earned no slight claim to your permanent regard, and I desire to treasure up and cherish, as one of the interesting reminiscences of my life, the idea of John Dean of Huddersfield.

"*June* 26.—I am now comfortable in London.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London*, *June* 26, 1833.—MY DEAR HELEN,—My last letter landed me in Matlock. I had previously learned that Mr. Adam, a dealer in its mineral curiosities, and residing in this place, was a Scotchman. To him I went, introduced myself, and received most essential and cordial civilities from him. He procured me a guide for the three caves above and behind the town, all of which I visited in two hours, beside the romantic rocks broken off and tumbled about in strange confusion. The caves are quite worthy of a visit; and I hold their rude colonnades and mysterious recesses, and occasionally, too, unseen altitudes above our head, more especially when lighted up with candles, hoisted high, and so as to give the appearance of an ample natural hall—I hold all these to be very impressive exhibitions. Only it is unfortunate, that in the printed Guides, which I will carry home with me, they should be written of in such a style of exaggeration; beside that they have been much injured by the visitors having despoiled them of their crystals.

"*Saturday*.—Left Matlock after five, in a stage-coach, for Derby, which is sixteen miles off. On my arrival found Mr. A. Fox waiting for me at the inn. He conducted me to his highly respectable, kind, and well-talented and cultivated family; and after an evening of rest, and truly congenial conversation with one of the best and most interesting families I ever knew, I retired to bed about eleven.

"*Sunday*.—After lunch accompanied the family to their pew,

for the afternoon service at three. Heard Mr. Gell, a pious minister of the Establishment. Conducted family worship in the evening. Fear God, my dear Helen, and keep His commandments.—Yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*June* 28, 1833.—MY DEAR FANNY,—I begin this letter in apartments at Trinity College, Cambridge; and you are much honoured by having a communication addressed to you, little Fanny Chalmers, from that place where the illustrious Newton received those lessons which were the rudiments of all his great discoveries in philosophy and science, and by which he unravelled the intricacies of the material heavens, and caused a beauteous and magnificent system to emerge out of the chaos of their hitherto inexplicable movements.

"*Monday*, 24*th*.—Rose at eight. Strangers at breakfast; two Established clergy and two Dissenting ministers; went forth after it, first to a fine collection of busts and pictures belonging to Mr. Strutt, Mrs. Fox's brother-in-law, then to the noble seat of Kedlestone, three miles from Derby. Kedlestone is to me a greatly more impressive place than Chatsworth, presenting more of the features and characteristics of baronial grandeur, with a most magnificent lobby, having a stately row of alabaster pillars on each side, having a number of exquisite pictures withal, and grounds interspersed throughout with tall and aged oaks, and at one place, near the house, and where strangers are not usually admitted, of intense sweetness and beauty. Its proprietor, Lord Scarsdale, is about eighty, a great reader, but very retired; having a family physician who constantly lives in the house, and who, in virtue of being an acquaintance of the Foxes, was very kind to us, and admitted us to larger privileges than usual. In particular, we obtained through him admission into the parish church, which is so near the house as to appear like an ornament for the pleasure grounds; and I, with characteristic curiosity, craved an ascent to the tower, and with some difficulty, by help of a ladder to complete the series of communications, brought by one of the servants, was gratified in my wish. In return for their kindness, Lord Scarsdale, we were made to understand, had the privilege of a peep at us, his extreme retiring habits not admitting of a fuller approximation.

"*Tuesday*, 25*th*.—Got into the coach for London at half-past six, a distance of a hundred and twenty-six miles; passed through a series of magnificent stretches of cultivated land. The

most memorable place was Woburn, a sweet and highly ornamented village, with an exquisite church on the immediate confines of the Duke of Bedford's policy, whose mansion is openly and fully beheld from the road-side; reached the Angel Inn after nine, whence a hackney coach conveyed me to Mr. Nisbet's, in Berners Street.

"*Wednesday*, 26*th*.—Started at nine, much refreshed. Got a hair-dresser to clip me—a great humorist; he undertook, at the commencement of the operation, to make me look forty years younger, by cutting out every white hair and leaving all the black ones. There was a very bright coruscation of clever sayings that passed between us while the process was going on. I complimented his profession, and told him that he had the special advantage that his crop grew in all weathers, and that while I had heard all over the provinces the heavy complaints of a bad hay-harvest, his hay-making in the metropolis went on pleasantly and prosperously all the year round. He was particularly pleased with the homage I rendered to his peculiar vocation, and assured me, after he had performed his work, that he had at least made me thirty years younger. I told him how delighted my wife would be with the news of this wondrous transformation, and gave him half-a-crown, observing that it was little enough for having turned me into a youthful Adonis. We parted in a roar of laughter, and great mutual satisfaction with each other. Went from this to the warm-bath, where a German had the management. He told me that he understood me better than most of the English who came to him. I was at pains to explain to him the reason of this; and tell Miss Parker what my explanation was—that our island was named Great Britain, that English was the *patois*, but that I came from Scotland, and that our Scotch was the pure British dialect.—I am, my dear Fanny, yours most truly,—Thomas Chalmers."

"*London, July* 1, 1833.—*Thursday*, 27*th*.—My dearest Grace,—Went to Charing Cross, where I entered the Cambridge coach at half-past one. Found Cambridge all in a bustle with the British Association. Felt at a loss what to do. Had previously written Professor Forbes of Edinburgh to secure a room for me somewhere, but he was not to be found among the thousand *savans* present. Fell into the hands of Professor Henslow, of the botany: he told me that the students—it being still the vacation—were not occupying their rooms. Assigned me the

apartments of Lord Lindsay in Trinity College; and I enjoyed the luxury of reposing within academic ground and among the hallowed retreats of genius: lulled to sleep by the vesper bells, which charmed centuries ago the ears of Bacon, Newton, Milton, &c. Fell in with Professor Sedgwick, the president of the Association this year, a man of great talent and genius, with a marvellous facility and force of extemporaneous eloquence; then with Mr. Whewell, author of the 'Bridgewater Treatise.' These have both become my intimates, and their kindness to me has been unbounded. Was hurried from one illustrious philosopher to another; and the introductions were beyond enumeration. Went from Section to Section, and heard in the different classes or committee-rooms the discussions of the separate or sub-meetings, as Brunel's invention of the block machinery at Portsmouth, with his broken French and an exuberance of humour that called forth peals of laughter. I look on my introductions to Lubbock and Babbage as very high ones. The work of the Sections was succeeded by a general meeting in the Senate House, which began at nine, and terminated in about two hours. I was led to a distinguished and elevated part of the hall, where there were many grandees of science and many ladies; most fortunately I found myself by the side of Mr. Scoresby, whom I found of great use, and very kind to me. He was formerly Captain Scoresby of Liverpool, and is now finishing his studies for the Church. The hall was full. Mr. Whewell gave an admirable popular lecture on the tides, which went off with great applause; and Professor Farish, an old Cambridge friend, followed it up by remarks on steam-carriages. Fell in with Professor and Miss Airy, whom I had met in 1823 at Mr. Parker's. Lady Herschel came up to me, and begged that I would breakfast with the party at Professor Airy's to-morrow, where she and Sir John now were, which you may believe I readily consented to. Was conducted to my academic couch, and flung myself dizzied and delighted into bed about twelve.

"*Friday*, 28*th*.—Started between six and seven. Professor Sedgwick sent me a message that he would accompany me to breakfast with Professor Airy, who lived a mile from Cambridge, at the Observatory. Had a delightful walk with him thitherward. He took me to the roof of the Observatory, and explained to me all its chief instruments. Breakfasted with the very *élite* of the nation in philosophy—Sir John Herschel, Sir David Brewster, men from Oxford, men from Cambridge, &c.

A celebrated optician showed us some experiments, after breakfast, in his department. Took a cordial leave of this party at eleven. Walked to Cambridge well accompanied. Met a letter, brought by a messenger, on the way, from Professor Forbes, who had tried to find me out, but could not, among the assembled hundreds the night before. Disturbed by learning from Mr. Sedgwick that at the public dinner to-day the Universities of Scotland were to be drunk, and that I was expected to reply. This set me conning a speech. Went to hear what was going on in the Section of Physics. Saw Professor Forbes there, and heard on the subject of light the argumentations of Herschel and Airy. After the work of the Sections was finished we had our concluding general meeting in the Senate Hall, quite filled with ladies and students; and on the elevated platform, around the President's chair, a brilliant assemblage both of aristocratic and literary grandees. I was beckoned to go amongst them, and sat immediately behind the President, and by the side of Dr. Lloyd of Trinity College, Dublin. After the Report had been read we had many speeches, from Lord Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Northampton, Dr. Robinson of Dublin, &c., the last named of whom delighted me with his defence of the high mathematics in opposition to a remark of Lord Fitzwilliam on the Reports being too abstruse for the comprehension of a general audience. At the breaking up of the meeting had many greetings, from Mr. Malthus, his lady and daughter, Dr. Buckland of Oxford, whom I knew before, Dr. Somerville, the husband of the famous authoress, &c. Transferred ourselves to the dining-hall of Trinity College, where sat at least six hundred. My ticket took me to table A, near the President, where I had the good fortune to be within conversation of Mr. Malthus. Much noble speaking, chiefly from the President Sedgwick, Marquis of Northampton, Brunel, Buckland, Vernon, son to the Archbishop of York, whom we met when we were together in London, &c. When our Universities were given, the chairman delivered a very high personal eulogy on myself, and nothing could exceed the deafening reception which I met with. The burden of my short speech was Sir Isaac Newton, a pupil of this College; and my toast was, 'Trinity College, and long may the science of Newton, and the Christianity of Newton, be enshrined within her walls.' I was received with great partiality and favour; and whereas there is a dread in such a mixed company of philosophers of any allusion to Christianity, my pointed allusion to

the sacred faith and philosophy of Newton was received with a cordiality which nothing could exceed. Brunel's speech kept them in a roar of laughter for half an hour, though neither he nor any of us could reach perhaps to more than half the company. When we broke up, walked about with Mr. Jones, Professor of Political Economy, King's College; then called on Mr. Simeon, by whom I was very kindly received; then met in his room at Trinity the son of Mr. Hoare, of Hampstead Heath, who had made himself known to me before; along with him were Mr. Perry, senior wrangler, and Mr. Goulburn, son to the quondam Chancellor of Exchequer. Talked congenially with them and walked with the young men in moonlight among the courts and cloistered beauties of Trinity College.—Ever believe me, my dearest Grace, yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Chichester, Saturday, July* 6, 1833.—*Saturday, June* 29.—MY DEAR ANNE,—Started at seven. Before I left Trinity fell in with the venerable Mr. Kirby, an old and accomplished clergyman of seventy-five. He is one of the Bridgewater essayists; his subject being the Instincts and Habitudes of Animals. He had called twice at my rooms, and was coming down from his second unsuccessful attempt when I met him. Felt the honour of his attentions, and had a very cordial greeting with him. Then went to St. John's College—a venerable structure, greatly augmented and adorned in the finest collegiate taste within these few years. At breakfast Captain Scoresby and about twelve others, the most interesting of whom to me was the astronomer, Hamilton of Dublin, a very profound and transcendental mathematician. I should have mentioned in the letter to mamma, that on Thursday night I met in the Senate House Sir Thomas Acland, who was all heart, and inquired particularly for you. The stage coach to London stopped for me at the gate of St. John's College. I entered it at ten, accompanied by some eight or twelve friends who there took leave of me. Drove to London; reached Mr. Nisbet's after four.

"*Sunday, June* 30.—Started between eight and nine. An immense crowd at church; the middle passage exhibiting a forest of human heads, and the front gallery occupied by such auditors as the Duke of Sussex, the Duke of Richmond, Lord John Russell, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Lady Stewart, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Mansfield, &c. I preached in the forenoon

only, and it was quite enough for me. In the vestry I met Lord and Lady Radstock, the latter particularly cordial; Mr. Buxton, and Sergeant Spankie, M.P., whom I perfectly recognised, though I had not seen him for forty-one years, as a fellow-student and fellow-lodger at St. Andrews, &c.

"*Monday, July* 1.—After dinner I went down to the House of Commons. A dull debate, and I did not sit to the end of it. Sir Robert Peel the best speaker. A number of the members came to me—last, though not least, Mr. Daniel O'Connell, who shook me most cordially by the hands, complimenting me on my evidence about the Irish Poor-laws, saying that he was a disciple of mine upon that subject, and not of his own priest, Dr. Doyle; and I, on the other hand, glad of good being done whatever quarter it came from, and knowing him to be an influential personage, expressed myself much gratified with the view that he had taken on that question. I am sure it would have done your heart much good to have seen how closely and cordially Mr. Daniel O'Connell and your papa hugged and greeted each other in the Lower House of Parliament.

"*Tuesday, July* 2.—Started at six; sailed down the river through the immense forests of London shipping; was entertained on deck by the music and dancing of the metropolitans; took an interesting view of the groups that go down to watering-places, and was on the whole revolted by a certain outlandish vulgarity that too evidently marked almost every individual. Landed at Gravesend about one; was there assailed by offers of service and entertainment of all kinds, but, pressing through the noisy throng, got into a fly, in which we were driven through a cultivated region for seven miles to Rochester, contiguous to which is Chatham. The cathedral, though reputed a very inferior one in England, was to me an impressive spectacle, and the interior I think both respectable and imposing. The rugged antiquity of the castle makes it an interesting object, and, placed as it is on a commanding site, I had a rich scenic and geographical treat in the view of the river Medway, its junction with the Thames, the isle of Sheppey in the distance, and the immediate environs of Rochester and Chatham. After dinner, proceeded on the outside of a coach to within eight miles of Canterbury, whence we went forward in a post-chaise to this venerable seat of the Primacy of England. The country more diversified in its surface, and more laid out in corn-fields than the greater part of England. Altogether there were great rich-

ness and beauty. The most impressive scene is from the top of the ascent after leaving Chatham, whence we had a magnificent prospect both of the Medway and Thames, down to the ocean. The distant coast of Essex distinctly apparent, and Sheerness on the isle of Sheppey could be distinctly pointed out to us, and all lighted up with glorious sunshine.—I am, my dear Anne, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*London, Wednesday, July* 10, 1833.—MY DEAR ELIZA,—How comes it, that though only a very little way in Kent before, and that twenty-six years ago, I now traverse the whole of it with the comfort and consciousness of travelling, not through a strange territory, but one that in all particulars is perfectly known? Why, it is because I can go nowhere in this county without journeying on a *kent** road and feasting my eye on the beauty of *kent* fields, and entering boldly and familiarly of course into *kent* houses, and in every man I meet with recognising a *kent* face, and every party I sit down with feeling myself perfectly at home in the midst of a *kent* company. I awoke this morning at six. Three excellent clergymen called and accompanied me on what you might think a very superfluous errand, to show me *kent* ruins, and direct my notice as if for the first time to *kent* curiosities. But though *kent*, I really had the same pleasure in viewing those objects as if they had been altogether *unkent;* and before breakfast walked with great interest and pleasure among certain very ancient remains of the monastery of St. Augustine. My three friends breakfasted with us, and the gratification was prodigiously enhanced by our visit after breakfast to Canterbury Cathedral, a noble pile, all the more venerable in my eye that it is marked in a way that some would call deformed by the scars of antiquity. It is particularly black or rusty with age, and rises like a wrinkled or weather-beaten veteran among the buildings around it, with a noble tower of between 200 and 300 feet high, and a fabric studded with massy buttresses of high-wrought Gothic, and rising at different places into minarets and rich elevations. We are ushered into our first full view of the edifice by a magnificent gateway to a court skirted all round with the houses of the prebendaries and other officials, and aptly denominated the precincts of the Cathedral. But my admiration, though high, was greatly heightened on seeing the interior, which is the most perfectly beautiful of all

* The Scotch word for *known*.

I can recollect, consisting as it does of a stately vista of confronting arches and pillars, with an effect greatly enhanced by the contraction of the sides towards the east end, and the dying away of the columnar vista into narrower and narrower recesses. . . . Our three clerical friends, Mr. Davies of Ramsgate, Mr. Carus, nephew to Carus Wilson, and assistant to Simeon of Cambridge, and Mr. Geary, curate in Canterbury, kept by us during the whole of the excursion, and we were joined therein for a short time by Mr. Braham—all as kind and cordial as possible. Mr. Braham had obtained that morning from the Bishop of Oxford, now at Canterbury, a written permission for me to ascend to the top of the tower, which I with characteristic ambition gladly availed myself of, and at some fatigue ascended along with four of my companions 280 steps, to the evident surprise of the jack-daws who had deposited their nests with eggs in them on the very steps, so little exposed are they to this species of intrusion. Had a perfect view from the top, of all that lay within the visible but contracted horizon of the undulating scenery around us. On our descent visited the crypt which is below the Cathedral, and consists of the short but massive subterranean pillars that sustain the whole fabric, a very impressive scene. Then joined the Cathedral service. Took our departure in a fly from Canterbury. Went to Kingston, six miles south-east from Canterbury, where Mr. Bartlett is rector. He was one of the five who called the night before, and arranged for us then part of the movements of this day; on the whole he is one of the most delightful and intelligent persons I have met with among the clergy of England. I stand indebted to him for three high gratifications—*first*, in that his lady is the great-grandniece of Bishop Butler, author of the Analogy and Sermons; and through her he is in possession of certain of this great man's relics, which he showed me and put into my hands, as a snuff-box of antique fabrication, and a small jotting-book for the receipts and other little transactions of his clerical office; and lastly, a Greek New Testament with his annotations, all in his own handwriting, and on which last Mr. Bartlett did me the honour of asking me to record in my handwriting the opinion I had of this great champion of Christianity.*

* "In the summer of the year 1833, the writer of this *Memoir* was honoured by a visit from the learned and excellent Dr. Chalmers. During a conversation with that distinguished Christian philosopher, upon the course of study pursued in the Divinity School at Edinburgh, he remarked, 'that he made a point of grounding his class in Butler's *Analogy*, as one of the most important works which could engage the attention of the theological stu-

Second, less than a mile from Mr. Bartlett's parsonage-house is the church and house where the great Hooker lived and laboured and died. Thither we went though in a pour of rain, and entered the church, where we saw his burial-place and monument, as also the house where he spent so many years of his life and breathed his last. *Third*, Mr. Bartlett drove me and Mr. Gillespie ten miles onward to Dover. . . . Our approach to it was most interesting; and I cannot adequately describe my sensations on first perceiving the French coast, seen with remarkable clearness. I felt it a great enlargement when my eyes rested for the first time on the continent of Europe. There is a very fine diversity of surface about Dover, a magnificent and imposing castle of great antiquity, and taking its name from William Rufus, not because he built but because he repaired it. Beside this there are the fortified heights, and, above all, the ranges of chalk cliffs, which towards the north form a continuous parapet along the sea, and towards the south are broken and interrupted by steep banks of brushwood. In this direction we were shown Shakspere's cliff, described by him certainly with poetic exaggeration. He probably never saw Dover; and in point of loftiness the cliffs certainly do come short of that which might have been anticipated from the picture of them in Lear's Tragedy. Still they are most impressive; and the vast antiquity of the period at which they figured in history, the days of Julius Cæsar—the denomination which they have given to our island, Albion—the imposing appearance they must present of a strong and impregnable front to our national enemies the French—all give a vast public and historical importance to this locality in our coast. After tea scaled the heights which lead to the castle, surveyed the venerable structure with its adjacent ruins, eyed

dent;' and he proceeded to speak of the author of that treatise in terms of the highest admiration. His eloquent ardour on the subject led to an allusion to some family relics of Butler, which were immediately inspected by him with lively interest. Among these, a Greek Testament, with manuscript notes by the Bishop, was put into his hands; and the divinity professor was requested to inscribe some original remark upon a blank page of the little volume. Dr. Chalmers received this request in a manner so strikingly indicative of the humility of a great mind, as to have left a strong impression upon those who witnessed the scene. He declared himself 'unworthy to write in Butler's own Testament,'—that 'it was a task for which he felt himself incompetent,'—and that he 'ought to have a week to consider of some sentiment deserving to be recorded in such a place.' With difficulty his reluctance was overcome, when he sat down and wrote as follows:—

" 'Butler is in theology what Bacon is in science. The reigning principle of the latter is, that it is not for man to *theorize* on the works of God; and of the former, that it is not for man to theorize on the ways of God. Both deferred alike to the certainty of experience, as being paramount to all the plausibilities of hypothesis; and he who attentively studies the writings of these great men will find a marvellous concurrence of principle between a sound philosophy and a sound faith. July 3, 1833 "—Bartlett's "Memoirs of Butler," pp. 335, 336.

with peculiar interest the beach skirted by a wall of chalk, and terminating in the South Foreland—looked down from our eminence on the town beneath our feet. Was particularly delighted with the full and clear moonlight on the chalk itself, as white as snow;—threw myself into bed about eleven or twelve. . . . And now that I have finished this letter, I fear a very uninteresting one to you, as it has all related to *kent* matters and *kent* transactions, I bid you good-night from Mr. Hoare's of Hampstead Heath.—And now, my dear Eliza, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Hampstead Heath, July* 11, 1833.—*Thursday.*—MY DEAR GRACE,—After breakfast had a ramble among the cliffs and fortifications of Dover. Ascended a subterranean stair, which, along with two others, winds up a hollow cylinder from a lower to a higher part of the precipice. When we had got to the top, saw Calais most distinctly through a telescope, its conspicuous feature being three remarkable architectural elevations close to each other. Still, Britain presents a far more imposing front to France than France does to Britain, the French coast, though cliffy, being considerably lower. Took leave of our kind friends, Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Knocker at our inn at ten o'clock, when we entered our coach, Mr. Gillespie and I being, with some trifling exceptions, the only inside passengers all the way to London. Our object had been to get round to Chichester by the coast; and if you look at the map you will perceive how much new country, and what new towns we should have gained by that proceeding. Instead of which we had to *snool* back again to London the way we came, there being no public conveyances as far as we ascertained that could be depended on. Reached Mr. Gillespie's in America Square after seven o'clock, and remained there all night. . . . *Friday, July 5.*—Entered the coach for Chichester after breakfast. The country is moorland and whinny and heathery for a good many miles, but gets beautiful the last half of the road. The most interesting passages of this journey to Chichester, were, first, the sight of Hampton Court Palace, on the opposite side of the Thames—then the beautifully variegated and wooded landscapes which lie between Guildford and Godalming—then the confines of Petworth in Sussex—then the noble prospect to the north from the high part of the road or Dunoter-hill—then the semi-alpine wilderness when crossing an elevated ridge—then the burst of new scenery within the com-

pass of a new horizon when the south opens upon the view, and the whole coast of Sussex, with its fringed and cultivated lands on this side of the beach, and the watery ocean beyond it, are brought for the first time before the eyes of the beholder. Descended rapidly from this eminence towards Chichester, whose venerable cathedral with its lofty spire forms a sort of landmark on our approach to the city. Found my friend Mr. John Barton, brother to the Quaker poet, awaiting me in the street, and was most welcomely received by him. Went to the cathedral, whose external appearance is highly venerable and imposing; and I with characteristic ambition climbed my way upward, dragging Mr. Barton after me, where I not only obtained a perfect conception of the environs, but could recognise at the distance of fifteen miles to the west the Isle of Wight. I could even descry, though faintly, the masts of the shipping in Portsmouth harbour. Dined and spent a very pleasant evening with Mr. Barton. He is quite a *littérateur*, of no profession, but a great philanthropist and student, and seems very much respected. *Saturday*, *July* 6.—Was driven by Barton to Chichester. I need not describe over again the tract of yesterday, but satisfy myself with stating my arrival at Mr. Nisbet's, my removal thence to Brunswick Square, and my very cordial reception by the Parkers. I enjoyed my visit to this abode of genuine friendship. *Sunday*. —Walked to church—an overwhelming crowd, if possible greater than on the previous Sunday, and I cannot recollect the names of the most distinguished. One auditor, however, eclipsed them all in singularity and splendour, Rammohun Roy, dressed in scarlet with a sash about his waist, and a rich turban on his head, which he did not take off during divine service. He sat before the pulpit, and though I did not know him, yet I guessed rightly who he was. He came to us in the vestry afterwards, and after complimenting me as a heavenly preacher, entered into a theological argument, which not being very convenient to prosecute in the midst of fifty gaping auditors who crowded in to the interview, we agreed to adjourn the question till he should come to Edinburgh.*—I am, my dear Grace, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

* "After I had concluded one of my sermons in the Scotch Church in London, I was visited in the vestry by Rammohun Roy, the Hindoo Brahmin. He asked me what would become of the souls of the heathen who, while destitute of the knowledge of the Christian religion, endeavoured to obey that Divine law by which the natural conscience is illuminated. I told him that I had then no time to enter into the subject, nor was it within my proper province. I would only remark, that there was a sufficient difference between the

The week which followed was spent "in the very thick of London Society." At Lambeth Palace the venerable Archbishop gave a most gracious reception. At Fulham Palace he dined with a "small but very select party, there being besides the Bishop of London himself, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Gloucester, the Bishop of Lincoln (all as courteous as possible), Mr. Locke of Greenwich Hospital, a truly pleasant, intelligent, and friendly person, Mr. George Sinclair, Mr. Senior the Economist, and Sir Robert Inglis, that man of superlative worth." At Sir Michael Shaw Stewart's he had the pleasure of renewing his acquaintance with Mr. Spring Rice, "the same lively, cordial, light-hearted and kind person as ever." At Mr. Hoare's of Hampstead Heath he had much delightful intercourse with the Rev. Mr. Cuningham of Harrow, the Rev. Mr. Blunt of Chelsea, Sir Francis Palgrave, Mr. Peacock, &c. On Wednesday the 14th, he preached a sermon in the National Scotch Church in defence of Religious Establishments. "The sermon of this day," he writes, "awakened no middle sentiment, but high approval among the Episcopalians, and deep dissatisfaction among the sectarians, one of whom said to the collector that he should rather be paid for hearing such a sermon than asked to pay anything. Lady B. tells me that it has been much talked of, and I have been greatly urged by the Bishop of London to publish it. I think it better not." On the forenoon of Friday the 12th, he had an interview with Miss Martineau, "a person of firm intellect and sense. I spent an hour with her, and we parted the best possible friends. I sent her some of my books, and more especially my one upon Endowments, she being an enemy, she told me, to Church Establishments."

"*Saturday*, 13*th*.—Went to Sir Francis Palgrave's office, where I was shown Doomsday-book, and put my hands upon it —beside seeing the venerable records of treaties, and acts, and autographs of monarchs, and all such documents as present the real and authentic deeds of English history; then was helped on in an omnibus to Chancery Lane near Temple Bar, where I dined with Mr. Pickering. Beside Roget and Prout there were a Sir Harris Nicholas, two English clergymen, the Professor of Italian in the London University, &c., to the number of eight or ten. The Bridgewater people conducted themselves with all

future prospects of the heathen and those of Christian believers to justify the utmost extent and ardency of missionary exertions."—From J. J. Gurney's Memoranda of Dr. Chalmers.

proper gravity and decorum, but the others were too clamorous and noisy. I, however, comforted myself by a quiet and friendly talk with Dr. Roget, beside whom I sat. Mr. Buxton's carriage came for me between eight and nine, and took me to his house for the night. A family party, with the exception of Miss Gurney and Miss Buxton, two ladies advanced in life, and alike singular for the vigour of their intellects and the infirmity of their frames. They are in London on a visit; but live on the coast of Norfolk, in a beautiful cottage near Cromer, on a footing that resembles somewhat that of the ladies at Llangollen, but differing from them in that theirs is an association not of romance but of active benevolence, contributing as they do by their worth and their wealth together to the best interests of the vicinity in which they are placed. Buxton, a frank, friendly, and very sensible person. Went to bed about eleven."

On Sabbath the 14th, he preached again in the Scotch National Church, and had the satisfaction of learning afterwards, that within the fortnight of his residence in London, in collections and subscriptions, there had been obtained for that Church about £1200.

"*Tuesday*, 16*th*.—Went off in a cab to Kensington, where I breakfasted with Mr. Senior the Economist. The Archbishop of Dublin, Mr. Chadwick, Mr. Bishop (the last two Poor-law Commissioners), and Mr. James Stephen, were of the party. A great deal of scientific conversation. The Archbishop kinder and pleasanter than he had ever been. Drove to Hornsey a beautiful parish on the other side of Highgate. Dined in the parsonage house with Mr. Harvey, himself a pleasant cultivated person, and his company no less so. The most interesting to me was Mr. Le Bas from Malthus' College, my friendly reviewer in the British Critic, with whom I had much cordial talk." Delighted with the transition, he made his escape from London on the following morning.

"*Earlham, Norwich, July* 22, 1833.—*Wednesday*, 17*th*.—My dearest Grace,—Started from London at half-past five. Some splendid scenery along the road. Felt Chelmsford, Colchester, and Ipswich, to be great acquisitions. Have marked as particularly beautiful the view of Colchester and its environs from the north—the descent to Stratford over the river Stour, which separates Essex from Suffolk—the view of Ipswich and approach to it. The English agriculture greatly improved. It is chiefly

a corn country from London all the way to Norwich ; and many are the sweet and lovely habitations, and abundant the ornate foreground scenery over the whole extent of the region through which I passed. Landed at the outskirts of Ipswich about four o'clock. Here excellent Mr. Bridges was in waiting with his gig. I took leave of my coach company ; superintended the transference of my luggage from coach to gig, but, as afterwards appeared, not with my wonted attention or accuracy. Got in beside the pious and devoted man of God, not yet forty I should think ; felt the sacredness of his character in the abundance of a heart that breathed and uttered nothing else. His house was fourteen miles off, being three miles on the other side of Stowmarket, through which we passed. The country is one unvaried scene of cultivation, of gentle undulations, and enriched by the frequent clumps of foliage and wooded hedge-rows of England. The first thing which shaded my enjoyment was the announcement of a meeting prepared to receive and hear me, and Mr. B. even talked of its being so numerous that it should convene in his church. In the midst of my cogitations, arrived at his beautiful and sequestered parish; was conducted to a bedroom, where I waited the arrival of my luggage, when, lo and behold, the bag was not to be found! and there was I, strengthless, and shirtless, and capless, and razorless ; and to complete the list of alases, a service before me for which a company was assembled in the drawing-room within, and to which a parish had been summoned from without. With the weight of all these cogitations, tramped down stairs to the tea-party, chiefly of ladies, and who had come to see and hear this said Mr. Wonderful; thence to an out-house—for I prevailed on him to give up the church—where he performed the English service, and I expounded in Scotch after him the best way I could ; thence to supper, now reduced to a family party ; thence in a state of great dazedness and dejection to bed, after the fatigues of the past month, and perplexities of the past day. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Earlham, Norwich, July* 23.—*Thursday*, 18*th*.—MY DEAR ANNE,—I was much rested and refreshed by my ten hours' repose ; and all was pleasurable during the remainder of my stay at this little paradise. The pious family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Bridges, who walk together as heirs of the grace of life, three little children, a Christianized man-servant, and two or three Christianized female servants, assembled before breakfast,

when I was asked to expound, which I did, and I believe a great deal better than I had done the night before. Miss Wakefield, a grand-daughter of the authoress, Priscilla Wakefield, their visitor at present, and the female teacher of their infant school, were also of the party. The breath of heaven is here; without, a scene of beauty that to the eye of sense is altogether delicious —and within, a sanctuary of love and holiness. After breakfast took me to an adjoining field, where, under the foliage of a spreading tree, the infant school was assembled. I was asked to address them and did it. Mrs. Bridges visits the houses of the parish with the view to a Christian effect, and is a mighty help to her husband. He took me to his church and a few of his cottages, and I never witnessed such closeness and efficiency of pastoral work as he exemplified in his addresses to the mothers of families. He makes a real business both of the Christianity of his own soul and the Christianity of his family and parish, watching over the souls of all as one who must give an account.* Mr. Bridges has shown me the very great kindness of taking me in his own gig to Earlham, though at the distance of thirty-two

* "EDINBURGH, *September* 11, 1833.—MY DEAR SIR,—It is with no common feeling of interest and affection that I now sit down to write to you, having borne away a very profound sense of all that I witnessed in your parish and under your roof, besides a very grateful and pleasing recollection of your great kindness to myself. I have seen much of England since I left you, but nowhere did I spend a more congenial day than in your society and among your cottages. May God long uphold you in that high and heavenly walk which you have chosen upon earth, and make you the honoured instrument of reclaiming thousands to the way of peace and righteousness, who, after the death and the resurrection, might sit down with yourself amid the glories of our Redeemer's kingdom. I always rejoiced when I observed on the parlour table, which I have done more than once in my travels since I took leave of you, your precious Commentary on the 119th Psalm. It is both extensively read and exquisitely relished by the Christians of this country. Indeed I look on a relish for that book as a test of the mind having acquired a right sense and savour of spiritual things, imbued as it is with the essence of scriptural truth all over, insomuch, that as one passes from sentence to sentence, he might feel as it were the droppings of a heavenly manna upon the heart. Your Life of Miss Grahame I have heard spoken of in the highest terms, and that by the most advanced and intelligent Christians whom I know anywhere.

"Nothing has interested me so much in all my movements as the state and aspects of the English Church. Mr. Edwards of Lynn I regard as a very fine specimen of a clergyman. There is, I conceive, a very prosperous work going on at Hull, under the direction of the truly devoted ministers of the Establishment there. I lived with Mr. Venn, and also, when at Sunderland, lived with Mr. Gray, the truly admirable Rector of that place. I was also much interested by the parochial activities of Dr. Gilly at Norham, with whom I spent a day or two. I am aware that there are gradations of spirituality; and certainly I have seen or heard of nothing which reminded me so much of Old Newton, as a paper put into my hand of the Christian statistics of a parish in Hampshire, which perhaps you may have seen, drawn up by its clergyman, and exhibiting a marvellous degree of success in the work of the ministry.

"May God grant, that instead of being satisfied with being almost, we may one and all of us honestly and earnestly aspire towards the mark of being altogether Christians. Let me crave an interest in your prayers, and a reply at your leisure, as I should really esteem your correspondence a very great privilege; and with much respect and regard, I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"The Rev. CHAS. BRIDGES."

miles from his own house. He had previously sent off a horse and servant to a half-way house, so that we had the benefit of a fresh horse and continuous drive from his own house to Mr. Gurney's. . . . Reached Earlham. Most kindly and cordially received. A few friends there, and Mr. Girdleston, the minister of the parish of Earlham. Went to bed at eleven.

"*Friday*, 19*th*.—Awoke after a night of delicious repose, and with the full consciousness of being embosomed in an abode of friendship and piety. Gave up the day to sauntering. A spacious and commodious house, with ample store both of bed and public rooms. Luxuriated in the grounds. The Quaker exercise both at family worship and before and after meat very impressive. Their graces are performed in silence, while in the family devotions of the morning and evening they read and generally pray: Mr. Gurney, however, often devolved this duty upon me, which I went through in my own usual way, though they in general stood when I knelt. My superlatively excellent friend, Mr. Bridges, left us at one o'clock, but not before he had the satisfaction of seeing my bag borne in in triumph, being sent forward in obedience to his written directions, and none triumphed with greater exultation than he. Mr. Bridges left us, but not without leaving on my heart a profound sense of his Christian devotedness and worth. After he went out, Mrs. Francis Cunningham, the lady of one of our best English clergymen, came in, and has been an inmate during my abode at Earlham. She is sister to Mr. Gurney, and is really a very attractive person, for simplicity, and Christian principle, and elegant accomplishment, and withal high intelligence and cultivation. But last of all, another lady, who dined and spent the night—now aged and in Quaker attire, which she had but recently put on, and who in early life was one of the most distinguished of our literary women, whose works, thirty years ago, I read with great delight—no less a person than the celebrated Mrs. Opie, authoress of the most exquisite feminine tales, and for which I used to place her by the side of Miss Edgeworth. It was curious to myself, that though told by Mr. Gurney in the morning of her being to dine I had forgot the circumstance, and the idea of the accomplished novelist and poet was never once suggested by the image of this plain-looking Quakeress till it rushed upon me after dinner, when it suddenly and inconceivably augmented the interest I felt in her. We had much conversation, and drew greatly together, walking and talking with each other on the beautiful

lawn after dinner. She has had access into all kinds of society, and her conversation is all the more rich and interesting. I complained to her of one thing in Quakerism, and that is the mode of their introductions: that I could have recognised in *Mrs. Opie* an acquaintance of thirty years' standing, but that I did not and could not feel the charm of any such reminiscence when *Joseph John* simply bade me lead out *Amelia* from his drawing-room to his dining-room. I felt, however, my new acquaintance with this said Amelia to be one of the great acquisitions of my present journey; and this union of rank, and opulence, and literature, and polish of mind with plainness of manners, forms one of the great charms of the society in this house. Had much and cordial talk all evening; a family exposition before supper, and at length a general breaking up, somewhere about eleven o'clock, terminated this day at once of delightful recreation and needful repose.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Saturday, July* 27.—Mrs Opie left us early, and we parted from each other most cordially. Went with Mr. Gurney in his carriage to Norwich—first to his bank, where I acquitted myself with all proper bows and civilities of pleasant remark to the partners and other members of the Establishment whom I was brought into converse with; secondly, through the town, ancient and respectable, with no less than thirty-six parish churches, several of which I entered, and was solemnized by their grandeur; thirdly, to the castle, around whose walls we walked, and where I eyed with delight the number of ecclesiastical towers that arose from the general mass of buildings; fourthly, to the cathedral, where I was introduced to Prebendary Wodehouse, who took charge of me, and conducted me in person through the cathedral. But I must first mention the call which I and Mr. Gurney made on the venerable Bishop, now in his ninetieth year. He received us with great courteousness; had just finished the reading of my last book, which he complimented, and gave us most entertaining anecdotes of other days, and I felt particularly interested in his personal acquaintanceship with Bishop Warburton. We stopped a quarter of an hour with the venerable old prelate,—a perfect gentleman, and of a mild and benevolent spirit, and great suavity withal. I was much pleased with the cathedral and its precincts, through which Mr. Wodehouse, who kept by me for two hours, conducted me. There is a great pre-

dominance of Saxon in the cathedral. I, as usual, ascended to the top of the tower, and dragged the Prebendary after me. The chief points of attraction and interest are the cloisters, beautifully groined; Erpingham's gate, an entrance to one of the courts of the cathedral, with a small and graceful sweep of arch, and great exquisiteness without exuberance of ornament; the tower, perhaps the finest part of the general building; and lastly, the monuments, not so much for their architecture, as for the celebrity of the men to whom they are dedicated, being no less than Bishop Hall, Bishop Horne, and Dean Prideaux."

Of this visit to Earlham, Mr. Gurney has preserved lengthened memoranda, from which we give the following extracts :—

"*Earlham, 7th Month* 24, 1833.—As we were sitting in the drawing-room rather late on the evening of the 18th instant, Dr. Chalmers entered, with our friend Chas. Bridges, Vicar of Long Newton, Suffolk, as his companion. Dr. Chalmers is a man peculiarly susceptible of being pleased—looking at objects which surround him through a favourable medium.

"CHAL. 'I have been travelling through Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, and now through Norfolk, the agricultural garden of England. It is a delightful country—varied in its surface, and clothed in greenness. As to the *moulding* and *statuary* of the scenery, we excel you in Scotland; but when I look over the fields of your country, I seem to be no longer looking through my naked eye, but through an eye-glass tinged with green, which throws a more vivid hue over nature than that to which I am accustomed.'

"On the following morning we conversed on the subject of the great minds with which he had been brought into contact. I asked him who was the most talented person with whom he had associated, especially in power of conversation. He said, Robert Hall was the greatest proficient he had known as a converser, and spoke in high terms of his talents and of his preaching. 'But,' said he, 'I think Foster is of a higher order of intellect; he fetches his thoughts from a deeper spring; he is no great talker, and he writes very slowly; but he moves along in a region far above the common intellectual level. There are passages in his Essays of amazing depth and beauty, especially in that on "Popular Ignorance." I am sorry to say, however, he is disposed to radicalism, and would scarcely object to substitute for

the machinery of Oxford and Cambridge—those endowed seats of religion and learning—factories worked by steam!'

"In the course of the morning Dr. Chalmers accompanied me to Norwich. As we were going into the market-place, he was arrested by catching a view of the steeple of 'St. Peter Mancroft Church' (as it is called), which he thought a noble structure. He is fond of ecclesiastical architecture; and it was entertaining to observe the pleasure which he enjoyed while we were examining the building without and within.

"The next objects of our attention were the hall called 'St. Andrew's,' originally used for public worship, and built by Sir Thomas Erpingham, as a penance for his sins; the beautiful gateway to the cathedral, which bears the name and image of the same Sir Thomas; the cathedral itself, of which the almost unrivalled tower was of course pointed out; and the elegant ruin in the Bishop's garden. No young or ardent traveller could derive more pleasure from such sights than the Doctor. We then called on the venerable Bishop, now in his ninetieth year, and very delightful was our interview.* The dear old man was in good heart and health, reading without spectacles, hearing without the smallest difficulty, and able to talk with his old vivacity. He was evidently much animated by seeing Dr. C.; on the other hand, Dr. C. was *charmed*, as well he might be, with the Bishop.

"Bishop. 'Dr. Chalmers, I am very glad to be introduced to you; I have just been reading your Bridgewater Essay, with great satisfaction. I am especially pleased that you have insisted so much on the views of Bishop Butler, whom I have always reckoned to be one of the best and wisest of writers.' I remarked, that it was strange that a writer of so liberal and comprehensive a cast should be accused of Popery.

"Bishop. 'There is no ground for it—people will always call names; they will tell you (addressing Dr. C. with a smile) that my friend Joseph here is a wicked fellow.' They then conversed on Dr. Adam Smith's theory of moral sentiments.

"Bishop. 'I am sorry to find, from your work, that his splen-

* "Dr. Henry Bathurst, the Bishop of Norwich, is the survivor of thirty-six children, by one father and two mothers. When a young man, he acted in the capacity of private secretary to the first Earl Bathurst, the celebrated friend of Alexander Pope. At his house he was accustomed to meet the most eminent characters among the Tories of that period—for example, David Hume—and his store of anecdotes respecting them is rich and varied. His memory is peculiarly retentive—so much so, that when a boy at Winchester School, he could repeat *memoriter* the whole of Homer's Iliad in the original Greek."

did passage respecting the necessity of a mediator was omitted in the second edition.'*

"CHAL. 'The omission was probably owing to his intimacy with Hume.' I asked the Bishop whether he had not been acquainted with Hnme.

"BISHOP. 'O yes, I used to meet with him at the old Lord Bathurst's; he was fond of a game of whist, to which I too had no objection, and we have sometimes played together. He was a very good-natured man; but I have heard him say cutting things about *us*—I mean the clergy.'

"The Bishop then repeated part of the passage from Dr. A. Smith with peculiar accuracy and feeling. I do not precisely recollect whether the Bishop quoted the whole of this extract; but he told us, that the passage had been fixed in his memory since his early manhood. When he afterwards spoke, in his usual terms, of his painlessness of body, and peace of mind, the *latter* more particularly was adverted to, I think, by Dr. Chalmers, as a subject of especial gratitnde and satisfaction. 'The more so,' I added, 'because it is grounded, as I trust, on that great doctrine of Christianity, to which even Adam Smith has so feelingly alluded.' 'O yes,' said the Bishop, in a decided and emphatic tone, 'that is the *only thing*—there is no *other* way.' This acknowledgment precisely corresponded with what I had before heard from him, and was very grateful both to myself and to Dr. Chalmers. The Bishop afterwards drew a lively picture of the talented but hot-headed Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who was well known to his uncle, Lord Bathurst; and also of the mighty Warburton, in whose diocese he had once held a living, and with whom he was familiarly acquainted. He described him a giant in conversation, and a fearless champion against Hume and other infidels;—'I have no liking for the men,' said he, 'and no fear of their talents.' With the exception of Lord Bathurst and a few others, he indulged in a sort of scorn against the nobles of the land. 'As for you *lords*,' said he in the

* "Dr. Chalmers's whole soul was called forth in the most mingled emotions, by a discovery that I had made accidentally of the original MS. of Dr. Smith's famous passage on the atonement in the first edition of his Moral Sentiments. There was something so strange, that when Dr. Smith's injunctions to his executor to destroy any loose MS. had been most anxiously followed, that passage—in some respects the most memorable in his work—should have been so long preserved, and should re-appear from between the folds of a volume of Aristotle in 1831,—that the Dr. on seeing it could scarcely credit the testimony of his own eyes. His inspection of it was deeply interesting, and in some measure amusing. His remembrance of it, I believe, never faded from his recollection."—Extracted from a Letter from the Rev. W. B. Cunningham of Prestonpans, into whose hands Dr. Smith's Library has passed.

Bishop's hearing, 'your venison is but a poor repayment for the fatigue of listening to your conversation.' I suppose that, like Johnson, he imagined himself privileged to be a bear.

"Bishop. 'His wife too had a spirit of her own—she used to call her husband Brigadier Moses!'

"I was glad to hear Chalmers and the Bishop fully according in the praise of Warburton's 'Julian,' which surely contains important and specific, though somewhat indirect evidence of the truth as it is in Jesus. After our friend C. W. had conducted the Doctor to some others of our ecclesiastical remains, we returned home to dinner. It is always pleasant to watch the noble expressions of Dr. C.'s countenance; but he is often very quiet in a large party. I never saw a man who appeared to be more destitute of vanity, or less alive to any wish to be brilliant.

"In the course of Monday morning the Doctor and I walked down to a fir grove, at the extremity of the park, where a colony of herons have lately formed a settlement. He was as much interested and pleased as a schoolboy would have been in watching the singular appearance, gestures, and sounds of these birds. His mind seemed quite occupied by the *fitness* between the length of their necks and that of their legs, and also by the circumstance, that as they swim not, but only *stand* in the waters, they do not, like other aquatic birds, require webs to their feet—and *therefore* have none.

"Chal. 'The great fear I entertain respecting the operation of the Reform Bill is, lest it should throw the legislative power into the hands of men of business—already full of all kinds of occupation—to the exclusion of men who have *leisure* for deep study and reflection, and are therefore able to cope with great principles on the various subjects of legislation. There is a fine passage in Ecclesiasticus, on the danger of intrusting with the arcana of government, men whose hearts and hands are full of the common business of life. I wish we were more alive to the principles which are there unfolded. It is an alarming fact, that in order to effect a paltry saving of a few thousand pounds per annum, that great work, the trigonometrical survey of Great Britain was on the point of being left incomplete. It was saved by a majority of only two votes in a committee of the House of Commons.'

"The passage to which Dr. C. alluded, and which we forthwith read together, is well worthy of notice. It is in chap. xxxviii., and begins as follows:—'How can he get wisdom that

holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows, and is diligent to give the kine fodder.' The writer then goes on to describe in a vivid manner, the work of the carpenter, the seal-cutter, the smith, and the potter; and adds, 'without these cannot a city be inhabited, and they shall not go where they will, nor go up and down. They shall not be sought for in public council, nor sit high in the congregation; they shall not sit on the judge's seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment, and they shall not *be found where parables are spoken.*'

"CHAL. 'I take great delight in the book of Ecclesiasticus. Were I to speak merely from my own judgment of the internal evidence, I should say that it contains almost equal marks of inspiration with the book of Proverbs. But the New Testament gives no countenance to such an opinion. There are few books of the Old Testament more often quoted by the evangelists and apostles than the book of Proverbs; but they take no notice of Ecclesiasticus.'

"The more we became familiarized to Dr. C.'s company, and observed the remarkable union which he presents of high talent and comprehensive thought, with an almost childlike modesty and simplicity, the more we admired him, as one notable example of that exquisite *divine workmanship* which so much fills his own contemplations. I may also add, that the more we became acquainted with his thorough amiability, the more we loved him.

"I must not conclude without just remarking, that our dear and honoured friend is a man of *prayer*. The prayers which he uttered in our family circle, on some solemn occasions, were concise, emphatic, and comprehensive—indicative of a very reverent sense of the holiness of God, and of the all-sufficiency of the one appointed mediation. I find myself often recurring to some of his concluding words,—'These petitions we humbly offer unto Thee, in the name of Him whom Thou hearest always. Amen.'"

"*Steamboat between Boston and Lincoln, July* 29, 1833.—*Tuesday, July* 23.—MY DEAR GRACE,—Rode to Norwich with Mr. Gurney and Mr. F. Cunningham. Called on Mrs. Martineau, mother to the celebrated authoress. Was introduced at the Guild-hall to the mayor of the city. He was very polite, and

showed me several of the official apartments. After profoundly acknowledging by one of my profoundest bows, the profound sense which I had of the honour done to me, took my last leave of Norwich. . . . Proceeded to Marshland, a district of Norfolk, a very singular low-lying country, a great part of which has been reclaimed from the sea by draining, or reclaimed from inland fens in the same way. There is a magnificent cut through which the whole river Ouse that runs by Lynn has been turned. This we crossed by a wooden bridge on entering Marshland, which we surveyed to the extent of about six or seven miles; taking note of the beautiful churches that rise from the gentle elevations which occur here and there in this level country, almost on a horizontal plane with the sea itself. Entered one of these churches, Terrington, which, though belonging to but a country parish, might pass for a cathedral in Scotland or Ireland. Ascended to the top of its tower, whence I could descry the Wash, that great inlet from the German Ocean, the opposite shores of Lincoln, with the fenny region towards Ely on the south, as far as the eye could carry us. Descended to our carriage; returned to Lynn; was there introduced to Mr. Edwards, a clergyman in Lynn, and Mr. Gedge, the clergyman of Runston, Mr. D. Gurney's parish. Mr. Edwards is the finest specimen of a dignified and respectable clergyman I have anywhere seen in England. He is between sixty and seventy; scientific, with the manners of a perfect gentleman; great force of character, and a certain air of superiority, which must add to the weight of his station, and make him all the more useful and influential; for he is a minister of the right stamp, and so is every way fitted to sustain the honours of his establishment in the community where he labours. He and Mr. B. conducted me through Lynn, a fine old town full of interesting relics, beside having two very handsome churches, all of which we visited in a round of about two hours. The most striking antiquities are the Greyfriars' Tower, and Redmount Tower. Occasional vestiges of the old town wall add to one's impression of the ancient importance of the place. Mr. B. and I went in Mr. G.'s carriage back to Runcton Hall, where we dined at six. Took leave at nine o'clock with Mr. Brereton in his gig, and drove on to his parish and parsonage-house.

"*Thursday, July* 25.—Visited the interesting small church of Runcton, but large enough for the parish, which has only a population of 100. I may here remark that the churches in this

region are very much built of flint; and that, generally speaking, the churches in Norfolk, and more especially in Lincoln, even in the most remote and retired parishes, are remarkably rich and handsome. Set out with Mr. Brereton in his gig at ten o'clock, on a round of thirty-five miles, among the north-west parishes of Norfolk. We had two little fellows on ponies, a son and nephew, as outriders, a great part of the way. Went first to Castle-Rising, where we inspected the Saxon church, and a very fine Saxon ruin of a castle; then north-east to two handsome country churches, one of which we alighted at and entered; thence to Hunstanton upon the Wash, where there is a remarkable cliff of a mile in extent and of chalk, and where a number of parties had assembled for the pleasure of dining at the Light-house Inn, and walking along the beach. We took this walk, and on remounting drove through the courts of a magnificent old abbey; hence to the Marquis of Cholmondeley's seat, which we looked at externally; thence back to Little Massingham, where a party of ministers and ministers' wives had been invited to meet me. They came in their own gigs or chaises; and it was very interesting to meet with the clerical society of England in one of its remotest vicinities. Mr. G., pastor of Great Massingham, was remarkably gentle and mild, and Mr. C. of Measenham remarkably intelligent; but of all the clergymen I have yet met with, I must distinguish Mr. Edwards, the centre of a clerical association of fourteen or sixteen ministers, devoted I hope to the great object of the Christian ministry—the salvation of souls, an object which I beg you will prosecute for the sake of your own imperishable spirit, and the spirits of all those who may be affected by your example.—With God's blessing upon you, I am, my dear Grace, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Hull, July* 30, 1833.—*Friday, 26th.*—MY DEAR MARGARET,—Entered a coach from Lynn to Ely, with my face away from Edinburgh, and towards London, or about thirty miles to the south. Fell in with a friend of Mr. Edwards, who knew me, and we had as much talk as his non-understanding of my dialect could admit. The country is very low, and was at one time much under water, that is now carried off in drains or very broad ditches to the Ouse, which we crossed about half-way to Ely. In this journey I left Norfolk and entered into Cambridgeshire. It is for the sake of the cathedrals that I am now

travelling so circuitously, and the one at Ely is truly rich and magnificent. Aided by the printed Guide, I studied the whole of this elaborate and highly ornamental pile with a particularity and a feeling of satisfaction greater than I had ever before experienced. I was introduced to Mr. Sparke, a prebendary, and son of the bishop, who invited me to the palace to see an old monkish painting, held to be a great curiosity. Expatiated over this noble edifice for hours, and was much aided by Mr. Miller in the examination of the more recondite beauties and curiosities of the place. Dined with Mr. Evans at four, but made one round more of the cathedral before dinner. We had previously entered the bishop's palace, and surveyed the old pictured tablet. I could not resist the temptation of a gig to carry me onward through the very heart of the fen-country which I had eyed from the top of the cathedral tower an hour or two before, so that I took leave of Mr. Evans and Mr. Miller after dinner, and was driven to Chatteris, twelve miles distant. Ely is situated on a more elevated region, formerly surrounded by fresh-water marshes, and so denominated the Isle of Ely. We approached it from the fen-country, now drained on one side, in the forenoon; and now on another side descended again into a land of pools and ditches, where the water is but a few inches from the cottage-doors along the margin, and the bairns *paidle* like so many ducklings in the much-loved element. Reached Chatteris at the gloaming; and I went out among the simple villagers to meditate in the evening-tide and survey the church and churchyard monuments of this remote part of the world. Took coffee, and went to bed in a good village inn between ten and eleven.

"*Saturday*, 27*th*.—Started at five. Out of the reach of public conveyances, and so hired another gig to take me on to Whittlesey before breakfast. We were now in the very perfection of the fen-country, being several feet below the level of the great running streams, upon land subject to frequent inundations, and where they get quit of the water by means of windmills placed along the banks of a broad and running canal, which drive a wheel that lifts the water in a sort of bucket, up from the low country outside of the bank, and pours it into a wooden channel that conveys it into the higher water of the canal, which carries it down to the sea. The frequency of these windmills, the vast extent of level country on all sides to the extreme horizon, the perpetual smell of burnings by which they consume the dried

wreck and weeds which they gather upon the land, the roads frequently running along the tops of canal banks for miles, because it would be unsafe to attempt the low soft yielding country, above the level of which I was driven for miles together—these form the chief features and characteristics of a very wide territory that extends over a great part of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire, and that has interested me greatly. After a joyous morning of gig-driving got to Whittlesey before nine, ready for my breakfast, of which I ate very heartily, and felt as if nothing was wanted to complete the enjoyment but M. P. Chalmers to make the tea for me. While it was making I went forth upon the village, surveyed its two churches, and went round the larger one, reading some epitaphs in its churchyard. Hired another gig, in which I went first to Thorney, at whose church I alighted and entered, it being one of an antique and curious description, and then to Crowland, whose curious triangular bridge I particularly examined, and whose venerable old abbey I explored, ascending, as usual, to its highest battlements. After finishing this enterprise I got my gig yoked and went to Peterborough. I should have mentioned that Crowland is also in the fen-country, and the intersections of canals are so frequent in and about it that it has been compared to Venice. The cathedral at Peterborough is a truly exquisite one. I went of course to its summit, and eyed the mighty panorama of champaign over a waste of waters all around me. I meant to have stopped here all Sunday, but could not resist the temptation of a coach opportunity to Boston, about thirty miles on my way. When I discovered this I ordered dinner at my inn, and took the opportunity while it was getting ready of calling on Mr. Hughes, one of the prebendaries. He received me with the utmost kindness—hoped I was to remain over Sunday—said how delighted the dignitaries of the cathedral would be to meet with me; and I do confess that the hope of becoming acquainted with the Bishop, Herbert Marsh, now the most learned prelate on the bench, almost staggered my resolution in going forward; but prudence prevailed, and I only remained a quarter of an hour with him. He furnished me with an introduction to Mr. Bentham, surveyor of the repairs in Lincoln Cathedral; and I took leave of this accomplished author—he having written an account of his travels in Albania, beside being the editor of a work comprising a series of the early fathers of the English Church. Before I left Peterborough I was discovered by one

of the outside passengers on the coach, who rather obtrusively asked if I was to preach at Boston, who I was to hear there, &c. I observed him making me known to a shopkeeper at Spalding, a town through which we passed, when they both ran together to the shop, I supposed to write a letter to some of the Independents at Boston to get up a deputation. Got forward through this additional portion of fen-country, and reached Boston at nine, where I shortly after my day of fatigue retired.

"*Sunday*, 28*th*.—Lay till nine. At breakfast a deputation did come, my Peterborough discoverer having made known my arrival. I went forenoon and afternoon to the superb church at Boston, one of the noblest parish churches, and furnished with one of the finest and loftiest towers in England. It has a grand interior too; and I was much delighted with the chanting, but found the sermons, though respectable in point of literary execution, destitute of the true evangelical unction, and little fitted either to convert or nourish the soul, the care of which you must remember, my dear Margaret, is the one thing needful.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Sunderland, *August* 5, 1833.—*Monday*, 29*th*.—MY DEAR HELEN,—Visited the church and ascended the tower of 351 steps, whence I had a satisfactory view of the surrounding country; tracing the Witham river, on which Boston is situated, to the sea; viewing distinctly over the Wash a part of the counties of Lincoln and Norfolk; casting my eye eastward and northward over an immense fen-country as far as Lincoln, which we scarcely saw, but which is distinctly visible in clear weather from the top of this tower, commonly known by the name of Boston Stump in the counties all around, from which it is visible—a name not altogether congruous to the exquisite beauty and lightness of the structure, or the airy elegance and symmetry of the masonic lantern by which it is surmounted. Examined this building an hour and a half, when I descended and went to settle matters at the inn; when, after clearing my way with them, had boots fairly off with the luggage beside me to the passage boat, distant about a quarter of a mile. The steamboat into which I had got, sails from Boston to Lincoln, keeping nearly in the old bed of the river Witham, now deepened and formed into a wide and regular canal, over the banks of which we had frequent glimpses into a flat country, reclaimed far and wide from its original state of marsh by the operation of

draining. The people came into our boat both at Boston and from various parts of the tract through which we passed, and had a good deal of the uncouthness and rudeness of the otter tribe, an amphibious species of animal like themselves. I got rather a coarse breakfast on board; employed much of my time in writing letters; asked questions occasionally of my neighbours around me, though we little comprehended the dialects of each other; reached Lincoln about two, and with some difficulty got my luggage, by means of a skiff and a porter together, landed safely at an inn called the Saracen's Head. Thence I ascended in a very hot day the arduous street which leads to the summit of the hill on which the cathedral stands—(by the way, the approach to Lincoln by the canal is very fine; and its noble cathedral, from the commanding situation which it occupies, has a most stately and imposing appearance, and is seen from an immense distance on the west and south.) Proceeded to examine the cathedral, which is truly magnificent. Had a bad and lazy guide; but I went by myself to the top of the great tower, by an ascent of 336 steps, which added to the Boston ascent this morning made 687 steps. There are very few indeed who ever go up this great central tower; and perhaps no man alive was ever before on the top of Boston Stump and of Lincoln Cathedral in one day. I stood on the highest possible apex, and gloried in the view of the surrounding country on all sides of me. Descended to my lazy cicerone in the nave, and he made me over to another man, whose office it was to show the largest bell in England, placed in one of the two turrets at the west end, and with the ascent of which, of 270 steps, most people (but not your papa) are satisfied.—This bell is so big that it is called the great Tom of Lincoln. It has the same shape with our bell in the lobby, but there is a great difference in the size of it. Why, it is so immense a thing that the tongue of it is taller than papa; and when I crept under it, and stood upright, I could scarcely touch the roof of it with my hand. There were two other people in it at the same time with myself; but there is room in it for ten or twelve, and I would have needed to have lifted you or Fanny in the inside of it to have touched the top of its long tongue with the ends of your fingers.*—So much *in print* to Helen for the great Tom of Lincoln. It is never rung now, being cracked, and a large bit out of its rim, though I doubt if it could be rung with safety to the tower.

* The preceding paragraph in the original MS. is printed in large letters.

"*Tuesday.*—Made a second visit to the cathedral with book in hand. There Mr. Bentham, surveyor of the repairs, joined me, with whom I left yesterday a letter of introduction from Mr. Hughes of Peterborough. He completed my information of this noble pile, keeping by me for two hours, and introducing me to the librarian, who also showed me great attention. I made a second visit to the great Tom; and, on the principle of never being satisfied with an idea till I get round and round it, got inside of it, and walked three times round its tongue. After a short visit with Mr. Bentham to the castle and lunatic asylum, which last I did not enter, descended to the Saracen's Head, took my inside berth in a coach for Hull, looked often backward from the window, and could descry for a long way the cathedral at the termination of the road. Met at the pier by Mr. Venn, the minister, who took me to his house. I spent the evening with him, and retired at eleven. It was here that we read in the 'Record' the death of Mr. Wilberforce. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Sunderland, August* 7.—*Wednesday, July* 31, 1833.—MY DEAR LITTLE FANNY,—Rose to a most respectable and interesting breakfast party. Hull is particularly well off both for its Christian clergymen and its Christian citizens. Mr. Venn, in whose house I am, is still among his thirties, and a most active, intelligent, zealous minister. Besides him there is Mr. Scott, at the head in respect to influence of the ecclesiastics, son to the Commentator or author of the 'Force of Truth,' himself the continuator of 'Milner's History,' and author of his father's 'Life,' a person I should think towards sixty, and father of a large family; Mr. Curry, an Irishman, but a lively, pleasant, and withal pious minister; Mr. Dykes, &c. They are all strenuously embarked on works of Christian usefulness, having thoroughly localized the place, and obtained an immense agency, chiefly of females. Mr. Venn wanted me to hold converse with them, which with difficulty I consented to, on condition that it was no more than a large conversational party with question and answer. After breakfast a deputation was announced, consisting of a Methodist minister, an independent Dr., one of my Methodist students last year, and another. The object was that I should preach. . . . The Established clergy who were present came to my aid, and stated the work which they had got me to do, from which it appeared that even they were not treating me fairly, for instead of a room party, they were to have put me in a church,

where the expectation was that I should deliver an extemporaneous harangue from a pulpit. Meanwhile we got quit of our dissenting deputation with much ado. I afterwards remonstrated with Mr. Venn, and got him to abandon the church, substituting a smaller affair in its place; for better a regular service at once than such an approximation to it with the disadvantage of no written preparation. Went forth with Mr. Venn, first to the house where Wilberforce was born, which we entered; secondly, to the school he attended, which we also saw; thirdly, to their best church, whose tower I ascended, and where I studied the geography of the town and neighbourhood; fourthly, to their famous docks, by which ships are brought up to the very heart of the town, making a circuit from the Humber to the river Hull. In this progress I not only became master of the external features of the place, but was introduced to many of its living characters. Dined at three in Mr. Venn's—very much a clerical party. Carried to the agents in a gig along with the Rev. Mr. Scott at six, where, instead of a room and a conversation, I found, after all, an assemblage of at least 400 people ranged in forms, with an elevated desk at one end, which I was to occupy—tantamount, in spite of every remonstrance from me, to an extemporaneous sermon, which was very unfair. As a specimen of the unpleasant sort of collision to which I am exposed, a crowd was assembled at the door who could not get in; and some of the Established clergy were insulted by them, and reproached with keeping me to themselves, and that my inclination was to preach for the dissenters had they allowed me, so as to have had a larger place. This called forth Mr. Scott, who gave a public explanation to the contrary, assuring the people that it was my determination and not their doing, &c.,—all very delightful you may believe in the hearing of their excellent brother sitting beside them, and listening to the tale of his own health and his own praises. I had to corroborate Mr. Scott's assurance, and said that so far from having to vindicate the clergy from restraining me to too small a place or congregation, they had exceeded every wish and understanding of mine by finding for me too large a one; and thus commenced my palaver of an hour's length, for which I begged their indulgence, and apprised them that I was not at all prepared. The matter, however, they all said, went very well off; and I went to bed glad that it was well over.

"*Thursday.*—Rose early. Made a circuit by myself through the town. Crossed the river Hull in a ferry-boat, and laved

my hand in its waters, doing the same also in the waters of the Humber—thus symbolizing my acquisition as it were of these two rivers, having previously done the same at the Wash, which is what I call taking infeftment. . . . Set off at twelve in a coach for Beverley, open, and drawn by Mr. Venn's own horses. He accompanied me along with Mr. Scott and another clergyman, whose name I have strangely forgotten. It was a most kind and respectable convoy for nine miles. The object was that I might see Beverley Minster, not a regular cathedral, but really as splendid and noble an edifice as I could desire to see, and that would rank high among the cathedrals of England. In taking up Mr. Scott at the outskirts of Hull, made a short call on his interesting family, consisting of a wife and a good many children; one son in orders, and several grown up daughters. Before examining the cathedral minutely, visited the minister of Beverley. His name is Mr. C., and as I wrote Helen in my last letter about the biggest bell I had ever seen in my life, let me now write little Fanny about the biggest man I ever saw. He is so heavy that he cannot walk; he would weigh more than two of your papa. We found him sitting on an arm chair that could have been made into a bed for you and Helen sleeping in. When he goes to the church to preach, which he does very often, he gets upon a wooden horse called a velocipede, which runs upon wheels, and with this he moves through the streets, and through the church till he gets to the foot of the pulpit; and then two great strong men-servants push him up the stair and through the door of the pulpit with their backs and their shoulders, when he sits squash down upon an immense cushion, and preaches sitting to the people, for to do it standing would be impossible.* He received us with great politeness, is a literary and gentlemanly person, and so much esteemed that his odd movements in public excite no ridicule, he being very much respected and sympathized with. On my stating how desirable it is to have a printed guide for all great objects of curiosity, he made distribution among us four of a small work that he himself had drawn up on Beverley Minster, furnished with which we made a most satisfactory survey of the magnificent, highly adorned, and carefully kept structure, used as a parish church, but having no less than £1400 a year of revenue for keeping it in order.—I am, my dear Fanny, your affectionate Papa, THOMAS CHALMERS."

* This paragraph is also printed in the original MS.

Through Whitby, whose abbey, "a noble ruin," he examined most particularly, and Stockton-on-Tees, within a few miles of which he was shown the place where Captain Cook was born, Dr. Chalmers proceeded to Sunderland. "Dr. Paley was rector here, and I was much interested in the view of his study, of the room in which he died, of the field around which he took excursions on horseback. Walked around it with the party, and from a particular spot at the wall had an admirable view of the famous bridge at Sunderland. This was a favourite spot to which he used to carry his visitors for the view. Walked thence to Monkwearmouth, and saw the simple, and it is said very antique church at this place." On Sabbath the 4th, and on the following Tuesday, he preached for Dr. Paterson, Presbyterian minister at Sunderland, "a very sensible and superior man, and a great favourite of the Church clergymen." Of one of these clergymen with whom he had taken up his residence, Dr. Chalmers writes, "Mr. Grey spends more than his ecclesiastical income on ecclesiastical objects—paying two curates, and supporting as well as building in great part out of his own means educational institutions. Altogether he is a truly devoted servant of Jesus Christ, and lives and labours solely for the objects of Faith, having chosen the better part, and reckoning the care of the soul the one thing needful." On Wednesday, Dr. Chalmers was driven by their proprietor, Mr. Longridge, to Bedlington Iron-works. "Mr. Longridge, a man of sound intelligence and principle, delighted me with his various plans for the moral and educational and economical management of his work-people. Walked to Bedlington Church: the most picturesque churchyard I ever saw, with a beautiful assemblage of tomb-stones, very tastefully laid out, with approaches of little plantations, and the ivied buttresses of the church. There are some curious epitaphs, of which the following is one:—

'Poems and epitaphs are but stuff;
Here lies Robert Burrows—that's enough.'

Drove to Morpeth; breakfasted with Mr. Brown. Mr. Blakey there, author of a good book on Moral Science; had rather a keen controversy with him on taxation. Went in Mr. Longridge's carriage, first to Morpeth Castle, and then to the vicar, Mr. G. King, who was prepared to receive me, and showed me Sir Isaac Newton's manuscripts. Mr. L. took leave of me before my examination of these manuscripts, which lasted two

hours, and from which I could clearly gather that Newton was an Arian."

Stopping a night by the way with the Rev. Marcus Dods, Belford, Dr. Chalmers made Norham his next resting-place.—"*Friday, August* 9.—Nothing could exceed the cordiality of Dr. Gilly's welcome; a pleasant family, with Mrs. Gilly, the Alpine fellow-traveller of her husband, and an exceedingly pleasant and interesting person. Their place is on the English side of the Tweed, and we strolled along its banks before dinner. The Church of Ladykirk is on the opposite side and in Scotland: its clergyman, Mr. Robertson, urged me for a sermon on Sabbath evening, and I saw the Gillys all so set upon it, that considering the kind accommodation of their carriage, notwithstanding my engagement to preach at Belford, eighteen miles off on the forenoon, I consented.

"*Saturday.*—The carriage after breakfast took us to Berwick, Dr. Gilly and several of his family accompanying us. Visited the pier, going out to its extremity: took infeftment both of the mouth of the Tweed, which runs through the harbour, and of the German Ocean, on the beach to the north of it. Then walked a certain way on the outside of the wall, and re-entered the town near its singular and spireless church built by Oliver Cromwell.

"*Sunday.*—After preaching at Belford, I was carried in Dr. Gilly's carriage with the same rapidity as in the morning back to Norham. Went in a body across the river in Dr. Gilly's boat. Clomb up the north bank to Ladykirk, a beautiful Gothic structure of great simplicity and entireness. A large crowd in the churchyard, whom Mr. Robertson would not admit till the commencement of the service. The consequence was, that after spending a few minutes in the manse, where a number of clergy were, we proceeded in a pretty large cavalcade to the church, but could with great difficulty penetrate the crowd to the door of the church, so that in pushing and squeezing forward, I had to encounter nervous ladies and bawling gentlemen and murmuring artisans, who complained of coming for miles, and being compelled to stand and be stifled there for a great length of time. We at length made our way, I getting in first and taking possession of the pulpit, and a torrent behind me, who spread over the church and occupied all its sitting and standing room. Went back with Dr. Gilly after preaching at two places eighteen miles asunder, which subjected me to thirty-six miles'

travelling—or a still better way of putting it, after doing what few have done, preaching in England and Scotland on the same day."

From Norham to Woodhouselee Dr. Chalmers meant to have "speeled along the border on foot, with one leg wherever it was possible in England, and another in Scotland." The kindness of friends "frustrated his pedestrian speculation;" and the only approach to solitude that he realized throughout the week was, when on the Saturday afternoon he "proceeded down the Liddel, in company with George Thomson, of seventy years of age, a genius and a character; and as he walked slow, and I kept back with him for the sake of his information, we took just four hours and a half to our twelve miles' ride. He gave me much intelligence regarding all the hills and localities within sight—being a pure Liddesdale man, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit and tastes of a Scottish Borderer, besides being a botanist, and, I suspect, a poet also. He pointed out to me Mangerton Pillar, round which I went; Mangerton House, on the other side of the Liddel; the site of Jock o' the Side's house; the direction where Pudding-burn House lay; Stangarth Castle, &c.; all famous in Border story. He represented himself as a relative of the poet Thomson, whose father, by the way, died minister of Hobkirk, and is buried there. He recounted to me various Border exploits, and had the traditionary knowledge of many Border rhymes—as, for example, from Scott's publication,

> 'It was then the use of Pudding-burn House,
> And o' Mangerton House, all haile;
> Them that cam' na at the first ca',
> Got nae mair meat till the neist meal.'*

I made him stop at a toll-house to wet his thrapple a wee, and sat down myself to a bouse with him, a travelling butcher, and a servant of Mr. Elliot's—that is, I gave all their good healths in the act of slaking my ain drouth with a willy-waught of ale. We then proceeded onwards; the prospect brightening more and more into cultivation as we approached Cannobie. The distant Cumberland and Dumfries hills, as Skiddaw and Criffel, with the silver Solway between them, were particularly impressive. Got to Woodhouselee at three. Grievously disappointed at the non-appearance of Mrs. Morton. After dinner I sillered George Thomson's loof, and sent him back with the pony so soon as I

* *Dick o' the Cow.*—"Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," vol. i. p. 144.

understood that he and the beast both were sufficiently rested and sufficiently fed. We strolled in the evening, and thus the end of the week brought me to the end of the Border line. The only revisitation I should like to make along the whole length of it, is to the Hermitage river that runs into the Liddel from the N.W., and that for the sake of Hermitage Castle. I cannot but remark it as unexpected and strange, that I should, without my being previously aware of them, have been so handed from one acquaintance to another, and from one horse or carriage to another, so in fact as not to have been suffered to foot it along any part of the journey. I all the week, in fact, have had the services done to me which I recollect in my younger days done to those beggars who were carried about in barrows;—lifted at Norham, and let down at Kirknewton—lifted at Kirknewton, and let down at Sprouston—lifted at Sprouston, and let down at Edgerston—lifted at Edgerston, and let down at Wolflee—lifted at Wolflee, and let down at Hindlee—lifted at Hindlee, and let down at the Rowe—lifted at the Rowe, and let down at Woodhouselee. I will not, when I consider the length and arduousness of the way, say it was hard to be disappointed of my pedestrian speculation; but rather when I look back to all the accommodation I have had, and to the kindness which prompted it, I cannot but feel a grateful emotion, which for once in this classic and inspiring region, I shall give vent to in poetry—

"Good people, my thanks
For thus haining my shanks."

CHAPTER XX.

THE ANNUITY-TAX—DR. CHALMERS'S OPINION OF THE RESISTANCE TO ITS PAYMENT—COLLISION BETWEEN THE PRESBYTERY AND TOWN-COUNCIL—SPEECH IN THE PRESBYTERY—SUDDEN ILLNESS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. WELSH, HIS BROTHER JAMES, AND HIS SISTER MRS. MORTON.

THE whole tithes of Scotland were levied in kind from the cultivators of the soil until the accession of Charles I., by whom they were universally commuted into a fixed and permanent rent-charge, which secured a moderate provision for the clergy, without imposing any burden on the property or industry of the kingdom. But while Scotland is indebted to Charles for her deliverance generally from the evils of the tithe system, Edinburgh may attribute to a suggestion of that monarch the establishment of a mode of payment for her ministers, which has been the fertile source of civic discord and complaint. The established clergy of Edinburgh derive their incomes mainly from the proceeds of the Annuity-tax, an annual impost of six per cent. on the rental, payable by the occupiers, but not directly affecting the owners of all "the several dwelling-houses, chambers, booths, cellars, and all other houses, high and low," within the ancient and extended royalties. From the payment of this impost all the members of the College of Justice, comprising the Bench, the Bar, and the whole body of Writers or Attorneys, are by law exempt. As dissent grew, and civic burdens multiplied in the Scottish metropolis, it was natural that a tax, the incidence of which was so unequal and unjust, should be felt to be oppressive. It would have been enough to create dissatisfaction, that the occupier had to pay all and the owner nothing; but when, in addition to this, a large, and that the wealthiest, class of the community was suffered wholly to escape, the double injustice quickened the popular discontent. The enemies of national religious establishments, who had chosen the period of the Reform agitation to organize themselves into a society, and to make an open and general assault, were not slow in seizing upon the special advantage which the existence of such a tax afforded, and scarcely had that agitation subsided at the passing of the

Reform Bill, when Edinburgh was made the scene of a vehement opposition to the Annuity-tax. The leaders of this movement did not aim simply at the removal of those obvious defects which adhered to the existing arrangement. Their ears were closed to all proposals which had for their object only the equalizing of the burden. They rejected the Bill introduced by the Lord Advocate (Mr. Jeffrey) in June 1833, the design of which was to transmute the payment to the clergy into a fixed sum, and to do away with the exception claimed by the members of the legal profession—they rejected it upon the ground that it legalized and made permanent the title of the city clergy to a fund raised by public assessment. That title they wished to annul—the principle upon which the Annuity-tax was founded being more offensive to them than any peculiarity in the mode of its exaction. And when the hope of immediate Parliamentary interference, to the effect of abolishing the impost, was removed, they sought to inflame the public mind still more against the tax, and against those for whose support this public fund was raised, by refusing to pay it, and by throwing upon the clergy the odium of enforcing payment by legal distress. And it might have served their purpose could they have exhibited the ministers of Edinburgh as exacting from the poor or the unfortunate the uttermost farthing which the law entitled them to demand. But in no such invidious light was it possible to exhibit them. In the exaction of this tax they had always acted with the utmost leniency. They had urged, indeed, its extension, but it was not that their individual incomes might be increased, but that additional ministers for the city might be provided.* While the law directed that six per cent. should be charged upon the full rental; with their consent it was only upon four-fifths of the rental that it was charged. Though all dwellings were made liable to this burden, all tenements paying £5 and under were exempted. Whenever actual inability from poverty or misfortune was pleaded, the clergy had been always willing to grant the certificate which freed from payment. But when hundreds who had no such plea to urge refused to pay, and by that refusal threatened to cut off or reduce the maintenance of the ministry, the odium of having recourse to legal exaction too evidently fell not on those who enforced the payment, but on those who rendered

* See a remarkable instance in proof of this, and a most eloquent tribute to the memory of the Rev. Dr. Inglis, in "A Letter to the Lord Provost, relating to the Annuity-tax. by John Lee, D.D. Edinburgh, 1834."

that enforcement necessary. It was shortly after this system of non-payment had been adopted, that, the subject having been introduced at a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dr. Chalmers could not refrain from the expression of his surprise and indignation.* "It is a topic," he said, "which one scarcely knows how to approach, for capable though it is of being looked at in different ways or from different points of view, they all of them are excessively painful; and no one, I am persuaded, whose heart is in its right place, but must feel it to be precisely that topic which it is both most distressful to think of and most difficult to speak of as one ought. The general desire for a change or rectification of the system by means of a new law—*that* I can understand; but anything like a general refusal of the old law, and that by a simple and spontaneous cessation of the wonted payments, with no other account of the matter than that they so choose it, and no other authority than the bidding of their own will—*this* is what I do not understand. . . .

"But let me not be mistaken. I am not calling hard names or applying severe epithets to any class of men. I am characterizing acts and not persons; for I will not believe, after the real nature and character of such acts come to be fully understood, I will not believe it possible that, to any great extent, they can be persisted in. In whatever way the new score between Edinburgh and her clergy is to be entered on, it were an indelible stigma on your city were the old scores not most fully and honourably cleared off. I do not say that the stigma has yet been contracted; or if it have in any great degree, I do not feel as if I betrayed too sanguine a temperament, when I express my confidence that it will be speedily wiped off. It is impossible to think otherwise. Let the thing be but exposed and fairly laid open, and every generous, every honest feeling in the place must be revolted by it. It has only to be stated, it has only to be seen in its own native and proper light, to bring Edinburgh to herself again. In every view you can take of it, the enormity is such, that the disgrace of it would be felt intolerable; and that, whether we look to the character of the injustice in itself, or, let me add, to the character of those who are the objects of it; some of superlative talent, and who, in any other profession, could have earned a revenue in comparison with which the whole even

* As the clergymen who were paid out of the proceeds of the Annuity-tax declined bringing the matter before the Presbytery, Dr. Chalmers, who had no personal interest in the matter, was the more readily induced to interfere.

of their fair and full allowance is but a pittance and a bagatelle; some whom, attracted by the eminence they had won in their country parishes, you have lured from their comfortable homes, and whom the present tendency of things would land in destitution; some, and these not a few, who, besides being signalized by the superior and surpassing vigour of their pulpit ministrations, are positively wearing themselves out in the service of your institutions, or in the still higher though unseen services which they are daily, almost hourly, called upon to perform in the bosom of families; and, lastly, I will not say some or many, but all of untarnished name and high respectability, who have done nothing to forfeit the courtesies of life or the good-will of their fellow-citizens; and what have they done, I would ask, that, in the face of your virtual engagements, and with the violation of all integrity and good faith, they should be made to forfeit the subsistence of their families? Why, there is not an honourable man, who, if once made to view the matter in this light, which I think to be the true one, would not spurn from him the burning infamy of such a transaction, and refuse all share in it. That in a season of great public excitement, a season often of frenzy and forgetfulness, many should be denaturalized into such a proceeding, this may happen in any town or in any country; but that many should withstand a remonstrance, lifted up in the name of the country's yet unrepealed law, and grounded on the clearest principles of fair dealing—this is not Scotland, it is not Edinburgh!"

Nevertheless, the method of non-payment was resolutely persevered in, and the authorities were forced to interfere. In one year, 1833, no fewer than 846 persons were subjected to prosecution. When the attempt was made to sell by public auction the goods of some of the recusants, a mob assembled round the officers of justice, the auctioneer was assailed by all kinds of contumely, and the sale was hindered. Imprisonment had at last to be employed. Rather than pay the small sums they owed, a few submitted to be incarcerated. They remained, however, but a few days in jail, the tax having, in the meantime, been paid by themselves or their friends. The day of their liberation was made a day of public triumph, processions of from 8000 to 10,000 persons having attended two of these voluntary martyrs from the Calton Jail to their homes. This unseemly conflict was at its height when, at the close of 1833, the first Reformed Town-council came into office. One of its earliest efforts was

to get rid of the obnoxious impost. Early in 1834 a plan was recommended to the Council by a committee of that body, the leading features of which were, that the Annuity-tax should be abolished, that the number of city ministers should be reduced from eighteen to thirteen, and that the stipends should be paid from the pew-rents, any deficiency being made up by a tax on all heritable property, one-half to be levied from the landlord and one-half from the tenant. In the discussions on this plan, which were conducted with great eagerness, the Council and the Presbytery came into collision. Frequent conferences were held between committees of the two bodies, and at last, on the part of the Council, a set of queries was submitted, to which a formal authoritative answer from the Presbytery was required. The drawing up of answers to these queries was committed in the first instance to Dr. Chalmers, and Wednesday the 23d January was appointed for the deliverance of the final judgment of the Presbytery. The court was crowded to excess, the Lord Provost and many members of the Council being present on the occasion. Before reading the answers which he had prepared to the Council's queries,—"Allow me," said Dr. Chalmers, "to depone to the perfect urbanity of our reception by the Committee of the Town-council. In fact, I was exceedingly delighted by the cordiality of our meeting, and the courteousness we met with has made a deep and indelible impression upon me; but I think it perfectly consistent with this recognition to say, that while we rejoice in this cordiality and courteousness, we must not suffer ourselves to be altogether fascinated or carried away with it. On this subject I may state a small circumstance in my own history. It so happened that the professor of divinity in this city was at one time accommodated in a respectable house, with a large domain attached, consisting of nearly an acre of land, which, unfortunately for the professor of divinity, is no longer in his possession. The present magistracy offered £550, and when I coupled this with the expression 'to be accepted in lieu,' I certainly thought it my duty to make inquiry regarding my rights to the piece of ground which is situated between the College and the Infirmary, and now covered with houses, yielding a plentiful revenue of feu-duties to the present corporation. I say, I certainly thought it right to secure the right of the theological professor to so productive a source of revenue. Now, I never experienced anything in this negotiation but the greatest courtesy, and plenty of bowing and rebowing; but mark, in the

midst of all their complaisance they always keep a *sicker* hold of these feu-duties; and to show the meaning of the phrase 'in lieu,' I may explain that the feu-duties have arisen to the amount of several thousand pounds, and the present professor receives 'in lieu' thereof £36. I am willing to defer to the utmost to the cordiality, complaisance, and gentlemanly feeling with which I was received, and with a feeling akin thereto I could not help being reminded of a Glasgow story relative to a Bailie Anderson, who resided there fifty years ago, and Lady Betty Cunningham. The bailie happened to be an elder in the church of St. Enoch's, and Lady Betty a hearer. One of Lady Betty's old servants had fallen into decayed circumstances, and applied to the bailie for parochial relief. The bailie said Lady Betty should relieve her own servants herself, and declined to accede to the request. When this was told to Lady Betty, she retaliated by going to church on the following Sunday with the firm determination of giving nothing to the plate, and the bailie happening to be officiating at the door, she made the most profound courtesy, and sailed most magnificently up the centre of the church. The bailie was at first so much struck that he stood aghast, and took a moment to recover himself; he then entered the church, and addressed Lady Betty; but in a voice so loud that the whole congregation might hear him, 'Gie us less o' your manners and mair o' your siller, my lady.'"

To the first query, which demanded whether the Presbytery were willing to renounce all right to the Annuity-tax, and accept in lieu thereof a fixed stipend out of the ordinary revenue of the town, the answer bore, that the Presbytery was not willing to renounce that right till another fund equally productive and equally stable with the Annuity-tax was provided; that the ordinary revenue of the city was not such a fund; and that the seat-rents would be particularly obnoxious as the primary source of ministerial income, inasmuch as a direct and strong inducement would thus arise to raise them as high as possible, while it was notorious that it was their having been raised so high already which had shut the city churches against the poor. To the sixth query, deemed by Dr. Chalmers the most important and vital of all, the answer was,—"The Presbytery cannot give their consent to any arrangement which shall have the effect, either immediately or in future, of reducing the number of clergymen. On this subject the Presbytery would, in the first place, appeal to those days in the past history of Edinburgh,

when, as in 1668, there were twelve ministers, with a population, it is understood, of less than 20,000, or in 1722, when there were sixteen ministers, with a population of about 25,200. The numbers at present are eighteen ministers to a population of upwards of 55,000;* and the Presbytery never can consent to aggravate still farther the disproportion between the former and present ecclesiastical provision for the city, by a reduction in the number of city ministers. They are the more strenuous in this resistance, that the evil has been fearfully increased by an inundation of hearers in the city churches from the suburbs and surrounding neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in virtue of which it will be found that many thousands within the city itself, now wandering like sheep without a shepherd, have been denuded of that rightful property which they once had in the Sabbath ministrations and week-day services of their respective clergymen. The Presbytery never will consent to a reduction in their number, so long as the peculiar service of reclaiming these outcasts remains unaccomplished—a service of the utmost importance to the moral and Christian interests of the community, and which, under the present system of seat-letting and of general congregations, is utterly impracticable."

Having commented largely on the answers to the remaining queries, Dr. Chalmers proceeded,—"I will not speak of the ecclesiastical burdens of the city, because the effort of the clergymen is to deliver the city from a tenfold heavier burden of pauperism, profligacy, and crime. The two terms of the alternative are the luxury of the higher classes, and the instruction of the lower, and I stand up as the friend of the lower classes when I stand up for the maintenance of that fund which is the subject of your deliberations. Our cause, despite of the obloquy which has been heaped upon it, is emphatically the cause of the unprovided—it is the cause of the poor against the rich—of the many who should reap the benefits of the Establishment in the lessons of Christian instruction, against the comparatively few who would refuse to pay the endowments, or who would retain what is not theirs, and who for their own private uses would appropriate that which ought to be expended on the best and highest objects of patriotism." After quoting a passage in favour of Establishments from the writings of William Cobbett, Dr. Chalmers concluded thus:—

"I have already professed myself

* This embraces only the population within the royalties.

again, an unflinching, an out and out—and I maintain it, the only consistent radical. The dearest object of my earthly existence is the elevation of the common people—humanized by Christianity, and raised by the strength of their moral habits to a higher platform of human nature, and by which they may attain and enjoy the rank and consideration due to enlightened and companionable men. I trust the day is coming when the people will find out who are their best friends, and when the mock patriotism of the present day shall be unmasked by an act of robbery and spoliation on the part of those who would deprive the poor of their best and highest patrimony. The imperishable soul of the poor man is of as much price in the sight of Heaven as the soul of the rich; and I will resist to the uttermost—I will resist even to the death—that alienation which goes but to swell the luxury of the higher ranks at the expense of the Christianity of the lower orders."

"The Reverend Doctor," the reporter adds, "throughout this long address, spoke with marked energy and emphasis, and at the conclusion, in particular, his manner was characterized with unusual animation. On sitting down, a burst of applause rose from the spectators, which lasted for several minutes." His exertions were so great as to have caused at the time a good deal of uneasiness to some of his friends who witnessed them, and their fears were unhappily realized. "Pretty late in the afternoon of that day, I happened," says Professor Macdougall, "to be passing along the North Bridge. The Presbytery had just broken up, and Dr. Chalmers was walking briskly homeward, alone. He made a sign to me to cross from the opposite side and join him. I did so, and passing his arm hastily through mine, he began immediately to talk of what had taken place in the Presbytery. We had not gone many yards when he suddenly stopped short, and said in a subdued but agitated voice, that 'he felt very strangely.' I asked instantly, *how?* He said he felt very giddy—a numbness down one side, and a tendency to fall in that direction.* I did what I could to assure him that utter confusion and giddiness was no more than might quite well have been expected from such vehement and sustained exertion, completely disordering the digestive functions. He asked at once the disconcerting question, Whether that was ever found to oc-

* He felt, to use his own description, as given to Dr. Begbie, as if instantaneously a large weight of books had been placed in one of the pockets of his greatcoat, and so thrown him entirely to one side.

casion such sensations in one side only? My answer, I am afraid, must at the best have been lame and awkward. Meanwhile, having stood but a few seconds, we walked forward again. He said he felt somewhat better, and leant on my arm as before, but continued from time to time to strike the palm of the hand that was disengaged smartly against his thigh, as if to restore the circulation. The momentary appearance of agitation had passed away with a rapidity that astonished me: he seemed to have recovered in an instant the sweetest and most perfect composure, and he continued to talk on, mildly indeed and gently, but cheerfully and winningly as usual.

"By the time we had reached the northern extremity of the new buildings which skirt the Bridge, he agreed to allow me to call a carriage for him. While I did so, he went into an adjoining shop to wait; and in order to reach it ascended a considerable flight of steps apparently without difficulty. On my return, I found him conversing with all his accustomed kindliness and affability with those in charge of the shop; nor do I suppose they could have suspected from his manner that there was anything whatever the matter with him.

"I accompanied Dr. Chalmers home in the carriage to Forres Street. His manner was a little thoughtful, and subdued perhaps, but bland and cheerful. He directed the conversation altogether away from the subject of his own sensations, and talked of a variety of ordinary and indifferent matters. On reaching his house he kindly pressed me to enter and dine with him; but for obvious reasons I declined remaining at such a time."

"I found him," says his medical attendant, Dr. Begbie, who had been sent for, "in bed, calm, but impressed with the conviction that he was struck down by a formidable disease. His mind was quite entire; nor did it suffer in the least during the course of his illness. His speech was somewhat affected, his articulation imperfect. The muscles of the right side of the face were partially paralysed; those of the arm and leg decidedly so. Sensation over the whole of the right side was much impaired, and particularly over the thigh and leg, which he continued to beat firmly with the left hand, in the hope, as he said, of recalling the banished sensation. The face was pale, the skin cool, the pulse soft and frequent. There was no headache or giddiness, nor any pain or uneasiness beyond what has been described. . . The treatment varied in nothing from that usually pursued in

such cases, moderate bleeding, diaphoretics, rest, quiet—in a word, the antiphlogistic plan. Under this ordeal he daily improved; sensation and motion were gradually restored, and, after a few weeks' confinement, he returned to his avocations, and engaged as heartily and laboriously as ever in his literary and professional duties."*

The following extracts from his correspondence with his colleague, Dr. Welsh, who had gone to Germany with his brother James, and his sister Mrs. Morton, while giving the reader some idea of how the summer months of 1834 were filled up, will indicate the progress of his recovery and the impressions which his illness had produced :—

"*Penicuick, July* 19, 1834.—My dear Sir,—I am living here in great retirement and repose. I grew better in Fife, but lost ground when I returned to Edinburgh, first at the synod, and then at the General Assembly. In May I spent a delicious fortnight with Mr. Duncan of St. Andrews, and came here in June. Dr. Begbie has interdicted all study, and I am making of my vacation one complete holiday. It remains yet to be seen whether or not my constitution has received a permanent shock. I take the shower-bath every morning; and though not free of unpleasant symptoms in my head, my muscular system is on the whole strengthened. I have had three dinners on the Pentlands since we came, and take pretty long rides and walks. My time is divided between Church Accommodation business and light reading. I have been much interested by Baillie's 'Letters,' 'Works of King Charles I.,' Napthali, D'Orleans' 'History of the Revolution in England' (a Jesuit version of our religious wars), so that I have become much wiser than before in Home Church History. To complete my acquaintance with that remarkable period, I must read Charles Fox's 'History, and the lives of Puritans.' There are certain analogies which serve strongly to impress the fear that we are now describing a revolutionary path.

"In Scripture criticism, next to Campbell's 'Preliminary Dissertations,' I have read nothing with so much satisfaction and interest as Bishop Horsley's 'Translation and Criticism of Hosea.' There is an admirable vigour and sense in this performance, and he has thrown great elucidation on the Prophet. I mean to read more than hitherto both on Exegesis and Prophecy. I

* See a most interesting pamphlet by James Begbie, M.D., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh, Sutherland & Knox. 1851.

have mastered some standard works on the latter subject this year.*

"I am quite satisfied with the information you have given me respecting the Poor-laws of Holland. Perhaps you could ascertain in the various towns that you pass through, whether the absence of a parochial system is quite general amongst them. It were a more difficult matter to ascertain the proportion of church-goers in any town to the whole population: but, perhaps, in some instances, you could obtain some approximation to this by means of the proportion between the number of churches and the whole population, and some general notion as to the capacity of these churches, and the degree in which they are attended.

"It is possible that the Continent is before us both in Church History and Exegesis. But I am inclined to think that we are before them not only in the Apologetical department, but also, and most important of all, in the Doctrinal. I speak of the present theologians of both countries, for I am aware of our vast obligations to men such as Turretin, Markius, *et id genus omne*. By the way, are these men still held in estimation and studied in Germany? And can you tell me if Alstedius be known or is of reputation amongst them? In regard to the connexion between an erudite Scripture criticism and a sound theology, I feel very sure that there does obtain a subtle delusion which one cannot well advert to without seeming to depreciate the former. This is not the place for dilating or entering deeply into the

* At the time of his appointment to the Divinity Chair in Edinburgh, Dr. Chalmers commenced a Theological Commonplace Book, in which, reading with pen in hand, he entered his critiques upon the volumes successively perused. In the period from 1828 to 1834, among the books read and reviewed are the following—Clarke's Demonstrations of the Being and Attributes of God—Leibnitz's Essais de Théodicée—Brown's Procedure, Extent, and Limits of the Human Understanding—Walton's Prolegomena—Campbell on Miracles—Le Bas on Miracles—Penrose on Miracles—Marsh's Lectures—Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism—Blomfield's Recensio Synoptica—Tomlin's Refutation of Calvinism—Hamilton on the Existence and Attributes of God—Boyle on Final Causes—La Place's Essay on Probabilities—Davison on Prophecy—Taylor on the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times—Taylor's Process of Historical Proof—Stuart's Translation of Ernesti—Whately's Logic—Halyburton on Deism—Baxter's Reformed Pastor—Wake's Apostolic Fathers—Sir Isaac Newton on Prophecy—O'Brien's Sermons on Justification, &c. Upon the books mentioned in his letter to Dr. Welsh, the following remarks are entered:—July 31, read Baillie's Letters, a book of great interest; was revolted by his cruel levity in reference to the persecutions of Laud and Strafford. He allows that the presence of the Scottish army helped forward the acceptance of the Scottish Theology in Westminster. Much impressed with the ascendant might of Mr. Henderson, formerly minister of Leuchars.

"Horsley's Translation of Hosea with Notes. In his Preface, admirable for his deference to the authority of MSS., and distrust of conjectural emendations. . . . Admirable sense couched in language of great force and massiveness.

"D'Orleans' History of the Revolution in England, written with great vivacity, and more of graphical interest and power than any other historian I know of that period. Looked over King Charles's Works, and read the greater part of them. Much struck with the Eikon Basilike. . . . King Charles of much higher natural and literary talent than he obtains credit for. Mixed with his errors, there is much of sound and well-principled conservatism."

subject. But I would ask whether the theology of Jonathan Edwards is not marked by great talent and profoundness and correctness withal, and yet he does not seem to have been indebted for it to knowledge or skill in Exegesis. I verily believe that many a ploughman in Scotland is a juster, and I will add a deeper theologian, than many a biblist in Germany. We have examples, too, in England, of a very meagre theology, combined with a great taste and talent both for the investigations of Scripture criticism. The truth is, that those textual difficulties, the treatment of which requires the most arduous and elaborate criticism for their solution, generally relate to such matters as do not enter into the staple or substance of systematic theology at all; insomuch that I do not acquiesce in the maxim without great and important modifications being laid upon it, that '*Bonus textuarius est bonus theologus.*' The respective functions, in fact, of the critic and theologian are not generally understood; and I should really like you to observe, particularly of those eminent men whom you have met with, or may still meet during the remainder of your stay in Germany—those of them I mean who are in the highest reputation for their exegetical skill—how much or how little either their intellects are occupied and stored, or their hearts impressed with what is of greatest worth and greatest weight in the subject-matter of Christianity. You will, perhaps, also be able to collect some additions to the interesting facts you already possess in regard to the decay of Rationalism, and the growth of Evangelism on the Continent.

"Yet most earnest I am for a far higher Scripture criticism than is known or cultivated in Scotland. Without it a church is wanting in a most essential equipment for the defence of truth against heresy. On this ground it is invaluable, nay indispensable, and then only should its arrogance be withstood when it claims, as it pedantically and presumptuously has been known to do, to be in possession of a cipher by which to unlock hidden mysteries, and mightily to enrich and enlarge the theology of our land.

"The only ecclesiastical news of Edinburgh which I can think of at present, is that A., C., and M., seem alike bent on the destruction of the endowments, which also, in point of fact, are lessening spontaneously by the non-levying of them, insomuch that the whole sum raised does not amount now to £400 a year for each of the clergymen. This is very bad; and the only set over to this in favour of our Church, is the more quickened zeal of its friends in all quarters who are coming forward in a very

promising way for her endowment. I propose in my own immediate sphere to transfer my operations from the Cowgate to the Water of Leith, the former being as good as knocked on the head by the practical rejection of it on the part of the Town-council, in the appointment of a colleague to Dr. Macknight as successor to Dr. Brown. I am not without hope of raising a parochial economy within the Water of Leith, by means chiefly of the subscribers whom I had gotten for the other, and who are now emancipated from that engagement. But what is of far more general importance than this local object, you are perhaps aware that the General Assembly Committee on Church Accommodation has been renewed, and I have been appointed the convener thereof. It gives me easy occupation, which is the best thing for me at present, and interesting correspondence and converse with the most active philanthropists of the land. Mr. Robert Buchanan of the Tron Church, Glasgow, has just been with me on the subject, and Mr. Collins is with me now. I am giving the utmost encouragement to local efforts for local and separate objects; but over and above this, we have commenced subscriptions for a general fund, which I hold to be still in its infancy, though amounting to £1677, 10s. They are coming in gradually. But I have begun with the higher kind of game, such as dukes and marquises, &c., intending to come down to parochial penny-a-week associations; and such is my estimation of the superior productiveness of the latter, that ten times rather than have what all the dukes of Scotland could afford me, I would have what all the ditchers of Scotland could afford me. And if the pecuniary effect of these general organizations be so great, the moral effect is beyond all computation valuable. Every man whom you enlist as a penny-a-week subscriber to the cause, you also convert or confirm into a decided friend of the Church of Scotland.

"*N.B.*—There is one thing I should like if you could do: make a list of the actual achievements in Scripture criticism of those who are most eminent in Germany at present. I mean of the changes or improvements which have been soundly and decisively established by them, and then let us try to compute the *doctrinal amount* of all that has been done by them.

"I rejoice in the idea of your enriching your course next winter by the fruits of this journey.—With God's best blessings on you all, I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE REV. DR. WELSH."

"*Edinburgh, Feb.* 14, 1834.—My dear James,—I received your letter of kind inquiry. I am thankful to say, that, though still in the weakness of a convalescent state, I am gradually regaining strength. I have resumed my chief duties, and am not the worse of it; but I feel the soundness of your advice in regard to any extra work, and more particularly the fatigues of controversy, respecting which I must observe a restrained and regulated system of exertion in all time coming.

"Our sentiments quite accord on the subject of a religious establishment. It was in defence of this against our reform magistracy that I incurred an illness of rather a threatening aspect at one time. May these premonitions of our frailty have the effect of shutting us more up unto the faith of Him who came to destroy death, and who alone hath the words and alone hath the gift of life everlasting. Thomas Chalmers."

"*Penicuick, June* 24, 1834.—My dearest Jane,*—The doctor prescribes for me one continued holiday all summer, and I mean as much as possible to take his advice. It were well if, in this season of exemption from all strenuous effort, I could find my rest and refuge in God, as the strength of my heart and everlasting portion—having whom, all the enjoyments of a world that passeth away might be renounced without a pang.—I am, my dearest Jane, yours most truly, Thomas Chalmers."

"*Penicuick, August* 25, 1834.—My dearest Jane,—I am grieved to observe by your letter of the 10th, that you have suffered so much lately from ill health. Any peculiar symptoms which I feel are on the right of my head and side; but of late I have become more confident of a full recovery, and do feel that this holiday summer which I have spent, with its exemption from fatigue and care, has been of great use to me.

"I am much interested by your aspirations after a nearer conformity to the image of the Saviour, and I desire fully to sympathize with them. It is well to look unto Him as our example, as well as look unto Him as our propitiation. I hold it a remarkable expression and a remarkable coincidence, that in both of these capacities he is said to be *set forth* to us, and set forth by God. What a twofold power of comfort and of direction there is in this; and if we give earnest heed unto Him in the aspects under

* Dr. Chalmers's letters to his sister, Mrs. Morton, from the year 1823 downwards to this date, will be found in his "Correspondence."

which He is set forth unto us, we may rest assured of the promise given to those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, even that they shall be filled.—I am, my dearest Jane, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Burntisland, Dec.* 27, 1834.—MY DEAREST JANE,—I have come here for a few days during our Christmas vacation; and I gladly avail myself of my first country holiday to answer your affectionate letter of inquiry.

"I have been engaged in class-work for six weeks, and have acquitted myself of it greatly beyond my anticipations. I am much thinner, being now 168 pounds' weight, whereas I at one time was 205; but muscularly I am as strong as ever; and as to my head symptoms, noise, hissing, pulsations, accompanied with numbness in my extremities, although they continued with me till within these few days, I am marvellously free of them since I left Edinburgh.

"As to my being a Tory, I am certainly a Conservative, though not in the party, but in the general and ordinary sense of the term. I believe that under our late Government the country was drifting fast into a state of anarchy; and I fear that our present administration forms in all human likelihood the last barrier—may it be an effectual one—against a tremendous civil war.

"But to pass to more satisfactory topics. Have you read Owen on the 130th Psalm? This is my last great work; and I would strongly recommend it as eminently conducive to our establishment in that way, which is at once a way of peace and of holiness.

"With best compliments to all, I am, my dearest Jane, yours most truly and affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

For a single fortnight during the summer of 1834, Dr. Chalmers resumed his journal, from which we take the following extracts:—

"*June* 9, 1834.—A long intermission; an arrest laid on me on the 23d of January last; fears of an apoplectic tendency; see things I imagine through a medium of haze and twilight more than I wont. It is my desire to prepare for eternity; and if imagination and sensibility decay, I desire that intellect, and still more that principle, should have the entire possession and ascendency over me. Have come to Penicuick, and desire to cultivate a walk with God.

"*June* 19.—Try to be as objective as possible. Let me think much, and at all times, on the truth of God, the death and righteousness of Christ, the sufficiency and freeness of the Spirit. Let me interchange prayer and watchfulness, and so maintain communion with God all the day long.

"*June* 11.—Let me prosecute my sanctification, confidently knowing that it is well-pleasing to God.

"*June* 12.—I want habitual solemnization. O my God, give me wisdom in regard to Mr. A., whose political elevation bodes disastrously for our Church.

"*June* 13.—Considerable and constant noise in my head.

"*Sunday, June* 15.—Read Horsley on 'Hosea.'

"*June* 18.—Better. O my God, when in solitude may I diligently observe the First, when in society, the Second Law.

"*June* 19.—My reading at present is Baillie's 'Letters.'

"*June* 20.—A second suspicious visitation. Sent for Dr. Begbie, who orders an entire cessation of study.

"*June* 24.—Studying little. O my God, take Thy place in my heart."

CHAPTER XXI.

MISSIONARY OPERATIONS IN THE "WATER OF LEITH" VILLAGE—PROPOSAL OF A NEW CHURCH IN THE COWGATE—THE CHURCH BUILDING SOCIETY OF GLASGOW—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH EXTENSION SCHEME OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—THE PROSPECT OF A GRANT FROM GOVERNMENT—OPPOSITION OF THE DISSENTERS—APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—LETTERS TO LORD MELBOURNE—THE DEAN OF FACULTY VOLUNTEERS HIS OPINION AND ADVICE.

The suburban village of the Water of Leith lay near the place of Dr. Chalmers's residence in Edinburgh. At the time of the cholera its inhabitants had signalized themselves by the grossness of their misconduct. From a survey taken by visitation from house to house, it appeared that out of a population of 1356, only 143 had taken seats in any place of worship. With the aid of a few friends, Dr. Chalmers provided a missionary for this district, preparatory to the erection of a church and parish. This missionary commenced his labours in November 1833, and half-a-year's daily household ministrations were repaid by the attendance upon Sabbath of a congregation of between three and four hundred, the majority of whom had been utter strangers to the ordinances of the Gospel. This promising enterprise had the benefit of Dr. Chalmers's personal superintendence, and while it was so favourably proceeding, his eye was turned upon another inviting field of labour. In their conferences with the clergymen the Town-council had put the question, whether the Presbytery would give its consent to the uncollegiating of the five parishes which enjoyed a double ministry? This consent the Presbytery expressed its readiness to grant, upon condition that the city should be divided into eighteen instead of thirteen parishes, each parish to have a minister of its own. The Council's object had been by uncollegiating the double charges to reduce the number of ministers from eighteen to thirteen. It was found, however, that they had not the power to carry their purpose into effect; and, as in two of these collegiate parishes there was at this time a vacancy, an opportunity was presented to the Corporation, by acceding to the Presbytery's suggestion, of affording to the city the benefit of increased parochial agency.

The only reason why any Council friendly to the Church should refuse to do so, was the burden which the erection of new churches would lay upon the funds of the Corporation. Dr. Chalmers interposed to relieve the Council of this difficulty. Thirty individuals were induced by him to subscribe £100 each for the erection of a church in the Cowgate, one of the most destitute sections of the old town, upon these conditions:—That the parish allotted to the new minister should not contain more than 2500 souls; that a rigid preference in the seat-letting should be given to those residing within the parish; that the seat-rents should never be raised higher than to yield when the church was fully occupied six per cent. on the original outlay; that in the first instance, and till all the seats were let, the management of the church's affairs should be in the hands of the subscribers, who should submit to any risk and loss that might occur during the earlier stages of the operation; but that whenever, after paying some necessary expenses, it had reached the point of yielding four per cent. to the subscribers, the option should be given to the Corporation to take it off their hands. This scheme was framed to secure for the Cowgate a church whose sittings should be so cheap as to be accessible to the whole of its inhabitants; and whose minister, endowed out of the Annuity-tax, and having a small enough parish assigned to him, might be able to devote the whole of his time to strictly parochial labours. An opportunity was thus offered to the Corporation, without risk or cost, of conferring a great religious benefit upon a degraded and neglected district. The proposal, however, met with a dubious reception at the Council Board. It would be adding a new parish, and virtually a new minister, to the Establishment; it would be erecting a church which, however popular the minister, could never add by its high seat-rents to the city revenue; and if the project was successful, it would be affording the evidence of experience in favour of Dr. Chalmers's great argument, that it was by endowed churches, with small parishes and cheap seat-rents, that the outcast population could alone be extensively recovered from irreligion and crime.

While this proposal was kept in abeyance, to be at last virtually rejected by the civic authorities of Edinburgh, another proposal emanated from a few public-spirited citizens of Glasgow, which was destined to strike the key-note of one of the greatest and most successful enterprises upon which Dr. Chalmers ever embarked. Early in 1834, Mr. Collins, at once the originator

and chief agent in the accomplishment of the scheme, issued a proposal for building twenty new parochial churches in the city and suburbs of Glasgow. Thirteen years had passed since Dr. Chalmers made the same proposal, and in making it had been smiled at as a visionary. But his eight years' labours in that city had borne good fruit; and now, by a select company of her merchants, abounding in wisdom and wealth as well as in Christian zeal, the suggestion of 1817 was renewed. Mr. Collins, however, had remarked that two great checks had hitherto restrained the extension of the Scottish Establishment. Till a church was fully endowed and had a parish attached to it, the ecclesiastical courts had refused to admit its minister to the full status and privileges of his profession. He was not allowed a seat in the Presbytery, or in any other of the Church courts, nor could he have a kirk-session of his own to aid him in his ministerial work, and to administer discipline in his congregation. Such besides was the existing law of patronage, that when any place of worship was converted into a parish church, the patron of the original parish from which its district was detached could claim the right of presentation. On the one hand, a minister bereft of a kirk-session, and dependent wholly on seat-rents, was enfeebled if not incapacitated for that kind of ministry which the necessities of the country specially required; while, on the other hand, private beneficence was not likely to step in and endow, if, as the first-fruits of its endowment, the patronage passed into other—it might be into indifferent or hostile hands. To make room for the Church's effective expansion, two hindrances, the one legal, the other ecclesiastical, had to be taken out of the way; nor did Mr. Collins and his friends propose to raise any money, or build any churches, till both these hindrances were set aside. It was twenty *parochial* churches that they desired to erect, whose ministers should enjoy the full powers and privileges of the other clergymen of the Establishment, and the right to elect whom, exercised in the first instance by the subscribers, should afterwards devolve upon the communicants of the different congregations. Happily within a few months from the first broaching of their noble scheme both the existing obstacles were removed. Mr. Colquhoun's bill, passed in the summer of 1834, relieved all newly-created parishes from the claim to the patronage, vested previously in the patron of the original parish; and an Act of the Assembly 1834, admitted all the existing chapel ministers to the full status of the parochial

clergy, and left the same open door for all the ministers who should be ordained over new charges. The ground being thus cleared for its operations, the Church-building Society of Glasgow was organized. It had resolved to take no active step in the furtherance of its object till £20,000 had been subscribed, and before the month of October that sum was realized. Hand in hand with Dr. Chalmers as he followed out his wider enterprise, Mr. Collins and his friends prosecuted their great local object, and in 1841 they had the satisfaction of seeing their twentieth church completed.

The movement in Glasgow, commenced in the spring of 1834, stimulated and encouraged the General Assembly of that year to make a great public effort for the extension of the Church. Since the days of the Reformation, the population of Scotland had more than doubled itself; yet the number of churches and parishes had not increased. To maintain the same relative amount of religious instruction, fourteen hundred churches and ministers should have been added; while, taking into full account all that had been done by Dissenters, not more than half of the necessary increase had taken place. Had the population expanded equably, great religious destitution must have occurred. But instead of such expansion, in manufacturing districts, and especially in the large towns, there had been a disproportional and enormous growth, which, unmet by a correspondent increase of ministerial oversight, presented large masses of the community sunk into practical heathenism. His own personal surveys in the Tron parish had satisfied Dr. Chalmers that of the working-classes generally not one-half attended church, while large and crowded districts existed, in which not above one-eighth had sittings in any place of worship, or made any profession of Christianity. Ever since these memorable surveys, when the fearful extent of this growing evil revealed itself, he had not ceased to labour for its removal. But the Church was slow to move. In 1828, a Committee of the General Assembly was appointed, which endeavoured to discharge its duties by making repeated applications to the Government; but year after year the successive reports of this Committee were but renewed announcements that nothing had been done. At length, roused from its lethargy, and quickened to a livelier sense of duty, the General Assembly of 1834—an Assembly memorable as the one from which we date the brief but glorious period of evangelical ascendency—in re-appointing its Committee on Church Accom-

modation, and in furnishing it with new powers and new instructions, adopted the best security for making its labours effective by placing Dr. Chalmers at its head. The Assembly had scarcely dissolved when, summoning together the large and influential Committee of which he had been appointed convener, Dr. Chalmers addressed them thus :—

" You are aware, gentlemen, that our Committee have been in existence since 1828, and that its efforts hitherto have been directed to the object of obtaining the aid of our Government in support of its great design, which is to provide a more adequate church accommodation for the people, who have vastly outgrown the means of Christian instruction that already exist within the Establishment. These efforts have as yet been wholly unsuccessful; and though we do not abandon all hopes of assistance, even from that quarter, yet, in terms of the excellent Report given a few days ago to the Assembly, and by them unanimously approved of, it is our opinion that no further delay should be incurred, but that we should throw ourselves, and our cause, with all its recommendations, instantly on the liberality of the Christian public, and more especially on the friends of the Establishment throughout Scotland. I confess that I am sanguine of the result, and shall feel it a sacred duty to do my uttermost for speeding and prospering it forward. The General Assembly has placed us in a most advantageous position, having conferred on us powers co-ordinate with those exercised by the Committee for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts and for Education at Home; and having further enjoined all the ministers of the Church to take measures for collecting at the church doors, and furthering subscriptions, in order to carry the wishes of the Assembly into effect. In appointing me convener of the Assembly's Committee for such a high object of Christian patriotism, I can truly affirm, that had I been left to make a choice among the countless diversities of well-doing, this is the one office that I should have selected as the most congenial to my taste, and the most fitted, by the high sense which I have of its importance, for commanding the devotion of all my powers to it. Should God be pleased to grant me health I shall henceforth consecrate much of my time and of my thoughts to the fulfilment of the high duties which the Assembly has devolved upon me; nor can I regard it as otherwise than a gracious Providence, that after having been unhinged, enfeebled, and well-nigh overborne in an arduous conflict with those who would despoil our beloved

Church of her endowments, and abridge the number of her ministers, I should now be called upon, in the hour of my returning strength, to hold pacific counsel with her friends, to breathe a kindlier atmosphere in the midst of her warm and willing supporters, corresponding henceforth with the men whose bland and beneficent liberalities will enable us to enlarge her means and multiply her labourers, instead of maintaining, as heretofore, a weary struggle with the men whose unhallowed hands are lifted up against our Zion, to mutilate and to destroy her.

"I have only to add, gentlemen, that I trust the Committee will not relax in its exertions, and not relinquish them, even though it should require the perseverance of a whole generation, till we have made it a sufficiently thick-set Establishment, and brought it into a state of full equipment—till churches have been so multiplied, and parochial charges so subdivided, that there will not one poor family be found in our land who might not, if they will, have entry and accommodation in a place of worship and religious instruction, with such a share in the personal attentions of the clergyman as to claim him for an acquaintance and a friend."

These were not vain words. At the first meeting of the acting Sub-committee, held on the 6th June, Dr. Chalmers submitted a draft of a circular for distribution among the clergy, which, slightly modified, was to serve also for circulation among the laity. This circular was approved—ordered to be printed; and before the first month of the Committee's existence had closed, the spirit-stirring summons, inviting all classes to join in one great effort on behalf of Church Extension, was on its way to the remotest corners of the land. The Church of Scotland had been attacked, maligned, condemned as worse than useless. To labour with new-born vigour in the blessed work of reclaiming those outcasts for whose souls no man had been caring, this was to be her method of defence; and the guiding of many a wanderer's footsteps back into the forsaken sanctuary, this was to be her revenge.

"This," said Dr. Chalmers, in closing his appeal, "is an age of hostility to endowments by the State, and our great dependence, under Heaven, for the fuller equipment of our Church, is on the endowments of Christian charity. The spoliators of our Establishment are on the wing, and their unhallowed hands are already lifted up to mutilate and to destroy. But if supported as we ought, the benefactors of our Establishment will

greatly outnumber and overmatch them. In that mighty host of aliens from the lessons and ordinances of the Gospel, who are still unreached and unreclaimed, we behold full demonstration of the impotency of what is commonly termed the Voluntary system. It is now for the Church to bestir herself, and put forth her own peculiar energies and resources in the work of calling in these helpless outcasts; and in proportion to our success shall we earn for the cause of religious establishments the friendship of the wise and the good, the support of every honest and enlightened patriot.

"In advocating this cause we need be at no loss for the materials of a most pathetic appeal to the sympathies of the truly religious. For we can tell them of the spiritual destitution of many thousands of the families of Scotland: we can tell of their week-day profligacy and Sabbath profanation. Even to the mere politician and worldly philanthropist we can address the argument that a depraved commonalty is the teeming source of all moral and political disorder, and the fearful presage, if not speedily averted by an efficient system of Christian instruction, of a sweeping anarchy and great national overthrow. But it is when pleading for the claims and the interests of so many imperishable spirits that we are on our best, our firmest vantage ground; and when assailing the consciences of the pious and the good, by the affecting representation of a multitude in our own land, whom no man has yet numbered, who are strangers even to the message of the New Testament—of that still greater multitude who, with an eternity wholly unprovided for, live in irreligion and die in apathy or despair."

To printed circulars Dr. Chalmers added innumerable private letters, addressed to the most influential laymen and clergymen of Scotland. As specimens of these we subjoin the following:—

"To the Duke of Buccleuch.

"My Lord Duke,—I should not have adventured to obtrude the accompanying representation on the notice of your Grace, had it not been for my urgent sense of the importance of its object.

"The Church of Scotland has now resolved to make a vigorous effort for the extension of herself, so as, if possible, to overtake the religious wants of our vastly increased population.

"It is but a very small fraction of the unprovided surplus that has been met by the dissenters, not from the want of zeal in their ministers, and not in general from any substantial difference or

defect in their Theology; but from their want of a parochial system, and the heavy expense to which the families of the working-classes are exposed, when out of their own means they have both to erect a place for worship and to maintain a clergyman.

"The object of the Assembly's Church Accommodation Scheme is to subdivide the over-peopled parishes, and erect within each of the new localities which shall thus be formed, an economical church, whose sittings may be held forth at such a low rent as might admit of a general attendance from those of the humblest classes of society, and thus afford a cheap Christian education to that immense number of our people who are now living in a state of exile from all the decencies and observances of a Christian land.

"Our main confidence for a prosperous result is, under the blessing of Heaven, in the conscientious and devoted assiduities of those who may be appointed to the charge of the newly formed parishes, each maintaining a moral guardianship over the families of his own territory, and plying them with such attentions both of common and Christian kindness, as all experience attests to be the most effectual for humanizing a now outlandish, because now and of necessity a sadly neglected population.

"Let me state as an additional ground of encouragement, that never, perhaps, in the history of our Church was there a greater promise of success from the number of talented and well-disposed licentiates, alive to the great moral necessities of our land, and resolved to enter with the full consecration of their powers and opportunities on that high walk of philanthropy, whose object is to reclaim those degenerate outcasts who have so multiplied in thousands and tens of thousands beyond the means of Christian instruction, means which have remained stationary during two centuries of rapid progression both in wealth and numbers, or which rather have been abridged on the whole during that period by the annexation and suppression of parishes.

"It may be proper to state, that by a recent Act of Parliament the heritors of Scotland are fully protected from any legal obligations that might otherwise have been consequent on the erection of new parish churches; and that this precious interest has altogether devolved on the liberality of the patriotic and good in all classes of society.

"I feel the more emboldened to address your Grace upon this subject, from the conviction that a generous sacrifice on the part

of the affluent, not for the temporal necessities, but for the moral culture and moral wellbeing of the poor, beside yielding a substantial repayment in the arrest that would thus be laid both on pauperism and crime, would serve more effectually than any other expedient, in these days of distemper and menace, to reunite the various orders of the State into a harmonious and pacific understanding with each other.

"Among all the schemes which are now afloat for the amelioration of society, it should never be forgotten that there is no specific so powerful against all moral and all political disorders as the Christian instruction of the people, and that a well-principled commonalty is the soundest foundation on which to rear the strength and prosperity of the kingdom.

"The subscriptions for this great cause have only commenced; and in the name of the Assembly's Committee I have now to request your Grace's countenance and aid in behalf of the undertaking.

"It would greatly enhance the obligation of your Grace's reply, if it could be made as early as your perfect convenience will allow. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"TO THE REV. JOHN COOK, LAURENCEKIRK.

"By this time I trust that you may have had put into your hand by the Clerk of the Presbytery a copy of our Church circular, as well as the last year's Report of our Committee on Church Accommodation, along with the deliverance thereupon of the last General Assembly.

"The document I now send may be denominated our *lay circular*, being nothing else than the Church circular slightly transformed. You will greatly oblige us if you can obtain subscriptions by means of it, either from your parochial or personal acquaintances.

"And perhaps you would let me know whether you would like to have more copies of this paper, in which case you will have the goodness to point out the best channel for their conveyance to you. Perhaps, also, you might be able to suggest to me the names of those gentlemen in your neighbourhood whom it might be advantageous to interest in the cause by means of a direct application from our Committee, though I have no doubt that in the great majority of instances your own personal influence, or that of acquaintances on the spot, would prove greatly more effective.

"I shall esteem it a great further service to the cause, if you would have the goodness to propose it at an early meeting as the subject in some way or other of your Presbytery's sanction and recommendation. A collection in all the parish churches within your bounds would be a great help to us; and it will be for you to consider whether over and above this a presbyterial association might not be attempted. It were also of great importance in the way of influence and example, that whatever public step is taken by you in our favour, should be made the subject of an article or notice in a newspaper.

"But whatever difficulties may be in the way of a presbyterial association, there should be none in the way of separate parochial and local associations, each under the direct management and care of the individuals best qualified either to head or to conduct the operation.

"It is quite marvellous in the organization of any system of means, how much subdivision adds both to its productiveness and its efficacy. Let us never forget that a penny a week from each household of Scotland would afford the yearly sum of a hundred thousand pounds.

"Should you have local wants of your own to provide for—should you labour under a deficiency of Church Accommodation in your own neighbourhood—this circumstance will give tenfold interest and effect to the local efforts of your own immediate association. Be assured, that however much we should wish to augment our general fund, we shall most scrupulously abstain from attempting it at the expense of that mighty advantage which an intense local feeling, when directed to local purposes, furnishes to the cause. The very design of our fund is, not to disturb or supersede these local efforts, but stimulate them to the uttermost; and we should ever regard it as the most profitable application of our means, when employed in further helping those who have previously made the greatest effort in helping themselves.

"It will be for you to decide according to your own circumstances, whether the produce of any such separate association as you may succeed in establishing shall be reserved for your own special wants, or be remitted to us, or be shared between both.

"There is one circumstance which more than any other endears those minuter associations to my regard. They descend and ramify throughout the general mass of the population; and

the moral effect of this is incalculable. Every man whom you succeed in gaining as a penny-a-week contributor to our cause, you will succeed in confirming as a friend to the Church of Scotland. The principle of fidelity to our Establishment is strengthened by this new exercise and application of it; and in these times I know not a wiser policy than that by which you interest the great bulk of our families in behalf of the venerable Establishment of our beloved land.

"To conclude, though I have proposed the three distinct expedients of an individual subscription, and a church collection, and an organized association, it will be found, that so far from conflicting, they might operate most harmoniously together, and with great mutual advantage, each coming into contact with distinct objects and resources of its own beyond the reach of the others, and which they would fail to overtake.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Early in July a deputation went to London to procure from the Government a small endowment for each of the churches that had recently been, and for all that should afterwards be, added to the Establishment. Dr. Chalmers was most anxious that this application should be made in such a way as to make it manifest what the Church's real object in asking these endowments was. Unable to join the deputation, he sent the following letter to one of its members:—

"To CHAS. FERGUSON, ESQ.

"*July* 2, 1834.

"DEAR SIR,—I very much regret that I am prevented by the state of my health from accompanying you on your important mission to London. I hold it of great importance, that if a grant be obtained, it shall be accompanied with such conditions as may at once make plain both to Government and the public the main objects of the grant, and this will best justify both the measure itself and our application for it.

"The chief object then, and let this stand palpably forth, and be expressly provided for in the constitution of the grant—is a cheap Christian education for the common people. Now a simple and unqualified grant does not secure this object. It may secure an additional hundred a year to each of our present unendowed ministers. But it is of the utmost importance its being distinctly understood, that an appetency for this addition to their income is

not in truth the animating principle either of their or our application. For this hundred a year, or whatever the allowance shall be, there should be the stipulation of a *quid pro quo*. It ought to be given on the part of Government in return for such a regulation of the seat-rents as shall make the means of Christian instruction accessible to the great mass of the community. We want our present unendowed ministers to obtain £100 a year each; but for that they should be required to give up their present high seat-rents.

"The grants, so far from enriching, would, at this rate, make some of them poorer than they are at present. But this cannot be helped. The character of your application, be it known to all, is not a personal but a public and patriotic one; it being for a boon not to the ministers of our unendowed churches, but for a boon to the plebeian families of their parishes. This furnishes the principle of the first article or condition which is specified below.

"But there is a second condition nearly as indispensable as the first one; and that is, that a preference for the sittings shall be given to those who reside within the parish of the newly endowed church—this preference at the terms stipulated for, when the endowment was made in favour of the church, becoming the permanent and inalienable right of the parishioners. Without this provision the church might be filled by people at all distances from without the parish, allured perhaps from their more expensive meeting-houses to a church with low-rented sittings. But in this way there would be no increase in the amount of Christian instruction in the country, but only a transference of hearers from one place to another—a building up of new at the expense of old congregations. It would but make a new distribution of hearers among people who already hear somewhere. But the great thing wanted is, that the thousands now living in practical heathenism, and who at present hear nowhere, shall be reclaimed to the decencies of a Christian land; and this can only be done by planting churches with low seat-rents in the midst of these people, giving them a preference above all others to the sittings in their own local churches, and making it the distinct business of the newly-endowed ministers, each to cultivate, and as much as possible confine himself to the households of his own assigned locality. In this way altogether new ground will be entered upon; a real movement in advance will be made among a heretofore neglected population. Christian instruction will be let

down to the poorest of our families; and our Establishment, if extended in this way, will become, and at a very cheap rate, an effective home-mission in favour of those whose thorough moral and Christian education, both piety and the public good so loudly demand.

"The third condition, if it could be obtained, would prove an inestimable moral blessing to Scotland, and earn for Government the lasting gratitude of her people. It is that the grant, of say £100 a year, should be extended to all the churches of new parishes that may hereafter be erected. On the one hand it would be the means of ultimately making our Church commensurate to our population; while, on the other hand, the increase of these churches would proceed gently and gradually, and without any immediate, or even after the process was completed, without any great or sensible pressure. I suppose the churches to be erected at the expense of individuals, and the endowment sought for to be provided by Government; a security, therefore, that the claim will never be preferred until a great previous sacrifice has been incurred—the best proof for the existence of the great and real necessity which demanded it. The success of your application will not supersede the efforts of our Church Accommodation Committee, but loudly call for the renewal and continuance of them, it being our distinct office to erect those churches, the eventual endowments of which shall have thus been provided for. THOMAS CHALMERS."

The deputation presented a memorial to Lord Melbourne, in which the suggestions of this letter were kept carefully in view. Its reception was of the most gratifying character. Immediately after his interview with the deputation, and in presenting some petitions on patronage, the Lord Chancellor said, in the House of Lords, "That it was impossible for him to close the few remarks he meant to make on these petitions without drawing their Lordships' attention to a communication he had received from the moderator and a deputation from the General Assembly, which was most worthy of their attention." After stating at considerable length the nature and extent of the religious destitution existing in Scotland, and referring to the manner in which it was proposed to meet this evil, his Lordship added,—"To what extent his noble friend at the head of the Government would listen to the prayer of the General Assembly he could not tell, but he hoped that the representation made by that body would

be seriously attended to." A few days afterwards, the moderator, Dr. Macfarlan, writes :—"The M.P.'s say that our reception by the two ministers (Lords Melbourne and Althorpe) was most encouraging. Lord Melbourne's answer was that Ministers would take the subject into their serious consideration. I have called on several persons since—the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Stuart M'Kenzie, and Sir Robert Peel. The last two I saw, and had a most encouraging reception from both. Mr. M'Kenzie does not think that we shall have a grant this session, but seems to entertain no doubt of our ultimate success, and will support us zealously. Mr. P. Stewart continues to exert himself with his first ardour. He is to wait upon Lord Althorpe, with one or two members, in a few days, and to press upon him the importance of the object and the expediency of an immediate grant, or at least of an immediate declaration of his sentiments in our favour. On the whole, I leave London to-night in as good spirits as when we had our interview with the Chancellor."

But the session was too far advanced, and the question was adjourned; with the liveliest hope, however, that early in the ensuing session the grant would be obtained. That hope lost nothing of its strength when, in the month of November, the ministry of Lord Melbourne gave place to that of Sir Robert Peel. The friendly intentions of the new Government were at once announced to Dr. Chalmers through the Lord Advocate, Sir William Rae. That it might be strengthened in carrying these intentions into effect every effort was put forth to secure Parliamentary support. Letters were addressed to each Member of the new Parliament, containing the outline of a scheme similar to that suggested in the memorial to Lord Melbourne, and petitions numerously signed were ready to be presented. The new Parliament met in February 1835, and in the King's speech a paragraph of happy omen appeared :—"I feel it also incumbent on me to call your earnest attention to the condition of the Church of Scotland, and to the means by which it may be enabled to increase the opportunities of religious worship for the poorer classes of society in that part of the United Kingdom." As he read this paragraph Dr. Chalmers rejoiced in hope. That favourite project which he had cherished for nearly twenty years, which the General Assembly had so recently sanctioned, and which the country was so warmly taking up, was crowned with the royal approval. His first year of effort had not closed,

and yet all his brightest anticipations seemed on the edge of fulfilment.

But he was doomed to disappointment. This quick progress with the country and with the Government of the Church Extension cause had been watched by the jealous eye of an enemy not likely to let the goal be reached without a deadly struggle. It was galling certainly to those who, full of hope, had a year or two before entered upon a crusade against all religious endowments, to find that instead of the old ones being abolished new ones were likely to be created. It was galling to think that efforts intended to cripple or crush the Church were to end in widening her sphere and increasing her influence. Besides, if churches with cheap sittings, such as Dr. Chalmers projected, were to be multiplied over the country, though the destitute might be reached thereby, dissent must suffer. There burst, therefore, upon the Church Extension cause a storm of opposition, charged with the most fiery elements. The Voluntary controversy, not destitute of sufficient acrimony on either side, or at any stage, took suddenly a new form, and presented features of aggravated virulence. Meetings innumerable were held, sermons were preached, pamphlets were published, the ear of public men was dunned, and Parliament was assailed with petitions against the intended grant. It was a fit occasion, certainly, for a great struggle to be made by those who conscientiously believed the State's endowment of the Church to be both unjust and injurious. But the petitioners who approached the House of Commons with their remonstrances should not have assured the Parliament, that while "the avowed object of Dr. Chalmers's scheme was the supplying with religious instruction those of our countrymen who are destitute of them, the scarcely concealed design of this measure was the annihilation of dissent." The Central Board of Scottish Dissenters, with the plain proof to the contrary before them,* should not have charged the Church Extension Com-

* "Your memorialists do not wish to overlook the exertions of those who separate themselves from the Established Church on conscientious grounds, and they willingly acknowledge that to them the public have in many instances been indebted for a large supply of accommodation in their different places of worship.

"Your memorialists trust that it will be borne in mind that they only ask an endowment to provide in part a stipend to the ministers of such churches *as shall be erected by voluntary contributions*, and recognised as necessary by the Ecclesiastical Courts. In this way, while the liberality of the Christian people will be excited, it will never exceed the wants which call it forth; and your memorialists will most cheerfully concur in any arrangements that may be made in order to provide against any risk of abuse, and, above all, to secure that sufficient accommodation be afforded in the churches endowed to the poorest classes in the community."—Memorial of the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, and other

mittee with omitting all reference to their labours; they should not have inflamed the public mind by holding out the alarming prospect of seven millions of the public money being required to carry out the Assembly's measures; and, above all, in order to make out their broad conclusion, that enough, and more than enough, of Church accommodation was already provided in Scotland, they should not have abridged the necessary quantity by cutting off that class—"the avowedly irreligious"—the recovery of which it was notoriously the aim at least of Dr. Chalmers's scheme to accomplish.* The favourite argument of the dissenters was drawn from the unlet and unoccupied pews in the churches of the Establishment; and the favourite instance by which this argument was illustrated and enforced was the condition of the Church in Edinburgh. It was well fitted to make an impression on the country to announce that more than one-third of the whole sittings in the Establishment were unlet, and that out of a population in the old town of 28,196, only 727 individuals attended in the parish churches. Out of such materials a specious argument could be constructed, convincing enough to those who fancied that the erection of additional churches was the sole or main object at which Dr. Chalmers aimed; for why add more church-room when so much of that already existing was unoccupied, or why build new churches when so many of the old ones were half empty? But it was just because of this evident failure of all churches conducted upon the principle of opening their pews indifferently to all, and renting them at as high rates as the demand warranted, that Dr. Chalmers was pleading so ardently for a new and different system being tried.—"We shall never be understood, so long as the Church is regarded in its naked and separate existence alone,

Members of a Deputation from the General Assembly, unto the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Melbourne, and the other members of his Majesty's Government. July 23, 1834.

"It does add to the completeness of our statistics when we thus embrace the ecclesiastical fabrics which have been raised by the worshippers of all denominations.

"It is of capital importance that the inquiry should not be confined to worshippers in the Establishment alone, but should extend to the worshippers of all denominations."—See Circular respecting the Statistics of Church-Accommodation. November 13, 1834.

* "But it will be admitted, with deep regret, by every philanthropic mind, that in all our large towns there unhappily exists a very large population, composed of the avowedly irreligious, and of all those classes who fill our jails and bridewells, and infest our streets, for whom, to provide church-accommodation as the means of reclaiming them from their evil courses would betray a lamentable degree of ignorance of human nature. By making proper allowance for these classes the quantity of church-accommodation required in all our large towns will be considerably reduced."—Statement relative to Church-Accommodation in Scotland, in Answer to the Representations in the Circular of the Moderator of the General Assembly, by the Scottish Central Board for Vindicating the Rights of Dissenters, pp. 7, 8.

without being regarded in the affinity which it bears to the assigned district in the midst of which it is situated. The whole peculiarity of our scheme lies in this; and, while this is kept out of sight, we shall never have done with the nnintelligent crudities of those by whom we are made the objects of perpetual misrepresentation. The Church is planted for the express benefit of certain unprovided families occupying a given district that has been previously explored, and whose limits have been previously determined; and the specific thing on which we rest, and are willing to rest exclusively the merits of our cause, is the footing npon which the relation is established between this church and these families. (1.) We provide them with a church *near enough*, else they are still nnprovided families. (2.) We are labouring to provide them with a church at *seat-rents low enough*, else they are obviously still unprovided families. (3.) We take care that *the district be small enough*, and its families few enough to be thoroughly pervaded by the week-day attentions of a clergyman; else in one most important respect these families would still be nnprovided, becanse not provided with a minister who might assume the pastoral superintendence, and discharge it so fully as to become the counsellor and Christian friend of one and all of them. The main strength of onr case lies, not in ours being a new place of worship additional to the old ones that were previously in existence, but in ours being distinguished from all the others, by the new relation in which it stands to the outer field that is immediately around it, and that we have allocated for its parish. And as the church is thus appropriated to the use of its particular locality, so the duties of its minister are as mnch appropriated to the people within its limits—it being his specific business not to fill that church from the general neighbourhood, or from the wide and universal town, bnt to fill that church out of that parish. It is for the express purpose of making this a possible or likely achievement, that we enact the three conditions which we have now specified—holding them indispensable to such a constitution of a church, as that its minister may, without stepping beyond the limits of a manageable home-walk, sustain and fully acquit himself both of the ministerial and pastoral relation to the people of the same little vicinity. Were we sure that our reader would retain in his mind the three elements which we have now put together into one combination, then, by the means of a single word, might we convey to him the precise and characteristic

object at which we aim. Instead of looking to the church in its individuality, let him look to the manner in which we propose that it should be conjoined with the local territory in which it stands, and let him agree, because of this conjunction, to its being called a local or territorial church—then our object is not in the general to build churches, but to plant *territorial churches* in those places where we judge that they are wanted." *

In the dissenting churches of Edinburgh there were relatively as many unlet sittings as in the churches of the Establishment, and yet with all that large amount of unoccupied church-room, there were thousands wandering as sheep without a shepherd. This was chiefly owing, as Dr. Chalmers thought, to the Corporation having stripped the parish churches of their original and proper character as churches for the poor by the exaction of high seat-rents. "The right ground of complaint here obviously lies in the intervention of this party, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, who change and augment the seat-rents at pleasure for the purposes of a revenne to the city corporation. But for this intervention, and had the system of parochial seat-letting been observed, we might at this hour have seen the great bulk of the inhabitants within the royalty accommodated on easy terms at their own proper churches; and the branded Annuity-tax, if tax it must be called, would mainly and substantially have been a tax on the wealthier classes of society for the Christian instruction of society at large. They are our city rulers who have cruelly broken up this bland and beneficent economy, by the imposition of another and distinct tax, which the former one was meant to supersede, and of which latter tax they receive all the produce, while the ministers have to bear all the odium of it. The ministers have thus been dissevered from their own parish populations, and placed in a false and obnoxious position before the eyes of the general community; and never, perhaps, in the history of human injustice has there occurred a more signal example of it, than that the perpetrators of a great public mischief should have so succeeded in shifting the burden of its consequent indignation from themselves, and laying it on the heads of men who suffer nothing but cruelty and contumely at their hands. They are the Town-council of Edinburgh who extort these enormous seat-rents for the supply of their own treasury: and yet there are members of that Council who labour with all their might to direct the exasperation of their own

* See Works, vol. xviii. pp. 111, 112.

measures against the persons and character of the men who have no hand in them. They are the Town-council of Edinburgh, who, in the management of the Church's affairs, have smitten it with the impotency, and worse than the impotency, of the Voluntary system; and then, by a publication of unlet seats, charged throughout with false principle and erroneous calculation, flash on the public eye the result of their own misdoings, as if the doings of an Establishment, all whose arrangements they have departed from, and all whose principles they have violated. The effect of their last issued manifesto, blazoned in all the newspapers, and industriously distributed among our public and parliamentary men, is to lesson both the country and the Government into the conclusion, that a religious Establishment is a useless and ill-working thing; and so it is truly in the hands of such bungling and hostile administrators. They may be truly said to have it all their own way in the controversy; for they have not only propounded the argument, but with their own hands they have created its materials. After having multiplied in sufficient number the proofs of their own worthless misgovernment, they place them in full array before the eyes of the community, as proofs of the worthlessness of the Church. Such is the exquisite injustice of our city rulers; but we trust that neither the Government nor the country will be any longer deceived by it, nor confound the effects of an Establishment rightly conducted, with the effects of its wretched mal-administration in the town of Edinburgh." *

In the months of April and May, Dr. Chalmers issued four different pamphlets,† the first and the last of which were expositions of the great principles upon which this Church-Extension Scheme was founded; and the two intermediate ones dealt controversially with the chief objections that had been brought against it,—as urged so incessantly and triumphantly by certain leading members of the Town-council. Throughout all the busy winter, the close of which was so prolific of pamphlets, the

* See Works, vol. xviii. pp. 177-179.

† Early in April, "The Right Ecclesiastical Economy of a large Town" was published, and almost contemporaneously there appeared the pamphlet entitled, "On the Evils which the Established Church in Edinburgh has already suffered, and suffers still, in virtue of the Seat-letting being in the hands of the Magistrates; with remarks on the unjust and injurious tendency of a late document, published by their authority, on the subject of the Unlet Sittings." In May there appeared the pamphlet entitled, "Re-assertion of the Evils of the Edinburgh system of Seat-letting, with new proofs adapted to recent objections;" which was speedily followed by another, "On the Cause of Church Extension, and the Question shortly stated between Churchmen and Dissenters in regard to it." These four pamphlets will be found in Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. xviii.

direct and proper objects of Church Extension, the raising of a central fund, and the stimulating of local efforts had been diligently prosecuted; and in giving in his First Report to the General Assembly of 1835, Dr. Chalmers announced the grand result. In the course of that single year upwards of sixty-five thousand pounds had been contributed, and sixty-four new churches, about as many as the whole preceding century had given birth to, had been or were being built in connexion with the Establishment.

Dr. Chalmers proceeded to London immediately after the close of the Assembly. Sir Robert Peel's brief ministry was now over, and Lord Melbourne was again in power. Remembering, however, the encouragement given to the deputation of the preceding year, and considering that in the sixty-four new churches, and sixty-five thousand pounds subscribed, he carried so many evidences of the necessity of the case, and the popularity of his cause, Dr. Chalmers still hoped that an endowment would be obtained. But he was too late; arriving in London only in time to hear that the resolution of the Ministry was taken, and that instead of giving any answer to the Church's demand, it had been resolved that a Commission of Inquiry should be issued. He might reasonably enough have hoped that the authorized statement of the General Assembly's Committee should have been received as sufficient evidence of an existing destitution, but as that destitution had been so confidently denied, and as Government seemed to have opened its ear to the denial, he felt that it was not unfair that the matter should go to proof. One consolation only under the disappointment remained, that, in moving the appointment of the Commission, Lord John Russell appeared to indicate, that if the facts were as the Church Extensionists had alleged, the only questions then could be,—in what manner, or out of what fund, the grant asked by them should be given? "The statement of opinion," said his Lordship, "which, no doubt, will always be made by those who dissent from the Church, and who disapprove of any establishment, is, that religion will never flourish so well as when left to the voluntary support of those who may be inclined to attend divine worship. On that question of principle I do not wish to enter; for I can give but one opinion—I can hold but one doctrine on that subject—namely, that a Church Establishment affords the best means of diffusing and promoting religious instruction. I think it our duty, as a Government, to maintain that principle,

and to uphold the Church Establishment which is founded on it. There is, then, another question remaining, the issue of which depends, however, on certain facts, which should be correctly ascertained before Parliament comes to a final decision upon it. If it be true—and I will not now pretend to dispute the point with those who are acquainted with the state of circumstances so much better than myself—if it be proved that there is a large mass of the population to whom the means of religious instruction are not afforded, either by the Church or by those who dissent from it, there remains, then, the question,—whether you are obliged to supply that deficiency by an immediate grant from the public funds, or whether there exist the necessary means which are now by law, or which may become by law, available for the purpose of the Established Church?" *

The Royal Commission issued on the motion of Lord John Russell gave almost universal dissatisfaction to the friends of the Church of Scotland. The following correspondence will be read with interest, not only as laying bare some of the grounds of that dissatisfaction, but as indicating that Dr. Chalmers was in possession of evidence of Lord Melbourne's unfriendly feeling towards the cause of Church Extension which he was not at liberty to divulge. It is well known that at this period Dr. Chalmers was in the habit of expressing in no measured terms his distrust of the Whigs. After perusing these letters, our readers may understand better than they did before the reasons of that distrust.

"Burntisland, *August* 28, 1835.

"My Lord,—I have received the communication of August 18th, by which your Lordship has honoured me.

"I have not the recollection of your Lordship's having expressed any anxiety in regard to the Commission not turning out to be satisfactory, though I have a very clear recollection of your having expressed the determination that it should be an impartial one.

"Your reported speech in the House of Lords on the 17th, led me to infer that your anticipation of this dissatisfaction was grounded on what your Lordship had observed in your interviews with the deputations on both sides, of 'the mutual violence of hostile feeling by which they were actuated.' But your letter assigns a different cause for this apprehension—'the extravagance of their respective opinions.'

* Hansard, vol. xxix. p. 137.

"Allow me to observe that the first cause seemed to me not only an inadequate and unreal account of your Lordship's forebodings, but that your statement of it to the House of Lords, if truly reported, was injurious to the deputation from the Church of Scotland, who not only observed the utmost freedom from all expressions of violence or hostility against the dissenters, but who, after the fullest acknowledgment of what they had done for the Christian education of the people, repeatedly assured your Lordship that their object was not to supplant the dissenters, but to supply the destitute, who at this moment stand in thousands and tens of thousands beyond the reach both of the Establishment on the one hand, and of the Voluntary system on the other.

"In regard to the second cause, or the 'extravagance of our respective opinions,' a charge dealt out by your Lordship to both parties, but of which I shall only notice the part of it which comes to our share—that is, our sanguine and overheated imagination of the good which is to ensue from bringing the lessons of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to bear on those who are now unprovided with them,—one does not very clearly see how this should at all act as an element of disunion between us of the Establishment and our brethren of the dissent; for so far from there being any difference of opinion betwixt us on this particular topic, it is perhaps the one of all others on which we are most entirely and cordially agreed. Indeed, it cannot well be otherwise. To extenuate or deny the good that would be done by bringing under a process of Christian instruction those who at present are beyond the pale of Gospel lessons and ordinances, were to extenuate or deny the good that is done or doing by the present labours of the clergy, whether in or out of the Establishment, among their actual hearers. Those who think it worth while to keep up the Christianity that exists, must also think it as much worth while to extend it. There seems no difference between telling us that little or no good would ensue from affording religious instruction to those who at present have it not, and telling us that little or no good is done by all the religious instruction which is now imparted both by the Church and the dissenters to their existing congregations. If little or no good is to be expected by teaching Christianity to those who are without the reach of its opportunities, this is tantamount to saying that little or no evil would result on the departure of Christianity and all its services from the land.

Neither the clergy of the Establishment nor those of the dissent are yet prepared to go this length, which were to give up the importance of their professional labours, and acquiesce in a sentiment that stamps a nullity on the Gospel, and an utter insignificance on the vocation of its ministers: and should your Lordship's administration, or any other in the future history of this country, make broad enough display of the light and low estimate in which the good of Christian instruction is held by them, it is not only the friends of the National Church that will be revolted by such an exhibition, but the wise and the good of all denominations.

"But though I could say much more, I will not detain your Lordship any longer with this general and preliminary topic. Neither the 'violence of their mutual hostility,' nor the 'extravagance of their respective opinions,' neither of these theories is sufficient to account for the present state of feeling which exists in Scotland on the subject of our Church Commission; and I shall now endeavour to make it palpable to your Lordship, that there do exist sufficient grounds for this dissatisfaction in the constitution of the Commission itself. I have to entreat that your Lordship will not construe it into disrespect if I represent the matter frankly and faithfully, and without any softenings or circumlocutions. This way of it I shall not only find to be far easier to myself, but I think it far more just and friendly to your Lordship.

"I shall state, then, what I know has given the utmost dissatisfaction; first, in the appointment of the Commission; and, secondly, in the terms of it. . . .

"It is not necessary to impeach the moral character and honesty of these Commissioners (as far as is known to me unimpeachable), in order to establish the unfairness of their appointment. Your Lordship must be too well aware of the perverting and blinding influence of partisanship, particularly after it has been openly avowed, and men by their own acts stand publicly committed to it, not to perceive that the presence, and above all, the active and influential operation of these men, in the recently appointed Commission, are fitted to have an injurious effect on the interests of the Church of Scotland. And let me add, for the sake of placing the matter in all its fulness before you, that they are not only men of no adequate stake in the country, but men of little or no personal or professional eminence, and therefore not fitted to give that weight or dignity to the Commission

wherewith such an apparatus for a great national object ought to have been invested. It is no fault of theirs that they are deficient either in status, or perhaps in high talent, or more probably in years, so as not yet to have had time for the establishment of their reputation in the world; but, forgive me, my Lord, it is the fault of the Government that room should have been made for these at the instigation of their patrons or political friends, and that our instigations have been so slighted and disregarded. These are the men for whom the Government have refused to appoint Mr. A. E. Monteith and Mr. G. Speirs,* both rising or rather already risen members of the profession to which they belong; and Mr. Colquhoun of Killermont, an accomplished gentleman and scholar, and intimately versant in the ecclesiastical statistics of the manufacturing districts in Scotland; all of whom were suggested by us to Mr. P. Stewart, who was in constant communication both with the Government offices and with ourselves. We furthermore mentioned Mr. J. Loch and Mr. Campbell of Islay, who would have proved of the greatest use to us in ascertaining the ecclesiastical state, and providing for the ecclesiastical necessities of the North and West Highlands; and whose connexion with these large provinces made them feel a natural interest in the wellbeing of their respective populations, which cannot be expected from those men of no weight and no standing, who, for reasons which I leave others to divine, have been substituted in their place. On the whole I will venture to affirm, that never in the whole public history of this country was there a national commission heard of for the prosecution of a grave and great national object made of such unfit and such unseemly materials, as Government on the present occasion have thought proper to introduce into this Commission of Inquiry as to the means of the people's Christian education; and never has any cause of high patriotism been so demeaned and so despoiled of its due reverence, as this highest and holiest of causes by these most incongruous ministrations.

"Of the affront done to the Church of Scotland I say nothing. The gravamen of our complaint, and that, too, against a Government which professes to be based on the principle of the greatest good to the greatest numbers in the commonwealth, is the positive injury done to the working-classes for whose benefit that Church is seeking after the means of her extension. You have

* I should have stated also, that Mr. Alexander Dunlop was one of those who was suggested by us.

given us a hostile secretary, and three hostile members, adverse, and known to be so, to the extension of that Church whose pride and pre-eminence it is to be the church of the common people —and these three, it should be remarked, form a *majority of all the real serviceable working Commissioners who reside in Scotland.* It is vain to tell us of the respectability of our Honorary Commissioners, or indeed of all the Commissioners *put together*, for—as if to remove every check or barrier against the mischief which might be done by any number of Commissioners, however small, who might be disaffected to our cause—by a clause in the Commission, any one of them is empowered to call for the production of all manner of evidence (which may be as much or as little as he likes), in other words, any one of them may direct this inquiry; and any three of them may report on the results of it. At this rate, it is in the power of three active enemies to expatiate over the whole country, and to examine and to report on as many places in Scotland as they can possibly overtake; and it needs but a careless and superficial style of inquiry to pass any number of parishes through their hands. Against their representations, so long as this clause is suffered to remain, the efforts even of a well-affected majority, though we had such a majority, would be of no avail.

"Before passing on to the terms of the Commission, let me here explain what I stated briefly and generally in my last communication to your Lordship, when I intimated the injustice that had been done to us, so soon as we ceased to have direct intercourse with yourself, and the other heads of His Majesty's Government. After the Commission was voted by the House of Commons, I and another member of the Assembly's deputation remained a fortnight in London, for the purpose of looking after the appointment of its members, and the instructions that should be given to them. Our intercourse with the Government officers, as I stated before, was carried on through Mr. Patrick Stewart. We had not forgotten the promise made both by your Lordship and by Lord John Russell, of a fair and impartial Commission; but when it came to the execution of the promise, or, in other words, when from the hands of the principals in the Government we fell into the hands of its subordinates, then it was that we experienced the reverse of all that is handsome or honourable—an utter want of openness, but that on a pretext which wore in it the appearance of friendship—'that it would be greatly better for the Church of Scotland if it could be said that

we, its representatives in London, had no knowledge of the appointments, and no control over them. As a *sample*, however, of what the appointments were to be, we were told of Mr. Hope Johnstone, whose high character and whose connexion with a very large department in the south of Scotland made him a most desirable accession. We were then given to understand that all the other appointments would be alike satisfactory, that our continued stay in London would be altogether unnecessary, and that we might rest assured that the objects of our mission were fully and satisfactorily accomplished. We began then to feel the indelicacy of haunting the offices of Government any longer by inquiries which bore in them the appearance of suspicion; and in the confidence that we are in the hands of honourable men, we took our departure. A few days afterwards, the Gazette announcing the Commission and its members made its appearance, when I frankly tell your Lordship that I could not forbear the expression of my utter indignancy and disgust at the treatment that we had received. These are the plain facts of the case. We must tell them for our own vindication; and it is not our fault if the impression everywhere given by them is that we have been grossly deceived—though who the conscious and who the unconscious instruments might be in the process of this deception, it is not for us to determine.

"I now proceed to take up the terms of the Commission, which I have in part anticipated in regard to that obnoxious clause, by which any three of the Commissioners are empowered to do as much mischief as they please, unchecked by the control of a well-affected majority, even though it were possible in the present composition of the body that such a majority could ever be assembled at one meeting.

"But there is another obnoxious feature in the Commission, which leads me still more to regret, that in the framing of that document there was so rigid and resolute an exclusion of all persons intimately acquainted with the genius or constitution of the Church of Scotland. Those who drew it up were either ignorant of the fundamental principle of our Presbyterian Establishment, or meant to offer it a violence. In the hands of friendly and intelligent commissioners we should not fear any transgression being made on the line of demarcation between the civil and the ecclesiastical; but the case is widely different with those hostile administrators who have been actually set over us, and who, in virtue of the loose and unguarded terms in which the

Commission has been framed, might offer the most painful annoyance to what we cherish and esteem as amongst the most sacred of our principles. We do not acknowledge the king to be the head of the Church; and this independence of the ecclesiastical upon the civil was conceded to us at the Revolution, after we had sustained many and grievous persecutions in defence of it, and since guaranteed at the period of the Union between the two kingdoms. We do not admit the subordination of the Church to the State in things which are strictly and properly ecclesiastical; or that we are responsible to any tribunal on earth for the discharge and exercise of our spiritual functions. The first attempt which the Commissioners of the Crown shall make (I speak as a true son of Presbytery) on this the dearest and most hallowed of our principles, will not only be the signal for calling together the ministers of the Church, but, in spite of the miserable calculations of your Lordship's advisers, it will be found of the great mass and majority of the population still attached to the tabernacles of their fathers, that many are the thousands among them who as one man will resent any outrage on those great truths and principles which the martyred founders of our Church have bequeathed to us. A commission could have been drawn up in which the duties to be fulfilled might have been so defined and guarded as to have provided for all the needful and legitimate objects of inquiry, and at the same time saved the hazard of all interference between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities; instead of which there is every reason to apprehend that this faulty Commission will be followed up by as faulty an execution of it; and I therefore regret the more when a task of some delicacy had to be fulfilled, that the framing of a document of so much importance should have been committed to the rude and unpractised hands which have been employed to prepare it.

"I have only now to entreat that your Lordship will give me credit, when I assure you that this letter has been written with much pain and in great perplexity—divided, as I am, between a sense of that respect which I owe to the first minister of the Crown, and the obligation which I feel to lay at your feet an honest and undisguised representation of the wrongs which have been done to the Church of Scotland.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD MELBOURNE."

"BURNTISLAND, *September* 8, 1835.

"MY LORD,—I am most unwilling to trespass any further on your Lordship's engagements, and shall therefore confine myself to a very few remarks on one topic of the last letter by which you have honoured me.

"Your Lordship has been pleased to intimate that to 'stir and agitate the question of an additional grant to the Church of Scotland at this period you consider to have been a great imprudence and indiscretion in those who must have been well acquainted with the state of religious feeling and religious opinion in that country.'

"Had your Lordship given expression to this sentiment at the outset of our communications by refusing to entertain the question at all, it might have saved a world of embarrassment to all parties; and after our cause had thus been thrown an unprotected orphan on the liberalities of the Christian public in Scotland, our distinct object should have been to have made the most of the only means which remain to us—in the hope that without the aid of Government we might be able to accomplish in half a century, what with their aid we could have accomplished in less than half a generation.

"Even in this age of novelties we were not prepared to expect that any large body of our countrymen could under the guise of principle have opposed themselves to the adoption of means for the moral and Christian education of the many unprovided thousands in Scotland; or far less, that any Government could in deference to their wishes have resigned the parental office of securing this best of blessings to the families of the poor man and of the labourer.

"And in further extenuation of the charge of imprudence and indiscretion which your Lordship has been pleased to prefer against us, we might appeal to the encouragement given us in the summer of 1834, by the friendly declarations of ministers both in and out of Parliament; to the general assurances which we had the honour of receiving from yourself and from your colleagues in the month of June last, even to the appointment of a Commission for the prosecution of the question—for surely a question worthy of being prosecuted was worthy of being started: and if these indications all favourable to our cause have been practically followed up by the adoption of means hostile to its success, and lastly by such a rebuke of the whole enterprise as your Lordship has been pleased to administer, surely we are not to blame for

not foreseeing such an amount of fluctuation, nor is it for us to resolve the enigma of these most unlooked-for and contradictory appearances.

"But notwithstanding the discouragements which you or your colleagues in office have recently laid upon us, we shall feel it our duty to persevere. We can never give up the principle that it is the part of a Christian Government to provide for the religious instruction of its subjects; and neither shall we be deterred by the resistance of those enemies to our Church, whose voice has been of so much greater weight than our own in the counsels of your administration, from prosecuting the great design of a religious establishment, which is to extend the blessings of the Gospel to all, and especially to the more humble and destitnte of the common people.

"We shall therefore not relinquish the hope of a kinder spirit towards us on the part of the Government, and a more friendly countenance on our undertaking than your Lordship is now pleased to bestow; and it will be altogether our duty so to make demonstration of the real character and design of our proceedings as not only to conciliate your more favourable regard, but, if possible, to disarm the antipathies of those whose views and wishes have been of such paramount influence in this question.

"However unsatisfactory the substance of your Lordship's communication, I have to acknowledge with gratitude the courtesy of the terms in which it has been conveyed to me.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD MELBOURNE."

"BURNTISLAND, *September* 15, 1835.

"MY LORD,—I meant to have written to your Lordship irrespective altogether of your communication of the 11th, which I had the honour of receiving yesterday.

"But before proceeding to the original object of this letter, suffer me to assure you that even had I foreseen the whole amount of that resistance to the grant for adding to the means of religious instruction in Scotland, which has proved so formidable to your Lordship, I should not have altered the course which we have actually taken—confident as I then was, and as I am still, that when Government comes more fully to understand the merits of our cause, and the real character of the opposition which has been raised against it, they will at length come

to acknowledge that it is a cause in the support of which both sound policy and sound principle are at one.

"But this makes me all the more regret that the Government should have framed such a barrier in the way of their own information, by the appointment of a Commission, the most active members of which are the most prejudiced and therefore the most incompetent inquirers that could possibly have been fixed upon.

"It is not chiefly the conduct of the Voluntaries by which I have been disappointed in the expectations which I had formed. It is by the conduct of the Government who have chosen to look to our question through the medium of Voluntary misrepresentation and prejudice, instead of looking at it with their own eyes. I was aware of the hostile opinions of so many of our countrymen; but not aware that the Government would have given any weight of theirs to opinions in which they do not concur, and the prevalence of which they lament.

"I feel quite sure that in this question the Government has been wofully deceived. A restless, locomotive, clamorous minority, by the noise they have raised, and by the help of men irreligious themselves, and therefore taking no interest, but the contrary, in the religious education of the people, have attained in the eyes of our rulers a magnitude and an importance which do not belong to them—while the great bulk of the population, quiet because satisfied, are, by an overwhelming preponderance, on the side of the Establishment. . . .

"The superficial agitation of the sea in a storm reaches about twenty feet beneath the surface, after which the great body of the waters is still and motionless: and so every Government based on the quicksands of agitation must feel the ground trembling under it. The way to provide against this is to lay the basement deep enough; and, if only based on principle, which is deepest of all, the Government, I am persuaded, would, in spite of the menace and bluster which might then assail it, find a solid resting-place in the established habits and fixed affections of the people of Scotland; when the same violence which is now shaking the foundations of the political edifice, would play innocuous upon its sides.

"But I forget the primary and practical design of this letter, which was to inform your Lordship that an extraordinary meeting of the Commission of our General Assembly is now being called for, for the purpose of considering the terms

of the Government Commission of Inquiry. It is not I who have originated this step; but it is the fruit of a spontaneous and simultaneous requisition made or to be made to the Moderator (the president) of the Assembly from various parts of Scotland. The Presbyteries of Glasgow and Aberdeen have already moved in this matter, and the probability or rather the certainty is that I shall be called upon for such explanations as I can give.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD MELBOURNE."

At the ordinary meeting of the Commission of Assembly, held in the month of August, a resolution had been passed to the effect that the Commission of Religious Inquiry, as then constituted, was not entitled to the confidence of the Church. It had been hoped, that when such a strong expression of opinion was communicated to him, Lord Melbourne would make at least some satisfactory additions to the number of Commissioners; and it was understood that at first he was not unwilling to do so. But again the adverse influence of the dissenters prevailed, and it was intimated that no change would be made. In consequence of this, a special meeting of the Commission of Assembly took place at Edinburgh on the 30th September. By this time considerable agitation had arisen within the Church upon the constitution of the Royal Commission, as threatening an invasion upon the spiritual independence of the Church; and the proposal had in many quarters been entertained that the Established clergy should refuse to appear and give evidence. Upon this topic Dr. Chalmers had been addressed by the Dean of Faculty in the following letter, offering his decided opinion as a lawyer, and adding, that it might be quoted as such :—

"EDINBURGH, 20, MORAY PLACE, *Aug.* 18, 1835.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The terms of this extraordinary Commission respecting the Church, which seems to me subversive of Presbytery, and of the spiritual authority and independence of our Church, will be my apology for writing to you.

"It is most unfortunate that the terms of the Commission were not known at the meeting of the Assembly's Commission; and that there has been some *unfair* trick to prevent the terms being known to the Commission is plain, as you will see by the copy in to-day's *Courant* that it passed the Seal on the 29*th of July*.

"The subject has now assumed an importance in my view infinitely beyond the selection of Commissioners; although the objects of the Commission of course render the selection much more pernicious, and the hostility to the Church in the selection more marked. I need not comment to you on the character of the Commission. The attempt by the Crown (unconstitutional even by Act of Parliament, but by the Crown, whether on address of one House or not, a most flagrant attack on the Church) to inquire as to how the Church of Scotland performs its duty of affording Religious instruction and pastoral superintendence to the people, by Commissioners who are to visit your parishes and sit in judgment on you individually, taking evidence of all complaints, I suppose, which they may receive against individual members, and against both the ministers and the Church Courts —this attempt is not paralleled, I think, by anything in the reigns of James or Charles I.

"The terms of the Commission now warrant, and, I think, call upon all the Presbyteries of the Church to petition the House of Lords to interfere and protect the Church from this most flagrant outrage. I trust that the Presbyteries will unanimously resolve to refuse to acknowledge the *power* to institute any such inquiry, or to make any answers whatever to these Commissioners, now that the terms of the Commission are known. No good that might be incidentally expected can compensate for acquiescence in the overthrow of Presbyterian independence. On this subject my opinion as a lawyer is of little consequence: but you may quote it as decidedly formed, that the Commission is illegal and incompetent, and the *powers* with which the Crown attempts to arm the Commissioners also illegal and ineffectual.

"I have stated to Lord Aberdeen that this visitation of the ministers by the Crown or by Parliament is utterly inconsistent with the Divine appointment of ministers—of the authority of the Church, and destructive of the principle and independence of Presbytery.

"The power given to these Commissioners is wholly illegal, can only be exercised in the way most degrading to the Church, and especially in the hands of Commissioners who will exercise them for that purpose, whether they take the evidence of the ministers or of the people and complainers, stimulated by the Voluntaries.

"As a member of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as our firm and well-tried Presbyterian champion, I trust your voice will

be exerted upon this, as it seems to me, the commencement of the final fight for our Church.—I remain, my dear Sir, your very faithful servant, JOHN HOPE."

Dr. Chalmers was not to be persuaded. His own calm reading of the terms of the Commission had satisfied him that the Dean's interpretation was incorrect; and any apprehension he might have cherished, Lord John Russell's letter to Lord Minto served entirely to remove. He shrunk besides from doing anything that would hinder the proposed inquiry. "But let me not," he said, while giving the first and strongest expression of his indignation immediately after hearing who the Royal Commissioners were to be—"but let me not be misunderstood. I will submit to any affront rather than that the cause should suffer from any want of willing co-operation which I can possibly render to it. I look for many disagreeables in consequence of these appointments; but I will brook anything rather than give up the object of a Christian education for the common people. And though now we must lay our account, I fear, with much and most painful annoyance, we must comfort ourselves with such being the strength of our cause, that even its deadliest enemies will not be able to injure it, without our being able to convince an indignant public that both they and the Government who have appointed them are most palpably in the wrong."* And at the meeting of Commission in October, after strongly urging upon his brethren that they should throw no obstruction whatever in the way of the fullest investigation—"I would not for the world," he said, "that our Church should interpose a single straw in the way of such an inquiry." Notwithstanding, therefore, the stirring summons he had received, Dr. Chalmers reserved his energies as the Church's champion for another day, now not far off, when the battle for the Church's independence did in truth commence—but when that day came, instead of finding the Dean of Faculty fighting heroically by his side, he beheld him leading the vanguard of the foe.

* Letter to M. P. Stewart, Esq., dated Leamington, July 21, 1835.

CHAPTER XXII.

LITERARY DISTINCTIONS CONFERRED UPON DR. CHALMERS—ELECTED A FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH, AND A CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE—THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS BESTOWED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD—MEMORIAL TO GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE ENDOWMENT OF THE THEOLOGICAL CHAIR IN EDINBURGH—COMMENCEMENT OF THE PUBLICATION OF A UNIFORM EDITION OF HIS WORKS —THE MODERATORSHIP CONTROVERSY.

In January 1834, Dr. Chalmers was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in the following year was chosen as one of its Vice-Presidents. In January 1834 he was also elected a Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France, his high sense of which distinction was thus conveyed to the Secretary of the Academy into which he was admitted :—

"Sir,—I received your much-esteemed communication a good many days ago, and have only been prevented by bad health from sooner acknowledging the proudest of my literary honours.

"My engagements may disable me for some time from offering any contribution to the Memoirs of that great Institute, but I cannot imagine a higher object of ambition to him who aspires after a name in philosophy than to have his labours associated with the transactions of so illustrious a body.

"If anything could have added to the satisfaction I feel in being connected with the Institute of France, it is that more especial connexion which you have had the goodness to assign for me with the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences. —I have the honour to be, Sir, yours most respectfully,

Thomas Chalmers."

In the summer of 1835, another high literary distinction was conferred upon Dr. Chalmers.

Amid the delays connected with Lord John Russell's motion for the appointment of a Royal Commission, and while not fully recovered from the effects of his former illness, he wrote to his affectionate friend, Mr. George Sinclair :—"I now begin to be

jaded and overborne with London, and, with the single exception of my attendance at Court on Wednesday, it will be my wisdom to live as quietly as possible. I spend the bulk of next week at Walthamstow, and then leave for Oxford." * This visit to Oxford was a bright interlude amid the disappointing negotiations of the metropolis. He had received the gratifying intelligence that at the approaching annual commemoration the University of Oxford intended to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In acknowledging this unexpected honour, Dr. Chalmers writes—"I have long had the utmost affection and reverence for the University of Oxford, but I never once dreamed of the possibility of in any manner being admitted within its pale. I truly feel it to be an honourable relationship, and must confess the same sort of complacency which one has in some great and splendid connexion into which he has newly entered. Though but the adopted son of your venerable mother, I trust she will ever find me one of the most devoted members of her great family; a sentiment which I shall all the more fondly cherish that I believe in the strong hold which this ancient, this noble, this truly national institute, has on the affections of the many thousands of her children, who are the wisest of our countrymen, not only as regards the cause of learning, but as regards the cause of social order and rational liberty in these our vexed and agitated times."

In the theatre of the University, and in presence of a brilliant assemblage, Dr. Chalmers was invested with this distinguished honour. On presenting him to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, the gentleman who officiated for the Professor of the Civil Law made the following speech:—

"Insignissime Vice-Cancellarie, vosque egregii Procuratores, præsento vobis venerandum et doctissimum virum Thomam Chalmers, Regiæ Societatis Socium, Publicum Theologiæ apud Edinenses Professorem, benignitate, doctrina, facundia, ut quem maxime, insignitum; qui pauperum sortem miseratus in melius promovere pro virili semper studuit, 'humani nihil a se alienum putans;' qui, ecclesiæ Scoticæ acerrimus propugnator, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ quoque, idque dubiis et formidolosis temporibus, gravissimus vindex extitit; ea, qua merito apud suos auctoritate pollet, semper usus, ad mutuam benevolentiam ac caritatem fovendam, omni asperitate, omni invidia amota; qui, cum visum est opus magnificum, a Comite de Bridgewater excogitatum

* Letter to Mr. Sinclair, now Sir George Sinclair, Bart., dated 18th June 1835.

pluribus demandare, a viro spectatissimo, quem coram cernitis, D. Gilbert, Regiæ Societati præsidenti deligebatur, ut dignissimus qui cum celeberimis Oxonii et Cantabrigiæ Philosophis consociaretur cum Professoribus nostris J. Kidd, G. Buckland, eo præclaruit ingenio, ea scientia, ut is potissimum haberetur, cui partes primariæ mandarentur, summi Numinis potentiam, sapientiam, bonitatem, providentiam indicandi : quo opere, quanta copia, quanto acumine perfunctus sit, minime quidem opus est, ut apud hodiernam frequentiam loquar. Professorem igitur venerandum, doctissimum, præsentans vobis gratulor huic nostræ academiæ, quod, quem diu miratus est absentem, hunc hodie præsentem quasi gremio accipiat, admittatque ad gradum doctoris in jure civili honoris causa."

In the reading of this address, as mention was made of Dr. Chalmers's eloquence, of his defence of the English Establishment, and of his Bridgewater Treatise, three distinct rounds of loud and unanimous approbation rose from the assembled students of the University. The only written notice taken by himself of a day so memorable in his history, occurs in the following letter to Lady Stuart of Allanbank :—

"Oxford, *July* 1, 1835.

"My dear Lady Stuart,—I write from this place, from which I had fondly hoped that we might have found our way homewards by land, and spent a day or two with you and Sir James at Harrogate, but the interminable delays to which we have been exposed in London necessitate my return thereto, after which we shall feel the temptation of a quick and less fatiguing movement to Edinburgh by sea. This is a real disappointment to us, believing, as we do, that we should have had a warm-hearted reception at Harrogate, enjoying, as we should have done, the kind converse of old friends after weeks spent among strangers.

"We are here living for a few days with the Professor of Divinity at Christ Church, Dr. Burton, where we are entertained with 'all the elegance of lettered hospitality.' Since beginning this letter, which I have been forced to interrupt, I have been present at the great annual Oxford commemoration, where I have had the honour of being admitted as an LL.D. This entitles me to a Doctor's robes, in which I have been invested, and of which I tell you, without levity, that I am not a little proud. The costume consists of a scarlet silk gown and black

silk cap. I shall take a set of it with me into Scotland; and meanwhile, during my brief stay in Oxford, I walk about in a doctor's black gown, with the common University cap. We all dined to-day in full academic costume, with gown and bands. The most interesting introduction which I have had in Oxford is to Keble the poet, author of the 'Christian Year,' a work of exquisite beauty, and most worthy of your personal, nay of your daily companionship, if you have not yet admitted it into your cabinet. Mrs. C. and I lived a few days lately within sight of Sir James's house in Regent Park. We thought much of you and of your predilection for all that is tasteful. The house is greatly to my liking, both in architecture and in a certain monastic style and situation which belong to it. Our ladies here join in best regards: they are quite fagged with their excursions among the halls and colleges of this wondrous place, this city of cathedrals.—I ever am, yours with greatest regard,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"To Lady Stuart of Allanbank, Harrogate."

"I retain," says the Earl of Elgin, of whose kind attentions to him at this time, Dr. Chalmers cherished a lively and most grateful remembrance, "a very pleasing impression of Dr. Chalmers's visit to Oxford in 1835. I do not know that I ever saw him enjoy himself more thoroughly than he seemed to do on that occasion. With the exception, indeed, of the degree conferred upon him by the University, Dr. Chalmers's visit to Oxford was not marked by any very striking incident. What was chiefly interesting to one who esteemed and admired him, was to witness the heartiness with which he entered into the spirit of the place, and the almost boyish delight which he seemed to experience, after the toils of his sojourn in London, in suffering his imagination to expatiate among scenes of academic grandeur and repose. I well remember his coming to my apartment at Merton, before eight o'clock one morning, and telling me of a sequestered court which he had found in a college, into which he had strayed on his way from Christ Church, and the earnestness with which he claimed credit for having thus discovered for himself a spot of surpassing beauty, which could, he assured me, be known to few. I remember, too, the serious manner in which, while we were strolling in the college garden, on the afternoon of the day on which his degree was conferred on him, he apologized for the extravagance of which he had been

guilty in purchasing the robes of a Doctor of Civil Law, notwithstanding the precautions I had taken to relieve him from this necessity, saying, 'You see I could not bring myself to leave the place, without carrying away with me some memorial of the academic costume.'

"On the day following his arrival at Oxford, I was requested to endeavour to ascertain whether it would be agreeable to him to receive an honorary degree from the University; and I had afterwards the satisfaction of being present when it was conferred on him. Rarely have I witnessed as much enthusiasm in the Oxford theatre, as was manifested when he presented himself to go through the ceremony of admission. This was the more gratifying, because it was notorious that on some by no means immaterial points, his views were not coincident with those which obtained at the time with an influential section of the Oxford University public. Indeed, the only expression of regret which fell from him in my hearing during the course of his visit, had reference to the reserve which characterized, as he thought, the manner of some eminent men connected with a certain theological party, to whom he was introduced, and which prevented him from touching, in conversation with them, upon topics of the highest import, with the frank and genial earnestness which was natural to him. This was, however, only a passing remark. Most assuredly there was no indication of lack of cordiality in his reception by Convocation. Dr. Chalmers was himself deeply affected by the warmth with which he was greeted; and I think I might almost venture to say that he looked upon this visit to Oxford as one of the most pleasing incidents in his career."*

I am not aware of any other Scottish clergyman being either invested with a Doctor's robes at Oxford, or chosen as a Corresponding Member of the French Institute. In Dr. Chalmers two literary distinctions were thus united, neither of which had ever previously been bestowed upon a clergyman of the Scottish Establishment.

While France and England conferred these unsolicited honours, Dr. Chalmers was in vain endeavouring to secure an adequate endowment for the chair which he held in Edinburgh. In the following letter to Mr. Sinclair, who had taken the liveliest

*Letter from the Earl of Elgin to Sir John Maxwell, Bart., of Polloc, dated Quebec, November 7, 1851.

interest in this object, he details the circumstances which had induced him to memorialize the Government.

"*June* 18, 1835.

"My dear Sir,—In reply to your kind letter of inquiry respecting the endowments which belong to the Professor of Theology in Edinburgh, I have to state that the facts of the case are very shortly as follows:—

"You are aware of the long struggle which took place in the General Assembly against the practice of uniting professorships with Church-livings. I myself took a part against such pluralities; and you may recollect how the great argument against the full and final abolition of them was the unprovided state of the Theological Chairs in the University of Edinburgh. I confess that one of my inducements for the acceptance of one of these chairs was to put an end to that argument. At the time of my entering on the professorship which I now hold, and which was in November 1828, the salary of £196 a year formed the sum total of the emoluments of the office. At that time fees were not exigible from the students of Divinity.

"The first step towards the increase of the emoluments took place in 1829. It was ordained by the Town-council, who are the patrons of the University, and have absolute power over its arrangements, that each professional student should pay a fee of £2, 2s. a year, and each non-professional a fee of £3, 3s. It should be remarked, that scarcely ever had it been the practice for non-professional students to attend the theological class, and far less to pay for their attendance. Certain it is, that any revenue from their fees ought not to be counted on in estimating the sure and regular income of the Professor. In point of fact, my income last year from the professional students amounted to about £300, and from the non-professional to a little above £100 more. But the proper way of reckoning the future likelihoods of the professional income from fees alone, would be to restrict the computation to professional students, I mean those who are destined for the Church; and it would be injurious both to myself and to my successors, if this were rated at any sum above £300 a year.

"But more than this. Within these two years a great disaster has befallen the office: the Town-council has become insolvent. The salaries of the professors, in as far as they are paid by the City Corporation (and, unfortunately, the whole of mine is so

paid), are suspended. By an adverse decision of the Court of Session, all hope of redress is put off for an indefinite period. For these three last terms I have received no half-yearly salary; and my strictly professional income is reduced to £300 annually. The additional £100 from non-professional students ought not to be counted in any general measure for the permanent provision of our University offices; and, at all events, this incidental addition to my emoluments does not save from the '*res augusta domi*,' in a case where the expenditure in my station, with its various exposures, is such, that I have not yet been able to restrain it to £800 a year.

"In these circumstances, I do not think that I have at all erred in accepting of a chaplaincy, whose emoluments are only £50 a year, even though its duties are so small that the obnoxious name of a sinecure is attached to it. There are greatly too few of such sinecures in Scotland, which, if only well bestowed, might have the effect of supplying the great desideratum of our meagrely endowed Church—certain places or provisions for men who might be in circumstances of independence and leisure for theological pursuits, and so for upholding our professional literature. THOMAS CHALMERS."

The memorial to Government embraced a similar representation, but it led to no result. The continued suspension of his salary induced Dr. Chalmers to listen to his publisher's proposal of issuing in quarterly volumes a cheap and uniform edition of his works. This publication commenced in January 1836, and soon after the appearance of the second volume of the series, the following letter was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Cunningham of Harrow:—

"BURNTISLAND, *April* 20, 1836.

"MY DEAR SIR,—My object in this communication is to request a favour from you. I am now republishing my works in a uniform edition of small volumes, which will come out quarterly. I have certainly great reason to be pleased with the reception which my publications have met in England, considering the harsh and injurious treatment which I have suffered from so many of the London periodicals—owing, I believe, partly to the political hostility of some of the editors; partly, I fear, to a personal hostility, as in the case of the ——; and, lastly, to the strong antipathy felt by others to my views on pauperism. While I assign these as exciting causes, I am not insensible to the pos-

sibility that a great deal is due to the intrinsic demerit of the works themselves.

"However this may be, there is one circumstance which I suspect is working prejudicially against me, and that is the idea of its being a mere republication, with no original matter in it at all. Now, it so happens that the great majority of my five first volumes will be altogether new, and that of the two first already published, and which finishes my views on Natural Theology: the Bridgewater Treatise is merely a fragment of the whole.

"Now my request is, that you will draw the attention of any of the London reviewers to the new matter of my works. The Christian Observer and British Review have all along been very fair and friendly; and I confess myself unwilling that the large additions which I propose making to all my theological volumes, should be altogether unobserved by them.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

To his necessary preparations for the press, and his daily labours in the University, another heavy burden was now added. The Commissioners of Religious Instruction began their inquiries at Edinburgh, and Dr. Chalmers was deeply sensible of the difficulty and importance of making an effective representation of the religious state of the metropolis. He resisted a proposal made by the opponents of Church Extension, that a joint survey should be made of the whole city, conducted by persons appointed by both parties. Conceiving that such a survey must necessarily be superficial, and that it would fail to bring out the actual condition as to attendance on religious ordinances of the lowest and most destitute classes of the community, he preferred the confinement of his own inquiries to certain definite localities which could be thoroughly explored. His agents had completed in this way their survey of districts, embracing a population of 20,000 souls, when a digested statement of the results was laid by him before the Royal Commissioners in February 1836. In a lengthened examination before the Commissioners, he explained the manner in which the statistics contained in this document had been made up, and illustrated the grounds and principles of the Church Extension Scheme. That scheme was in a crisis of its history. The Government having virtually pledged itself to act upon the returns of its Commissioners, it was of the first importance to obtain from these Commissioners a favourable report. It was with the deepest mortification, there-

fore, that Dr. Chalmers learned of the evidence given by the Rev. Dr. Lee, one of the most distinguished ministers of Edinburgh, that it was in many respects unfriendly to that great cause whose progress he was watching over with parental jealousy, to touch or injure which was to touch the very apple of his eye. The pain inflicted thus, was aggravated by a small but influential body of ministers and laymen in Edinburgh being resolved to raise this clergyman to the Moderator's chair of the General Assembly. To do this at a time when the gravest questions were pending between the Government and the Church, appeared to Dr. Chalmers to be a measure fraught with extreme peril. The friends of Dr. Lee, however, were as resolute in urging his claims as Dr. Chalmers was resolute in resisting them; and other measures having failed to induce them to withdraw his name, Dr. Chalmers, in a pamphlet of extraordinary power, published early in 1837, made a public exposure of the grounds upon which he repudiated this appointment. It may freely be conceded now, that the evil which an unfriendly or hostile moderator would have it in his power to inflict upon his favourite scheme, appeared to Dr. Chalmers, as to others, in an exaggerated form. He may have erred also, in assigning so much of a political character to the movement which he opposed. And had his resentment been less strong against those of whom he too hastily believed that they were ready to sacrifice the best interests of the Church at the shrine of political partisanship, many vehement expressions had been withheld. Believing, however, that great interests were in danger, unrestrained by mere personal considerations, he vented his indignation in the strongest terms he could employ. His pamphlet was followed in a few weeks by a Statement on the part of Dr. Lee's supporters, in which he was directly charged with artful and "perverse twisting of circumstances;" with "having well learned his lesson from the serpent;" with "deceptive concealment;" with a "presumptuous assumption to himself of the whole charge of the Church Extension Scheme;" with "blind and relentless virulence," and a "total disregard to truth." It is difficult to conceive that these charges were understood by those who made them in their literal and most offensive sense; but it is not to be wondered at, that so long as they remained unexplained and unretracted, they should have inflicted acute pain, and kindled the keenest indignation. The first time that Dr. Chalmers attended a meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, after the appearance of the State-

ment, he took occasion to allude to these accusations. "I will not," he said, "descend to any treatment whatever of the hideous charges.* I never could make their utter groundlessness the subject of an argument with others, or strive to render palpable to them by reasoning, what was already far more palpable to myself than any reasoning could make it, in the immediate light of my own consciousness. Certain it is, that the accusations, if true, should banish me from society; and, at all events, must, till retracted, break up all my companionship with their authors. It is quite obvious that as matters now stand, there can be no intercourse, and no recognition between us; and that without an entire disavowal, on their part, of one and all of the moral charges, even the forms of acquaintanceship cannot be maintained. I ask from them nothing for the purpose of making me right, and it is for them to determine whether they are to do something for the purpose of making themselves right. For myself, I am satisfied with the appearance and the declaration that I now make, and count it simply enough to show the Presbytery that, notwithstanding the foul and ferocious assaults that have been made upon me, I can still lift an unabashed visage in their presence, and am delighted to hear the sound of my own voice again in the midst of Christian and honourable men."

It did little or nothing to heal this deadly breach that, sympathizing with Dr. Chalmers's alarms, an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly refused to raise Dr. Lee to the Moderator's chair. The question as to the appointment of a moderator was felt to be trivial, as compared with the personal controversy to which it had given birth. Most anxious efforts were made to bring this painful controversy to a close, and five leading members of the Presbytery volunteered their services as mediators. With Dr. Chalmers there was no difficulty. He had never meant to question the integrity or asperse the honour of Dr. Lee or any of his supporters; and if any passage in his pamphlet was capable of being interpreted so as to imply such charges, he was ready to affirm that such was not his own understanding of them, and that had he thought them capable of being so understood he would have expressed himself differently.

* Although he attempted no personal defence, he was ably and effectively vindicated from the charges which had been brought against him, in two pamphlets by the Rev. W. Cunningham and the Rev. J. Bruce, of whose friendly intervention he always retained the liveliest and most grateful remembrance.

Had any public interest required, no difficulty would have been experienced in vindicating the position towards his opponents which Dr. Chalmers was forced to occupy; nay, I believe that the moral greatness of his character never gave more striking manifestations of itself than in some passages of this very conflict. But I will not enter further into the history of this most distressing affair. The conflict touched no vital question; it is now, happily, almost forgotten. The breach, wide as at the time it was, a few years sufficed to heal. It was the quarrel of Christian men, devoted to the same objects, though at this time pursuing them by different paths; and the strength of their common Christianity showed itself in this, that at last every moral charge which had been made was retracted, and they came to look upon one another with mutual confidence and regard.

While the moderatorship controversy was at its height, an aged clergyman, as venerable for piety as for years, in writing to Dr. Chalmers had referred to the adverse spiritual influences of such strife.

"*January* 9, 1838.

"I have often felt," said Dr. Chalmers in reply, "that the bustle of too active and varied a sphere of exertion is adverse to the growth of one's personal and spiritual Christianity. In my own case this hostile influence, I fear, has been of late much aggravated by the injustice which I have received at the hands of old acquaintances, and what is still more trying, by the disappointment I have met with at the hands of old friends, who, in their extreme love of peace, have reversed the apostolical order of first *pure* and *then* peaceable, and who, by their eagerness for peace and neglect of principle, have left me to complain of calumnies still unretracted—of grievances still unredressed.

"But these are matters which I trust that God in His good time will enable me to forget; they are things which are beneath, and the best way of escape from them is to set my thoughts on the things which are above. In the hand of the heavenly Witness every cause of verity is safe, and I entreat your prayers for the perfecting within me of that work of patience and charity which if left undone may leave me in the state of him who walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth.

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"REV. DR. MUIRHEAD."

More than two years after this letter was written, the following entries occur in Dr. Chalmers's journal :—

"*March* 26, 1840.—Dr. —— this day proposed a reconciliation. O my God, I draw upon Thee for wisdom and charity : the preparations of the mouth, the answer of the heart, are Thine. May a sense of my gross and awful delinquencies against Thy holy law be ever present with me ; and O let me acquit myself in this and every similar affair so as that with unfaltering heart I may be enabled to say, 'Forgive my trespasses, even as I forgive those who have trespassed against me.'

"*March* 30.—Had a meeting with ——. Clear my way, O God, through the difficulties which lie in that quarter.

"*April* 1.—The prayer of two days ago has been answered. Visited in the morning by the suggestion that as this was the last day of our session I should have another interview with ——, which has turned out promising, and leads to the hope that I may yet die in peace with all mankind. Previous to the conversation I committed both the guidance and result of it to God."

His prayers were answered—his hope fulfilled—"the hand of the heavenly Witness" was laid with healing power upon the last and the worst breach which this unhappy controversy had created. Ere long the graver perils of the Church invited to another and nobler conflict, in which the pleasing spectacle was presented to those, whom this lesser strife had separated, standing side by side among the front-rank defenders of the Church's purity and independence, co-operating with entire cordiality and unbroken confidence.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SIR GEORGE CLERK AND SIR JAMES GRAHAM DEFEND THE EXCLUSIVE SPIRITUAL JURISDICTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND—SUPPORT GIVEN TO THE CHURCH EXTENSION SCHEME BY THE CONSERVATIVES—SIR ROBERT PEEL'S TESTIMONY IN ITS FAVOUR—ITS TREATMENT BY THE WHIG MINISTRY—FIRST REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS—POSTPONEMENT OF ANY GOVERNMENT ACTION—SECOND AND THIRD REPORTS—MINISTERIAL MEASURE PROPOSED AND WITHDRAWN—GENERAL POLITICS OF THIS PERIOD—DR. CHALMERS'S LETTER TO MR. CAMPBELL OF MONZIE—HIS OWN DEFENCE OF HIS CONDUCT—THE KING'S DEATH—FIRST LEVEE OF QUEEN VICTORIA—THE GENERAL ELECTION—CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR ROBERT PEEL—HOME OPERATIONS ON BEHALF OF CHURCH EXTENSION—THEIR EXTRAORDINARY SUCCESS.

In July 1836 a petition was presented to the House of Commons containing grave accusations against the superior authorities of the Church of Scotland. The petitioner, a Kilmarnock bailie, had been deprived of his office as an Elder of the Church, in consequence of having presided at a meeting called for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature against the union of Church and State. Having appealed in vain to the General Assemblies of 1834 and 1835, by whom the sentence of the inferior Courts had been confirmed, he now applied to the House of Commons to protect his character from the injuries to which such proceedings had exposed it. No sooner had the case of the petitioner been stated than Sir George Clerk rose and said, that "he felt it his duty to take an objection *in limine* to the reception of this petition. He would call upon the House to refuse to receive the petition, on the ground that the Church of Scotland did not admit of the interference of any civil authority in matters relating to the internal discipline of that Church: that right was sanctioned by the Claim of Rights presented by Scotland to King William III. at the Revolution; it was sanctioned and established by the convention Parliament then held in Scotland, and it was guaranteed to the Church of Scotland by the Act of Union. He was ready to admit—the Church of Scotland was ready to admit—that in all civil matters connected with that Church the Legislature had a right to interfere. The Church of Scotland did not refuse to render unto Cæsar the things that

were Cæsar's, but it would not allow of an interference with its spiritual and ecclesiastical rights, ratified as they had been in the manner he had stated, and which constituted the independence of the Church Government of Scotland." Sir James Graham warmly seconded these views. "What the people of Scotland had conquered with their arms had been recognised and guaranteed to them by repeated Acts of Parliament, and the Act of Union had recognised the independence of their Church as complete and entire. The Church of Scotland acknowledged the right of no authority to interfere with their ecclesiastical Government. They recognised not the Sovereign of these realms as the head of their Church, and he (Sir James Graham) would always contend for the privileges which that Church had guaranteed to it by the Union."*

The Parliamentary leaders of the Conservative party were, without exception, as zealous supporters of the extension of the Church of Scotland as these two right honourable baronets were upon this occasion zealous defenders of her jurisdiction. The introduction of the topic into the King's Speech was not the only evidence which Dr. Chalmers had of the friendly intentions of the short-lived ministry of Sir Robert Peel in the spring of 1835. And afterwards, whenever any Parliamentary effort was made to force the subject upon the attention of the Government, and persuade them to endow, Sir Robert Peel and Sir William Rae in the House of Commons, and Lords Aberdeen and Haddington in the House of Lords, were the foremost and the heartiest in urging the claims of the Church Extension Scheme. At the banquet given to Sir Robert Peel in Glasgow, after his election as Lord Rector of the University, the great Conservative chieftain seized the opportunity of addressing that remarkable assembly† in these terms:—"When I have joined in the public worship of your Church, think you that I have adverted to distinctions in point of form?—think you that I have troubled myself with questions of Church discipline or of Church government? No, but with a wish as hearty and cordial as you can entertain have I deprecated the arrival of that day, if ever it should come, when men in authority or in legislation should be ashamed or unwilling to support the National Church of Scotland—to extend its ministration—to advance its banners into the desolate and unclaimed wastes of religious indifference or profligacy. Gentle-

* Hansard, vol. xxxv. pp. 575, 581.
† Upwards of 3400 gentlemen sat down at the table.

men, you respond to that sentiment, do you not? (Long and continued cheering.) Come, then, and let us improve this occasion, not to the mere purposes of festivity; let us improve it to public advantage, and let us see whether we can join heart and hand in resolutions to support that sentiment. (Great applause.)" *

In striking contrast with all the expressions and acts of the Conservatives was the treatment which the Church Extension cause met with at the hands of the Whig ministry. That ministry, favourably disposed as its chief members were at the first to listen to Dr. Chalmers's moderate demands, opened its ear too readily to the representations of the Scottish Dissenters. When reminded by Dr. Chalmers, in 1835, of the encouragement which, in the preceding year, he had given to the first demand for an endowment, Lord Melbourne said, "With respect to the general and very guarded expressions which were used by myself respecting the proposed grant to the Scottish Church, in the year 1834, I can only say that they were employed in utter ignorance of the real state of things. You yourself admit that you were not prepared to expect opposition from any large body of your countrymen; and I, who had never heard anything but that the Church of Scotland was the most exemplary and the most satisfactory to the people of any Church in the world, could still less anticipate the burst of dissatisfaction and condemnation which broke forth so suddenly and unexpectedly. Not four days had elapsed from the time of the employment of the expressions to which you allude before I felt the ground to tremble under me." †

This trembling mood was still upon the Premier when, in July 1835, his ministry proposed to issue a Commission of Inquiry; and Dr. Chalmers and his coadjutors were excusable in cherishing some alarm lest, under that Commission, the entertainment of their question should be indefinitely postponed. Lord John Russell did everything, indeed, to quiet their apprehensions. At their suggestion he had a clause inserted in the Commission, that the Commissioners "were to report from time to time, in order that such remedies may be applied to any existing evils as Parliament may think fit;" and in moving the appointment of the Commission in the House of Commons, his lordship said, "It may be urged as an objection that the Com-

* See "Scottish Guardian" of 17th January 1837.
† Extracted from letter to Dr. Chalmers, dated 11th September 1835.

mission might extend its labours to an inconvenient length, but that will be obviated by arranging that they shall report from time to time, that their reports shall be laid before Parliament, and that as soon as Parliament and the Government shall have considered them, and ascertained that a remedy is required, and settled the nature of that remedy, they shall proceed at once to remedy them." While cordially concurring, however, in the proposal of interim reports, Lord John Russell had no strong conviction of their necessity. "I trust," he said, in his letter of instruction to the Commissioners, and we quote the expression to show how sincerely desirous his lordship was to avoid all needless delay, "I trust that in the course of six months the greater part of your task will be accomplished." It was no fault of the Commissioners that this anticipation was falsified, and that instead of completing their whole task within six months, it was a year and a half before their First Report, confined exclusively to Edinburgh, was laid upon the table of the House of Commons. Though conducted with the most laudable diligence, and, one single instance excepted,* with exemplary impartiality, the inquiry was so difficult and operose as necessarily to be tedious. At last, however, on the 7th February 1837, their First Report was presented to the House. This Report bore that, embracing all the sittings in Established and Dissenting churches there was church accommodation provided in Edinburgh for about 48·20 per cent. of the whole population—that in the Established churches there were upwards of 9000, and in the Dissenting upwards of 11,000 sittings unlet. As to the actual attendance upon religious ordinances, "it would appear," say the Commissioners, "as was indeed universally admitted in the evidence, that there is a large number of persons capable of attending who habitually absent themselves from public worship. This number cannot be less than from 40,000 to 50,000, according to the age at which children may be supposed capable of attending church." "It appears to us as the result of the whole evidence, that from whatever cause it proceeds, whether connected with their extent or nature, the opportunities of public religious worship, and the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence at present existing and in operation, are not adequate to the removal of the evil complained of."

* The permission given to Dissenters to withhold all evidence as to debts and other incumbrances on their places of worship.

Upon the presentation of this Report it was hoped that some Government action would ensue. The broad and alarming fact that nearly one-third of the whole population of the Scottish metropolis were living in the entire neglect of religious ordinances, afforded, it was imagined, a sufficient warrant for such action. When questioned, however, in Parliament, the heads of the Government replied, that they thought it "better to wait until they had the other Reports before them, before any further steps were taken on the subject."* At the close of the year, the Second and Third Reports of the Commissioners were issued, and all reason for any further delay was removed. The Second Report, referring to the city and suburbs of Glasgow, stated that, in all the churches, there were sittings provided for only 39·50 per cent. of the population; while, as to Church attendance, the result is stated to be, "that a very large number of persons, upwards of 66,000, exclusive of children under ten years of age, are not in the habit of attending public worship."—The materials for decision being now all before them, the determination of the Government was looked for with profound anxiety. It was at last announced that the ministry would be prepared to bring in a bill, the leading provisions of which were:—1*st*, That the bishops' teinds should be applied in providing for the religious destitution existing in certain Highland and other rural parishes, having no unexhausted teinds; 2*d*, That an alteration should be made in the Act 1707, respecting the division of parishes in Scotland, so as to afford increased facilities for the application of the unexhausted teinds in the hands of private proprietors, to relieve the destitution of such parishes as had unexhausted teinds belonging to them; 3*d*, That nothing should be done for the large towns—that no grant should be made from any source to provide additional means of religious instruction for them. Such was the measure which, after four years of negotiation and expectation, was offered to the acceptance of the Church Extensionists of Scotland. Its first provision, if carried out, would have yielded but a limited revenue; its second, the most competent authorities in Scotland declared it would be illegal to execute; and its third was a distinct negative upon that demand which, of all others, Dr. Chalmers looked upon as the clearest and most clamant. The measure met so little favour, that it was speedily withdrawn, and all hope of aid from the Whig ministry

* Speech of Lord John Russell, on a motion brought forward by Sir William Rae, 5th May 1837.—Hansard, vol. xxxviii. p. 617.

was abandoned.* In that ministry there were many devoted friends of the Church of Scotland. Of Lord John Russell in particular, we can have no doubt that had he been at perfect liberty to act upon his own personal convictions, the aid which that Church asked would readily have been granted. But the Government of which he was a member, wanted both unity and strength. It wanted unity, for among its members there were some whose opinions as to Church Establishments, and whose dispositions toward the evangelical party in Scotland, were altogether different from those of the Home Secretary. It wanted strength, for, slender comparatively as was their political influence, the Voluntaries of Scotland might at this time have turned the scale. The majority of 300, which the Whig ministry possessed in 1831, had in 1837 dwindled down to 26. With a majority so reduced, and which every year was diminishing, it was evident that the days of the Whig Government were numbered. Amid the struggle which preceded its dissolution, the Church of Scotland was drawn into the strife. In the treatment given to her, a weapon was furnished to the Conservatives too effective to lie unused: and, however desirous Dr. Chalmers and other ecclesiastical leaders might be to avoid everything which could give a political aspect to any of their ecclesiastical movements, it was not possible for them, either as citizens or as Churchmen, to stand neutral between two parties—one of which declared itself to be so friendly, the other of which proved itself to be so indifferent, to the Church's most reasonable demands. In the general politics of the period, Dr. Chalmers took no public part. There was one question, however, and that perhaps the leading one of the day, in which his interest was too lively not to find some vent. Having been asked by Mr. Campbell of Monzie to communicate to him in writing his opinion upon this topic, he did it in the following letter:

* A deputation from the Church Extension Committee, appointed to confer with the Government as to any measure which might be proposed, found on arrival in London, that on this, as on a former occasion, they had been anticipated—that the Government measure had been announced. Placed thus in a critical position, they were anxious that Dr. Chalmers, who had not accompanied them, should join them in London; but a private intimation, conveyed to one of their number, informed them, that, affecting to regard him as their political enemy, the Government would rather avoid meeting Dr. Chalmers. Dr. Muir was at the head of the deputation at their final interview with Lord Melbourne. At the close of the meeting it was represented in the most solemn terms, to his lordship, that in what the Government proposed to do they were abandoning the principle of an Establishment so far as great cities were concerned, and that they would inflict a cruel and deep wound on the Church of Scotland. "That, gentlemen," said the Premier, in the easiest tone of *nonchalance*, "that is your inference. You may not be the better for our plan, but—hang it—you cannot surely be worse." And so ended the colloquy.

"BURNTISLAND, *July* 22, 1836.

"DEAR SIR,—On the subject of our recent conversation, I would beg leave to add that I have always regarded the appropriation of any part of the revenues of the Irish Church to other than strictly ecclesiastical objects, as a very gross violation of the principle of a religious establishment. And I further think, that the actual appropriation carried in the House of Commons, militates in the strongest manner against all the principles of Protestantism. I have ever reprobated the grant to Maynooth College; and (*à fortiori*) I must deplore, should it ever be the adopted policy of our Government, the alienation, in however small a proportion, of the endowments of the Protestant hierarchy of Ireland to the support of any Popish seminary whatever; and more especially to the support of schools which will only admit the Scriptures in a changed or mutilated form into their course of education. The question, my dear sir, is altogether a vital one, insomuch that if any, whether in or out of Parliament, shall support the appropriation clause, I doubt whether they have a sincere, and most certainly they have not an enlightened attachment to the interests of the Protestant faith.—Ever believe me, my dear Sir, yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, ESQ., OF MONZIE.

"*P.S.*—If the Government shall carry into effect their proposed act of violence against the Episcopal Protestant Establishment of Ireland, I should certainly feel that the Presbyterian Establishment of Scotland is not safe in their hands."

This letter was avowedly asked and used to serve an electioneering purpose. Mr. Campbell's opponent had previously, with a like object, made a like request of Dr. Chalmers, whose only part in the matter was, that when asked for his opinion, he frankly stated it. It so happened, however, that the letter above quoted told against the liberal interest in the canvass, and a violent outcry was raised against the writer for improper and unclerical interference in political affairs.* It was one of the few instances in which Dr. Chalmers offered any public defence of his conduct. From a communication addressed by him to the "Edinburgh Courant," we extract a single paragraph.

* "We pronounce such conduct of the reverend doctor to be outrageously disgraceful."—*Caledonian Mercury*, August 15. "Anything more characteristic of an officious, vain, self-conceited, factious, meddling spirit, has rarely appeared in the annals of party contests."—*Scotsman*, August 17.

"Burntisland, *August* 23, 1836.

"It is interesting to observe the sort of family likeness which obtains among the numerous disciples of the mock patriotism of our day, who all profess to worship at the shrine of liberty, yet with whom it is a mortal offence that one should dare to have an opinion of his own, if it thwart any object of theirs, and an offence still more unpardonable that he should dare to give it utterance. The 'London Courier' has been pleased to denominate the part I have taken as an extraordinary interference with the politics of Argyleshire; and it is not many weeks ago since a vacant professorship, that had been previously much canvassed for, was disposed of by the magistrates and council of Edinburgh. In common with others I happened to be consulted on the occasion, and wrote one or two letters to my own special acquaintances; I was called on to write several more, either in compliance with the wishes, or in return to the communications which I received from various members of that honourable body. On the day of election, when my opinion happened to be quoted at the city board, the effusion of a Councillor R., as reported in the public prints, was, that 'we have had enough of Dr. Chalmers's interference.' I would have been spared this piece of coarse impertinence had I chosen to be so ungentlemanly or uncivil to Bailie Macfarlan and others, as to take no notice of their communications. Nevertheless I shall continue to act as heretofore; and neither the insolence of an unmannerly town-councillor, nor the ferocity and falsehood of all the liberal newspapers, shall deter me from the privilege and the duty of a freeborn citizen, which, in its very humblest form, is to speak when he is spoken to, and write when he is written to.

Thomas Chalmers."

The Argyleshire canvass gave token of the extent to which ecclesiastical questions were affecting the politics of the period, and would tell upon the results of a general election. That event, to which both parties looked forward so earnestly, was now at hand. The king died on the 20th June 1837, and the country was plunged into the turmoil of a great political strife. Before alluding, however, to these elections, let us offer to our readers a glimpse of our present beloved Sovereign in the first days of her elevation to the throne. Soon after her accession Dr. Chalmers accompanied to London two deputations, one from the University of Edinburgh, the other from the Church of Scot-

land. For his journal letters, with all their minute details of a fortnight's residence in the metropolis, we cannot now find place. One extract, however, we cannot forbear presenting.

"*London, July* 19, 1837.—I ordered my glass coach to come to me at half-past eleven, in which I was to take up the other heads of the deputation. It came not till twelve, and subjected me for half an hour to a misery with which I have long been familiar; went in it, first, to the last but one house in Craven Street, Strand, where C—— told me B—— lodged, but when I got there no such name was ever heard of, so I just put it down to the misfortune of having been born in such a world of non-accurates, or such a world of non-punctuals, as we have been destined to occupy; thence I went to 5, Maddox Street, where I took up Sir George Ballingall, quite a kindred spirit in the glorious virtue of punctuality; thence to the Thatched-House Tavern, near the gate of St. James's Palace, where our deputation assembled, and about fifty cast up, chiefly medical graduates of our college; thence in a bareheaded procession to St. James's, I at the head of the rank and file, and a very respectable and numerously jointed tail of attendants behind me; a most picturesque range of particoloured soldiers, beef-eaters, and attendants of various sorts along the lobbies and staircase which lead to the levee-rooms of the palace; got first to the outer of these rooms, which soon filled almost to suffocation. Instead of a promenade which I used to have, this, being the first of all Queen Victoria's levees, was crowded beyond all example. We had sad squeezing to get into the second room, and thence to the third, or chamber of presence; got my first view of the Queen on entering the third or last room; a most interesting girlish sensibility to the realities of her situation, with sufficient self-command, but withal simple, timid, tremulous, and agitated, that rendered her to me far more interesting, and awoke a more feeling and fervent loyalty in my heart than could have been done by any other exhibition. Having kissed her hand and passed, and forgetting to give her my University address, wrapped up in a roll, I was proceeding along with it in my hand, when I was checked by one of the lords in waiting, and instantly put it into the hands of Her Majesty.

"I forgot to mention that in the outermost room (where we stood in a squeeze and half suffocated for nearly an hour) there was one head, just two heads away from me, that of J—— H——. Whether he recognised me or not I will not say, but

I was resolved in his case not to speak until I was spoken to; and as that did not take place, we maintained our reciprocal silence, though our noses were often not half a foot from each other. When I looked at his hard utilitarian face, which, by the way, was the general aspect and physiognomy of the people around me, I felt the atmosphere most uncongenial to all that is chivalrous or sentimental in loyalty. Nor do I believe that half-a-dozen there were moved as I was at the sight of our truly interesting Queen, incapable as they seemed to me of all sympathy with Burke, when he appealed to the days of the grand monarque, and spoke of the thousand swords that would have leaped from their scabbards in defence of the Queen of France."

The autumn of 1837 was occupied with the elections, and when the results were known Dr. Chalmers took the liberty of writing to Sir Robert Peel, whose advent to power seemed not far off.

"EDINBURGH, *December* 1, 1837.

"DEAR SIR ROBERT,—I must not press on your much occupied time; and indeed I have only one sentence to write, on the subject of Church Extension.

"We have lost our great friend in the present Parliament—Sir George Clerk. But we have gained two, Mr. Colquhoun and Lord Ramsay—the former thoroughly conversant with the question, both in its principle and minutest details, the latter full of attachment to the cause and zeal in its favour, and who will soon, I trust, become as intelligent about it as Mr. Colquhoun, who in everything connected with the ecclesiastical or educational state of Scotland has as sound and enlightened views as any one I know, whether in or out of Parliament.

"I cannot close this brief note without expressing the deep interest I have felt in your personal happiness and wellbeing from the time I had the privilege of spending two days with you at Carstairs,* and how much this sentiment was enhanced by the newspaper reports of your health. May you experience through life the guardianship of a kind Providence; and, above all, may you plentifully share the richer and higher blessings of Divine grace, so as to pass unhurt amid all the troubles and temptations to which all on the high arena of public life are exposed, where the maxims of an irreligious world come so

* The seat of Henry Monteith, Esq., where Sir Robert Peel staid a few days on his way to be installed as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.

frequently, often so fatally, into collision with the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.—I have the honour to be, dear Sir Robert, yours, with the most grateful and devoted regard,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"The Right Hon. Sir R. Peel, Bart., M.P."

"DRAYTON MANOR, FAZELEY, *December* 21, 1837.

"MY DEAR DR. CHALMERS,—I arrived here last night from London, and I avail myself of the first moment of comparative repose to thank you sincerely for the note which you wrote to me some time since. It should not have remained so long unacknowledged had it not been for the incessant occupation of my time—frequently thirteen or fourteen continuous hours in the House of Commons.

"I share sincerely in your satisfaction at the return to Parliament of Mr. Colquhoun, and am confident that he will be of the greatest service to the interests of the Church of Scotland, and to the great cause of pure religious instruction.

"I have had two or three interviews with him during the present meeting.

"The kind and flattering manner in which you express yourself towards me, and the assurances of personal esteem which your note conveys, are truly gratifying to me.

"I had learned to honour and respect you long before I had the opportunity of making your acquaintance, and I can truly say that I should be raised higher in my own esteem could I think myself really entitled to the friendship and warm attachment of so good a man.

"The constant occupations of men in public life, the vehement excitement of party contentions, and the feelings and passions to which they give rise, have indeed too great a tendency to withdraw their minds from the contemplation of matters of much deeper obligation and much more lasting interest. They have not, however, deadened in my mind those solemn feelings which are naturally awakened by your affecting remembrance of me in your prayers, and recommendation of me to the guardianship and the mercy of a kind Providence.—Believe me, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours, ROBERT PEEL.

"The Rev. Dr. Chalmers."

Through all the political discouragements of the years 1835, 36, 37, the great home objects of the Church Extension Scheme

were prosecuted with unflagging devotion; with the influential clergy and laity of Scotland a most voluminous correspondence was carried on, and the press gave forth many a circular. To the earlier agency a new instrument was added. Dr. Chalmers had been much struck by the effect of a tour made by Dr. Duff in 1835, through the towns and parishes of Scotland, which had awakened the Church and country to much greater missionary zeal, and had drawn forth an enlarged liberality. From this as well as from the effects of political meetings held widely over the country, he became convinced that for many purposes the platform was more effective than the press—that the living voice had a power which the dead letter never can exert. This power he resolved to employ on behalf of his favourite scheme; and having in 1836 obtained the General Assembly's sanction, a Sub-committee on Church Extension was formed for the express purpose of organizing a system of meetings to be held extensively over the country, at which well-instructed deputies were to appear and plead this cause in the most popular and effective manner. The issue was most encouraging. As the ear of the Government seemed to close, the ear of the country seemed to open; and, under the strong conviction that it was by the country that the Government was finally to be carried, the success in Scotland appeared to Dr. Chalmers more than a counterbalance to the repulses of the metropolis. That success was truly wonderful. In May 1838, as the fruit of four years' labour, Dr. Chalmers announced to the General Assembly, that nearly two hundred churches had been added to the Establishment, for the erection of which upwards of two hundred thousand pounds had been contributed. Well might the prosecutor of this great enterprise say, as he announced these results, "What other single scheme of Christian benevolence in this country ever commanded so noble an income as £50,000 per annum! Had the operations of the Committee not harmonized with the sentiments of the country, they never could have commanded an amount and continuance of pecuniary support altogether without a precedent in the history of Christian beneficence in this part of the British Empire. Nor is there any premonitory symptom yet of declining fervour in this cause among the people of Scotland. The work is still far from its termination. It has only so to speak begun. The cases of most helpless and affecting destitution still remain to be overtaken. There are wastes of poverty, irreligion, and crime, which have

still to be redeemed, and which nothing but the aggressive operation of a territorial establishment, wisely, and strenuously, and perseveringly conducted, is adequate to subdue; and until every such moral wilderness is explored and reclaimed, and the whole country presents the aspect of a field which the Lord hath blessed, and is causing to bring forth the fruits of righteousness, the Committee may not rest from their labours, nor the people from their hearty and zealous co-operation. At the glorious era of the Church's Reformation, it was the unwearied support of the people which, under God, finally brought her efforts to a triumphant issue; in this era of her Extension—an era as broadly marked, and as emphatically presented to the notice of the ecclesiastical historian, as any which the Church is wont to consider as instances of signal revival and divine interposition—the support of the people will not be wanting; but by their devoted exertions, and willing sacrifices, and ardent prayers, they will yet testify how much they love the house where their fathers worshipped—how much they reverence their Saviour's command, that the very poorest of their brethren shall have the gospel preached to them."

CHAPTER XXIV.

DELIVERY OF A COURSE OF LECTURES IN LONDON IN DEFENCE OF RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS.

"THE Church as it now stands, no human power can save." So wrote Dr. Arnold in 1832; and it was under the abiding conviction that the English Establishment was in extreme danger that he issued, in the following year, a pamphlet, of which, in writing to a friend, he says, "I am sorry that you do not like the pamphlet. I will not answer for its practicability: when the patient is at the last gasp the dose may come too late, but still it is his only chance; he may die of the doctor; he must die of the disease." For some years after the passing of the Reform Bill, a general and not groundless alarm prevailed as to the fate of the English Establishment. That Bill had put a new power into the hands of the Dissenters. That this power would be used against the Church was evident; how far it might prevail was as yet unknown. It was novel and ominous that, in the frequent Parliamentary discussions of ecclesiastical questions, the ground and principle of all religious establishments, boldly challenged on the one hand, was frequently misstated, or but feebly defended, on the other. Under a pressure—the exact force had not yet been measured—the Government itself seemed ready to give way. "Viscount Melbourne," says Sydney Smith, "declared himself quite satisfied with the Church as it was, but if the public had any desire to alter it, they might do as they pleased." And if the House of Commons represented the public mind, the desire to alter was strong and urgent. "The real question," said the Duke of Wellington in 1838, "which now divides the country, and which truly divides the House of Commons, is Church or no Church. People talk of the war in Spain and the Canada question, but all that is of little moment. The real question is Church or no Church; and the majority of the House of Commons—a small majority it is true, but still a majority—are practically against it." The Duke may have to some extent misinterpreted the aim and intention of this majority, but its acts, under the guidance of the Government, were sufficiently

alarming. Commissions of Inquiry into the state both of the English and Irish Establishments were issued; and beginning with the weakest institute, not only was the number of its bishops reduced, but it was proposed to abridge the Irish Church to such extent as to leave a large surplus revenue, which revenue was to be appropriated to other than ecclesiastical objects.

It was this appropriation clause appended to the Irish Tithe Bill which roused the friends of the Episcopal Establishments to a vigorous defence. But the methods of defence were various. One party, composed almost exclusively of clergymen and collegians, boldly met the prevailing current by denying the right and authority of the Crown to meddle in any way either with the interior discipline or the external framework of the Church. That Church (and they spoke of the Episcopacy of England) had claims upon the country's reverence separate from and far higher than any which her mere civil institution conferred. Her ministry carrying in its hands a power derived from the apostles —her sacraments administered by those upon whom exclusively the gifts needful for the holy office had been bestowed by the Holy Ghost—she opened up the only channel of grace—she offered the only secure spiritual asylum. It was as such that she had been of old acknowledged and honoured by the State—it was as such that she expected the State's countenance to be continued. Another party, composed principally of laymen, were disposed to occupy a lower line of defence. Devotedly attached to the Church of England, ready to do battle in her favour, and to guard her against all violence from without, they were yet not insensible to certain defects in that Church—defects partly in her constitution, owing to the peculiar circumstances in which that constitution was formed—partly in her administration, owing to those corrupt influences to which every Church lies exposed. These defects, limiting her powers and opportunities of usefulness, it should be their first effort to remove, so that while lifting above her the shield of protection, they might leave her less exposed to the hostile shaft. Among other means directed to this end a small society was instituted in London, entitled the Christian Influence Society. Early in 1837, its enlightened and zealous secretary, A. Gordon, Esq., wrote to Dr. Chalmers, requesting him to open a course of lectures, which it was proposed to institute in the metropolis, the audience to be limited, and as select and influential as could be secured, and the lectures to be published immediately after their delivery. In the contro-

versy about Establishments, which had so long and so greatly agitated Scotland, Dr. Chalmers had hitherto taken part only when that controversy connected itself with the Church Extension movement. A very favourable opportunity was now offered him of unfolding in a didactic rather than in a controversial form the true theory of a religious establishment, and demonstrating its peculiar efficacy as the only instrument capable of diffusing universally over a whole country the lessons of Christianity. Nor was it without its influence that by these lectures being delivered in London the public mind of England might to some extent be inoculated and impressed with his peculiar views. He consented, therefore, to undertake the task to which Mr. Gordon had invited him, but he postponed the execution of it till the spring of 1838. Upon their preparation he bestowed unusual pains—pains amply rewarded by the manner of their public reception. The first of these lectures was delivered in the Hanover Square Rooms, on Wednesday the 25th April. It was literally a picked audience, as none were admitted but those to whom tickets had been sent by the Society, and seldom on any similar topic has a minister of religion been privileged to address a similar assembly. One of the royal family honoured the occasion by his presence. "I was waiting," says Dr. Chalmers, "with others in a committee-room, when the Duke of Cambridge entered and inquired for me. I was accordingly introduced, and exchanged a few sentences with him. He has very much the manner and appearance of his father, George III., who used to say of him that he was the only son of his who had not cost him a sigh. I had been told that he was a very great fidget, and that he would not sit still for a moment during the lecture; but it was strikingly the reverse. He and his equery, Colonel Jones, who were accommodated with a sofa directly before me, were among the most attentive, and to all appearance intelligent listeners, of the very high audience, all of whom seemed to sympathize with me to the uttermost." Speaking of this opening lecture, the leading journal of the day said, "If the interior of the structure correspond in any degree with the simple and massive grandeur of the porch, these lectures will doubtless challenge the admiration of after ages, scarcely more as an imperishable monument of the Doctor's genius than as an invaluable contribution to the permanent literature, and, above all, to the higher interests of the country. From the first word that escaped the lips of the lecturer till the concluding sentence, which died away

amid the acclamations of the audience, the vivid interest was sustained with a deep and unflagging intensity." At the second lecture, the seats reserved for peers and members of Parliament were at an early hour crowded to overflow, and so difficult was it to pack the room aright, that for more than a quarter of an hour after the time fixed for opening, the lecturer could not proceed. The third lecture witnessed a still denser crowd, composed of a still higher grade, and manifesting a still higher enthusiasm. At the fourth and fifth lectures an American clergyman was present, who tells us, "the hour at which the lecture was to commence was two o'clock. I thought it necessary to be beforehand in order to secure a seat. When I arrived I found the hall so perfectly crammed that at first it seemed impossible to gain admission, but by dint of perseverance I pushed my way onward through the dense crowd till I had reached nearly the centre of the hall. Though the crowd was so great, it was very obvious that the assembly was made up principally of persons in the higher walks of life. Dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, baronets, bishops, and members of Parliament, were to be seen in every direction. After some considerable delay and impatient waiting, the great charmer made his entrance, and was welcomed with clappings and shouts of applause, that grew more and more intense till the noise became almost deafening."* The concluding lecture was graced by the presence of nine prelates of the Church of England. The tide that had been rising and swelling each succeeding day now burst all bounds. Carried away by the impassioned utterance of the speaker, long ere the close of some of his finest passages was reached, the voice of the lecturer was drowned in the applause, the audience rising from their seats, waving their hats above their heads, and breaking out into tumultuous approbation. Nor was the interest confined to the lecture-room. "Nothing," says Dr. Begg,† "could exceed the enthusiasm which prevailed in London. The great city seemed stirred to its very depths. The Doctor sat when delivering his lectures behind a small table; the hall in front being densely crowded with one of the most brilliant audiences that ever assembled in Britain. It was supposed that at least five hundred of those present were Peers and members of the House of Com-

* "Glimpses of the Old World," by the late Rev. J. A. Clark, D.D. Vol. ii. pp. 96, 97. London, 1847.

† Dr. Begg, along with other members of the Church Extension Committee, accompanied Dr. Chalmers, and availing themselves of so favourable an opportunity, succeeded in obtaining about £5000 in the metropolis.

mons. Sir James Graham was a very constant attender. The sitting attitude of Dr. Chalmers seemed at first irreconcilable with much energy or effect. But such an anticipation was at once dispelled by the enthusiasm of the speaker, responded to, if possible, by the still more intense enthusiasm of the audience; and, occasionally, the effect was even greatly increased, by the eloquent man springing unconsciously to his feet, and delivering with overwhelming power the more magnificent passages—a movement which, on one occasion at least, was intimated by the entire audience, when the words 'the king cannot—the king dare not,' were uttered in accents of prophetic vehemence, that must still ring in the ears of all who heard them, and were responded to by a whirlwind of enthusiasm, which was probably never exceeded in the history of eloquence. Some of us sat on the platform beside the Doctor, and near us were the reporters. One seemed to leave the room every five minutes with what he had written, so that by the time the lecture was finished, it was nearly all in print. On the day of the first lecture, which commenced at two o'clock, and terminated about half past three, some of us went round by the city, and when we reached our dinner table at five o'clock, we were able to present to Dr. Chalmers a newspaper, I think the *Sun* or *Globe*, containing a full report of his lecture. Nothing was more striking, however, amidst all this excitement, than the childlike humility of the great man himself. All the flattery seemed to produce no effect whatever on him; his mind was entirely absorbed in his great object; and the same kind, playful, and truly Christian spirit, that so endeared him to us all, was everywhere apparent in his conduct. I had the honour afterwards to be introduced to the Duke of Cambridge. He immediately introduced the subject of Dr. Chalmers. 'What does he teach?' said His Royal Highness rapidly. I intimated that he taught theology. 'Monstrous clever man,' said the Duke, 'he could teach anything.' I had heard Dr. Chalmers on many great occasions, but probably his London lectures afforded the most remarkable illustrations of his extraordinary power, and must be ranked amongst the most signal triumphs of oratory in any age."

No time was lost in presenting these lectures in an authentic form before the public. They passed speedily through several editions, eight thousand copies having been circulated within a year, and they are now to be found in the seventeenth volume of his works. Throughout them one prevalent and predominant

idea is to be traced. It was presented, indeed, in the very title by which they were originally announced as being "upon the Establishment and Extension of National Churches as affording the only adequate machinery for the moral and Christian instruction of a people." Dr. Chalmers regards as the chief distinction, the proudest glory of an Established Church, that by it, and it only, the whole mass of the community, down to the meanest and most worthless, could be reached and thoroughly pervaded. Though he was far from insensible to such secondary advantages as the higher status, greater learning, and superior influence of its clergy, the freedom given by a firm position and fixed creed from the wayward impulses of a changing belief, the great moral and political benefit rendered to the State, by raising the tone of principle and feeling, and tempering the passions of the populace—not one nor all of these lent any charm to an Establishment in his eye, as compared with its possession of a power by which, if rightly used, the pure and holy truths of Christianity might be carried into every hamlet, and brought to bear upon every conscience and every heart. In conducting his vindication of Establishments, every other feature seems lost in this. It is upon the superior efficacy of the territorial arrangement that he dwells; that arrangement peculiar to an Establishment, by which a certain definite district of town or country—every part of which he was required to cultivate, every house in which it was his duty to enter—was assigned to each clergyman. Let these districts be but small enough; let the whole country be broken up into manageable sections, and let workmen full of zeal in the service of the Saviour be planted in each of them; this was the likeliest—this to his eye was the only method by which the multitudes, already suffered to wander into ignorance and irreligion, could be reclaimed, and the universal Christianity of the country be upheld. For this, however, two things were required:—first, that the State should select and employ some one Church for the accomplishment of this work; and, secondly, that it should adequately endow this Church, and progressively extend it. In fixing upon the Church whose instrumentality was to be employed, there was one broad and clear ground of choice. No difficulty could be felt in rejecting the Papacy, in choosing some one form at least of Protestantism. "He could not imagine," said Dr. Chalmers, "a more testing evidence of an incompetent and vulgarized parliament, than that it should not be qualified to decide the question between the merits of

Protestantism and Popery—or which of the two systems, not in respect of policy, but in respect of absolute truth and of sacred obligation, is the more worthy of being upholden as the national faith of these realms. This is neither a minute, nor is it a manifold controversy, but one great and simple question, on which, too, there shine the broadest lights, both of moral and historical evidence: and that is, whether the Scriptures, as being of Divine authority, be the only rule of faith and practice in religion; or whether, co-ordinate therewith, the decisions of any councils or governors in the Church, after the days of the apostles, should be admitted to an equal or superior lordship over the consciences of men? In this nation, of all others, there is none, with the ordinary schooling of a gentleman, who could not thoroughly inform himself, and by the reading of a few weeks, on this great question, so as to decide between the authority of the Bible and the authority of Rome's Apostate Church; between the miracles of the gospel, performed in the face of the then civilized world, and the mummeries of the Papal superstition, transmitted to us in barbarous legends—those products of the cells and the convents which overspread Europe through the dark and dreary millennium of the middle ages. We need only a parliament of England's best principled and best educated men. But should we not be so fortunate; should the disaster ever befall us, of vulgar and upstart politicians to be lords of the ascendent; should an infidel or demi-infidel government wield for a season the destinies of this mighty empire, and be willing, at the shrine of their own wretched partisanship to make sacrifice of those great and hallowed institutions, which were consecrated by our ancestors to the maintenance of religious truth and religious liberty; should, in particular, the monstrous proposition ever be entertained, not to tolerate (for that is quite as it should be), but to endow Popery—not perhaps to abolish, but at least to abridge the legal funds for the support of Protestantism, and at all events to uphold an antiscriptural, and with this aggravation, that it should be at the expense and with the diminution of a scriptural faith—let us hope that there is still enough, not of fiery zeal, but of calm, resolute, and withal enlightened principle in the land to resent the outrage—enough of energy and reaction, in the revolted sense of this great country, to meet and overbear it."

In speaking of the circumstances which determine a government to choose one rather than another Protestant denomination, Dr. Chalmers made light of all differences in the mere forms and

order of worship and of government. Compared with the inestimable benefit of setting up an apparatus by which a cheap and universal Christian education might be communicated to every household, these should be as dust in the balance. To gain an end so noble, he would have had all the evangelical dissenters of England to sink, as he himself would have been ready to do, all their objections to Episcopacy; and to gain the same great end, the Church of England should open her bosom wide enough to take them in. "When once the Church of England shall have come down from all that is transcendental or mysterious in her pretensions; and, quitting the plea of her exclusive apostolical derivation, shall rest more upon that wherein the real greatness of her strength lies—the purity of her doctrines—her deeds of high prowess and championship in the battles of the faith—the noble contributions which have been rendered by her scholars and her sons to that Christian literature, which is at once the glory and the defence of Protestantism—the ready-made apparatus of her churches and parishes—the unbroken hold which, as an Establishment, she still retains on the mass of society—and her unforfeited possessory right to be reckoned and deferred to as an Establishment still—when these, the true elements of her legitimacy and her power, come to be better understood, in that proportion will she be recognised as the great standard and rallying-post, for all those who would unite their efforts and their sacrifices in that mighty cause, the object of which is to send throughout our families, in more plentiful supply, those waters of life which can alone avail for the healing of the nation."

On the morning of the day on which he was to touch on the nature of the connexion between Church and State, a friend asked him whether he did not feel that he was coming on delicate ground in the presence of the dignitaries and members of a Church which acknowledged the Sovereign as its head. "No," he replied; "it is the most important point of the whole discussion; it is the basis and strength of my whole argument: without it I could not have opened my mouth on the subject; and if there be any one of these lectures on which my mind is clearer and more made up than another, it is on the one I am going to deliver to-day." In the course of that lecture, while engaged in removing the objection that the connexion between Church and State necessarily implied a vitiating or secularizing of Christianity, Dr. Chalmers quoted a conversation which he had had

with an American clergyman, who said to him, "If all you mean by an Establishment is an organized provision for a clergy, we should rejoice in it. The thing we deprecate is the authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion." "Now this," said Dr. Chalmers, "this organized provision is truly all that we contend for. It is just, in other words, a legal provision for the support of a Christian ministry; an arrangement which might truly be gone into, and which actually is gone into, without the slightest infringement on the spiritual prerogatives of the Church, or the ecclesiastical independence of her clergymen. In respect of this ecclesiastical independence, I am not aware of any serious practical obstacle to the exercise of it in England; and at all events, we know of nothing more perfect in this respect than the constitution of the Church of Scotland. There is, to each of its members, an independent voice from within; and from without, there is no power or authority whatever in matters ecclesiastical. They who feel dislike to an Establishment do so, in general, because of their recoil from all contact and communication with the State. We have no other communication with the State than that of being maintained by it, after which we are left to regulate the proceedings of our great Home Mission, with all the purity, and the piety, and the independence of any missionary board. We are exposed to nothing from without which can violate the sanctity of the apostolical character, if ourselves do not violate it. And neither are we exposed to aught which can trench on the authority of the apostolical office, if we ourselves make no surrender of it. In things ecclesiastical we decide all. Some of these things may be done wrong, but still they are our majorities which do it. They are not, they cannot be, forced upon us from without. We own no Head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Whatever is done ecclesiastically, is done by our ministers as acting in His name, and in perfect submission to His authority. Implicated as the Church and State are imagined to be, they are not so implicated as that, without the concurrence of the ecclesiastical courts, a full and final effect can be given to any proceeding by which the good of Christianity and the religion of our people may be affected. There is not a clerical appointment which can take place in any one of our parishes till we have sustained it. Even the law of patronage, right or wrong, is in force, not by the power of the State, but by the permission of the Church, and, with all its fancied omnipotence, has no other basis than that of our majorities to rest upon. It

should never be forgotten that, in things ecclesiastical, the highest power of our Church is amenable to no higher power on earth for its decisions. It can exclude; it can deprive; it can depose, at pleasure. External force might make an obnoxious individual the holder of a benefice; but there is no external force in these realms that could make him a minister of the Church of Scotland. There is not one thing which the State can do to our independent and indestructible Church but strip her of her temporalities. *Nec tamen consumebatur*, she would remain a Church notwithstanding—as strong as ever in the props of her own moral and inherent greatness; and, though shrivelled in all her dimensions by the moral injury inflicted on many thousands of families, she would be at least as strong as ever in the reverence of her country's population. She was as much a Church in her days of suffering as in her days of outward security and triumph; when a wandering outcast, with nought but the mountain breezes to play around her, and nought but the caves of the earth to shelter her, as now, when admitted to the bowers of an Establishment. The magistrate might withdraw his protection, and she cease to be an Establishment any longer; but in all the high matters of sacred and spiritual jurisdiction, she would be the same as before. With or without an Establishment, she, in these, is the unfettered mistress of her doings. The king by himself, or by his representative, might be the spectator of our proceedings; but what Lord Chatham said of the poor man's house, is true in all its parts of the Church to which I have the honour to belong—'In England every man's house is his castle: not that it is surrounded with walls and battlements—it may be a straw-built shed; every wind of heaven may whistle round it; every element of heaven may enter it; but the king cannot—the king dare not.'"

The spiritual independence of the Scottish Church thus eloquently described was now on the eve of violation, and when that violation drove Dr. Chalmers from its pale, many who on the delivery of this passage had been the loudest in their applause were the readiest in accusing him of inconsistency, while he was only abiding by that great principle which he had always held,* and so frequently and fervently advocated.

* The passage quoted above was taken from a sermon preached in Edinburgh in May 1829, some years before any public discussion of the question as to the Church's spiritual independence.—See Dr. Chalmers's Works, vol. xi. p. 439.

CHAPTER XXV.

VISIT TO PARIS—TOUR THROUGH SOME OF THE INLAND PROVINCES OF FRANCE.

From the time of his appointment as one of its corresponding members, Dr. Chalmers had cherished the intention of reading a paper before the Royal Institute of France. In execution of this design, he left England for Paris, early in June 1838, accompanied by Mrs. Chalmers and two of his daughters. Lady Elgin, Sir John and Lady Hay, Lady Shaw Stewart, and Mr. Erskine, all of whom were there, vied with each other in affording him every opportunity for thoroughly exploring Paris; and to the same kind friends he was indebted for more than one interesting glimpse into the interior of French society. From the journal kept upon this occasion a few extracts are presented.

"*June* 10.—Much impressed with the beauty and lightness of Paris, up and down the Seine. Delighted with the Tuileries garden; its sculpture, its shaded walks, its groups of pedestrians. But how much more still and leisurely everything moves here than in London. All in Paris is within a manageable compass; and I was not prepared for its being so much less busy, and populous, and extensive, than our own metropolis. It is more a city of loungers; and life moves on at a more rational pace. Its buildings are more impressive.

"*June* 11.—Hurried away with Mr. Erskine to wait on Guizot. Found him at home. He speaks English tolerably. Struck with the smallness of his establishment; certainly not superior to the average of the W.S.'s in Edinburgh. Literary aspect of the rooms. Mentioned my Christian and Civic Economy. Told him how much his opinions on education were valued in England. He said that the connexion between the moral and the economical was a subject altogether new and unknown in France. He readily acquiesced in the distinction between a charity for indigence, and one for disease; and said there was a growing aversion in his country to the admission of the principle that the poor had a right to subsistence. Took cordial leave of him. In the lower story was introduced to his mother,

Madame Guizot, who told me that she had read my works; a very kind and, I am told, worthy person, with a most maternal and benign manner. Hence with Mr. Cowan to M. Mignet, near the Foreign Office, where he has an employment. Sitting at papers; young and of an open countenance; remarkably good-looking. No English, but very polite and cordial. Relieved by knowing that there was no immediate hurry for my article.* The Duc de Broglie joined us; and he also very polite. Felt a little embarrassment with my total want of French, and their want of English. Mr. Cowan of great use. The Duc de Broglie called afterwards at my hotel, and left his card.

"*June* 12.—Slowness, unpunctuality, and withal irrational dearness of French tradesmen and dealers. But Paris better than London, in not being a place of extreme and high-pressure work in all the departments of industry. More favourable to intellect, to man in his loftier capacities, to all the better and higher purposes of our nature. . . . Professor Stapfer, nephew of the author, told me on the authority of Baron Maurice, that La Place was restless and inquiring on his last illness; that he sought for books, and had first Burnet's 'Evidences on Christianity'† read to him; that he rejected his view on miracles; that my 'Evidences' were then read, with which he declared himself more satisfied, and more especially that it did not theorize on miracles, but treated them on the footing of historical. This the Professor had from Baron Maurice, of Geneva himself, between whom and La Place the whole transaction took place. I am, therefore, to send my first new volume on the 'Evidences' to Stapfer, that he might show the chapters on Hume and La Place to the Baron, and others of the like mathematical taste and understanding. Drew much to Grandpierre, President of the Missionary Society.

"*Wednesday, June* 13.—Went to the Louvre. Had to show our passports. Gorgeous and large pictures in the ante-room. Struck with the picture of one of Bonaparte's battles in his retreat from Moscow. The expression of Napoleon very striking —as if solemnized by the greatness of the coming disaster, yet

* The article read by Dr. Chalmers on this occasion before the Institute was on the "Distinction, both in principle and effect, between a Legal Charity for the Relief of Indigence and a Legal Charity for the Relief of Disease." It will be found in his Works, vol. xxi. pp. 369-408.

† I suppose that the reference here is to a small treatise of Bishop Burnet, entitled, "A Rational Method for Proving the Truth of the Christian Religion." London, 1693.

with an air of full intelligence, and serenity, and majesty, and a deep mournful expression withal. The long gallery of the Louvre superb; impressed at once with the superiority of its pictures. Very much interested in the Flemish pictures, of which there were some very admirable ones by David Teniers. I am fond of Rembrandt's portraits; and was much pleased in recognising the characteristics of Rubens, Poussin, and Claude Lorrain. I also remarked that in most of the Italian schools, with the exception of the Venetian, there was a total want of shading off; yet the separate figures, though not harmonized with the background, very striking in themselves. The statuary of painting perhaps expresses the style of the Roman and other such schools. There is a quadrangle recently attached to the east end of the gallery, filled with the models of towns, ships, and machinery; the towns very instructive. But the most interesting part of this department is the Spanish pictures, in all of which the strong emotions are most powerfully expressed. There is quite a stamp of national peculiarity in these works. The walls which contain them seem all alive with the passions and thoughts of living men. The freshness and force of the colouring quite remarkable, considering the age of the pictures.

"Sir John and Lady Hay kindly gave us their carriage to take us to and from an evening party at Lady Elgin's, invited on my account, and consisting of some of the most eminent people in Paris. Duc de Broglie kind but retired. He arranged for me an introduction to the Chamber of Peers. M. Guizot, intellectual and talented. He arranged also for the Chamber of Deputies. Had some talk with him. I told him how limited the public were who would entertain the topics of the moral and the economique in *conjunction*. He fully congenialized with my own view, that, nevertheless, the solution of all the great problems lay in the reciprocal influence of these two elements. In speaking of the moral, I identified it with the Christian influence, in which I apprehend that he fully concurs. Guizot talked much with a Catholic lady who could not speak English, but who purposes to translate my 'Natural Theology,' and she was very cordial to myself. Felt this cordiality, indeed, to be quite general; and I did enjoy the party very much. M. Mignet also there, of whom Lady Elgin thought highly.

"*Thursday, June* 14.—The commonalty all well dressed; and whatever the real profligacy may be, they have all the aspect, expression, and manner of a most moral, orderly, and

withal kind and companionable people. On our return entered a most singular café, leading to a garden, in the midst of which there was a sort of templar erection, making altogether a little Vauxhall, with innumerable parties, placed on benches, or ranged about tables, in the Parisian style of conviviality. We had fireworks and music, to those passages of which that were most responded to by the auditors, I was wholly insensible. There were at least a thousand people outside, who had the benefit of the exhibition gratis, those inside giving tenpence each. I was much impressed by the decorum of the crowd; their respectable dress, and perfect modesty both of look and manner. I have never in a single instance seen the offensive or indecent obtruded on our notice in this city.

"*Friday, June* 15.—We were carried down to the Chamber of Deputies. Struck with the poorness of the equipages which carried the Deputies to and from their Chamber. Those who did come in a vehicle at all, came in a one-horse cab, paying their francs; and a row of these, about half-a-dozen, seemed to compose the travelling equipage of the members, where the horses, with draff-pocks appended to their mouths, out of which they were eating, formed a sorry contrast with the splendidly harnessed carriages of our English senators.

"*Saturday, June* 16.—Walked over to the Institute at twelve, and attended a sitting of the Academy of Moral and Political Science. M. Mignet introduced me. Taken into the centre of the oval green table, around which the members are placed. Mignet spoke a good deal on the business matters, and seemed to do it sensibly and impressively. The room is a large oblong. The table annular, and is an ellipse of great eccentricity; the president's platform is at the extremity of the conjugate axis. The members sit round the exterior circumference of the table, and the strangers on two rows of forms along the walls.

"*Sunday, June* 17.—An old lady told me what was very interesting, that her particular friend Jean Baptiste Say, received a copy of my 'Political Economy' through Mr. James Maconochie; that he read it with the greatest interest; that even in his last illness, he expressed himself delighted with having received it. I could not understand, however, whether he acquiesced in its doctrines.

"*Monday, June* 18.—Mr. Wilks told us frightful things of what he termed the insolence of the French against God, in the matter of the cholera. They introduced it into their theatres:

ridiculed and defied it: boasted that French science would prevail against it: remained stout while it only visited other countries, or even the poor in their own; till at length it came upon all at the rate of 1500 in a day, when there was a universal terror.

"*Tuesday, June* 19.—Mr. Charles Mate gave some curious traits of the French character, particularly on the glorious days; that it was more a thing of fun than of any deep feeling—a universal laughing about it while it was going on—people taking a fight before dinner, going to their Restaurateurs, and taking another fight after it. . . . With Mr. Campbell in a fiacre to dinner at Mr. Jamieson's, banker in the Rue de Londres. A fine specimen both of the mansion and dinner of one of the higher citizens of Paris. A respectable and elegant, but not very spacious house, *toute à la Francaise* in the whole air and aspect of its furniture; with a most luxurious dinner, served round as in a table-d'hôte, in a succession of tit-bits, perhaps to the extent of from twelve to twenty varieties. The most memorable person was Mr. François Delessert, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, a Parisian merchant, and very intelligent; a strong Conservative; but, like Mr. Jamieson, and many other merchants, apprehends no harm from the subdivision of property. Speaks of the checks to it; that it is greatly overrated; that family arrangements often prevent it. He promises me books which will throw great light on the subject. He spoke as if greatly moved by my sermon on Sunday, which he heard; and which seems, from various accounts, to have made a great sensation.*

* "Je ne me rappelle ni l'année, ni le mois, ni le dimanche, où j'eus le privilège de voir le Dr. Chalmers occuper ma chaire dans la chapelle Taitbont: mais ce que je n'ai pas oublié, ni n'oublierai de ma vie, c'est que je l'y ai vu et entendu prêcher. Les impressions qu'il fit sur moi, aussi bien que la foule de ceux qui étaient accourus pour l'entendre, sont de celles qui ne s'effacent jamais. C'était à l'époque où il vint à Paris pour être, je crois, reçu Membre de l'Institut de France. Ma chapelle alors était située dans la rue dont elle a pris et conservé le nom. C'était une salle de concerts, ayant forme de théatre, avec trois rangs de loges on galleries, et pouvant contenir de 700 à 800 personnes. De Docteur y prêcha deux dimanches de suite, à deux heures après midi. Mes devoirs pastoraux m'empêchèrent d'assister à sa seconde prédication, mais j'étais présent à la première, et je puis facilement vous en retracer les circonstances. Quoique ordinairement bien remplie, la chapelle n'avait jamais été si pleine. Elle était à la lettre encombrée, et cette foule compacte se composait en grande partie de personnes étrangères à notre culte. Il y avait bien peu des Membres de l'Institut et des différents corps savants de Paris qui ne s'y trouvassent pas, tous attirés par le grand intérêt que leur inspiraient le savoir et la réputation du Docteur. Les places devinrent si rares qu'ayant cru devoir, par convenance, céder les deux ou trois chaises que j'occupai tour à tour, je fus réduit à n'avoir pour siège que l'une des trois marches de l'escalier de ma chaire; et c'est delà que je pus à la fois voir la physionomie de l'assemblée, apprécier la profonde attention qu'elle prêtait au Docteur, l'écouter moi-même, et suivre tous ses mouvements. Il n'y eut rien dans son début qui me frappât d'abord. Je dirai même que son attitude, son regard vague, et le ton monotone de sa voix durant l'acte de la

"*Thursday, June* 21.—Through a street, the eastern outgoing of Rue de St. Dominique, the poorest, though not the poorest looking, in Paris, where the cholera was most fatal. The people not half so squalid-looking, nor the houses either, as the poorest in London.

"*Friday, June* 22.—Was arrested by the information that the English Ambassador had called at eight, and was to call again at ten. Amazed and put out of sorts by this. He of course did not appear; and I breakfasted at home, and waited till eleven. Consulted Mr. Erskine about it. He approved of my going forth directly, calling at the Ambassador's, and leaving an apologetic line, should he call again. Proceeded with him to the Ambassador's. Luckily missed him, and unluckily left my card. On returning, met a Dr. Wright, who cleared up the mystery of the provoking and ludicrous mistake. He had called at eight; given his designation to the porter of 'Ministre de l'Eglise,' understood by him as 'le Ministre Anglais;' and left me in a state of uncertainty whether to laugh or to cry at the absurdity of the whole transaction.

"*Sunday, June* 24.—Madame Pelet breakfasted with us at ten. Had much conversation with this pious and intelligent lady, on Christian and economical subjects. Her kindness unbounded; and she affords the far likeliest inlet for me to the knowledge of all that interests me in France. She is the daughter and only child of the deceased ambassador Otto.

"*Wednesday, June* 27.—A French company to dinner at Madame Pelet's. The Count very interesting—her father-in-

prière qui précéda son sermon, furent loin de me la révéler pour ce qu'il était. Mais bientôt le prédicateur se montra, et je ne tardai pas, comme tout l'auditoire, à être saisi d'admiration, et de plus en plus dominé par la puissance de son langage et de son action oratoire. Il prit son texte dans la 1re de St. Jean iv. 8.—'God is love.' Son discours était écrit. Pendant quelque temps il eut devant lui son manuscrit qu'il tenait déployé de la main gauche, et dont il suivait chaque ligne avec l'index de la main droite. Mais cette lecture, qu'il savait rendre aussi attrayante qu'impressive, fut souvent interrompue, pour céder la place à l'indication ou à l'exposition improvisée de nouveaux points de vue du sujet, non traités dans le discours écrit; et le langage que son émotion fournissait alors au Docteur énergique, nuancé, clair et harmonieux, vraiment celui de l'éloquence. Il me semble encore le voir avec son manuscrit plié en rouleau dans sa main, le corps penché en avant, un peu en dehors de la chaire, et prenant à partie tous ses auditeurs, leur adresser les appels les plus directs, et les plus propres à les atteindre dans les profondeurs de la conscience. Ses paroles surgissant évidemment de ses convictions et des bouillonnements de son cœur, en étaient l'expression fidèle, et avaient quelque chose de la rapidité et de la force du torrent se précipitant de la montagne, et entraînant tout sur son passage. L'action du Docteur ne me parut pas moins remarquable que son langage. Tout son être me sembla concourir à sa prédication. Quoique ce fut pour la première fois que j'entendisse prêcher en Anglais, et quoique je ne connusse alors votre langue que grammaticalement et dans les livres, je pus assez bien suivre le discours; et j'appris qu'il en avait été de même d'un grand nombre d'autres auditeurs tout aussi peu avancés que moi dans l'Anglais."—Letter from the Rev. J. J. Audebez, dated Paris, 12th November 1851.

law. The Baron, her husband, very silent, but intelligent too: is a member of the Chamber of Peers. Our talk, through the medium of Madame Pelet, was chiefly of primogeniture and the state of property in France. I had given her my 'Political Economy;' and we had talk of it too.* They do not think so ill of their own system, and make a stout defence against my ideas of it. The feeling is, that the commercial have compensated for the decay of the landed fortunes. The abolition of primogeniture brings a much greater quantity of land into the market, and so yields all the greater revenue, from the seven per cent. on each transfer. They deny that the subdivision has prevented in any instance the levying of the tax. The Count said it was no hardship on the family, that there should be a tax on such sales, as the buyer paid it. He also said that there was no rural aristocracy spending much in the country under the old régime, as they went to their châteaux only to economize, and

* From the chapter on the Law of Primogeniture in his work on Political Economy, we quote the following passage, a very favourite one of its author:—"France, under her present system, and in spite of the convulsive efforts made by her in seasons of great public excitement, has entered, we believe, on a sure process of decay; and, without a more comfortable peasantry than before, will she sink in the long run, beneath the pre-eminence once held by her among the nations. We feel quite assured, of every land of law and liberty, that with an order of men possessing large and independent affluence, there is better security for the general comfort and virtue of the whole, than when society presents an aspect of almost unalleviated plebeianism. For the best construction of a social edifice, in every large country like ours, we would have a king upon the throne—not rising like a giant among the pigmies, or as an unsupported May-pole in the midst of a level population; but borne up by a splendid aristocracy, and a gradation of ranks shelving downwards to the basement of society. We doubt if the other monarchy could stand; or if France with its citizen king, amid a mighty and ever-increasing swarm of smaller and smaller agrarians, can maintain its present economy for a single generation. We think of our own political fabric, that it not only affords a vastly greater number of noble and graceful spectacles, in the minarets and the blazing pinnacles which crowd its elevation—but that, abstracting from the degradation which has been caused by its accursed law of pauperism, it would have had a more elevated basement in its well-conditioned peasantry, than any other country or kingdom of the civilized world. It is not for the sake of its ornaments and its chivalry alone—it is not for the sake of these chiefly, that we want the high rank and fortune of our aristocracy to be upholden. It is because we think there is a soul in chivalry, which, though nursed in the bosom of affluence, does not cloister there, but passes abroad from mind to mind, and lights up a certain glow of inspiration throughout the mass of a community. Let it only be a land of intelligence and freedom—and we think that, where there are nobles, the common people are not so ignoble; and that, while the property of the rich, though scattered, as by the law of France, into innumerable fragments, would not add by a single iota to the average comfort of our plebeian families; yet the presence of the rich infuses a spirit that, by dignifying their characters, enables them through the medium of their own habits and exertions, to dignify their condition also. It is thus, we hold, that there are materials in Britain, for the composition, altogether, of a finer, and higher, and happier society, than there are in America; and that, without one taint of the pusillanimous in the spirit of our people, there might be a deference to rank, and withal a truer greatness of soul and sentiment, than republicanism, with all its coarse and boastful independence, can ever realize. We would therefore, on the whole, leave the existing framework of our own community undisturbed; and, instead of letting down the peerage of our realms to the external condition of our peasantry, we should rather go forth among the peasantry, and do all that lies within the compass of education, both to elevate their standard of comfort, and to pour such a moral lustre over them, as might equalize them, either to peers or to princes, in all the loftiest attributes of humanity."

spent almost all in Paris. This does not affect the question of the higher luxuries consumed in these days.

"*Thursday, June* 28.—On leaving St. Denis for Montmorency, the scenery on our left is very rich and wooded. The landscape grows in beauty as we advance. An immense extent of vineyards. The vale of Montmorency one of the richest in France, with its culture both of corn and vines; and variegated by single trees and even clumps. We went off on three donkeys to an elevation, from whence the prospects are truly superb, as also from the inn, and along the road. Far the best landscape I have seen in France. On returning to the inn, visited the Jean Jacques Rousseau hermitage, where he lived and composed his works. The house much enlarged now; but was shown his identical apartments, the garden, arbour, stone on which he sat at the foot of a waterfall and composed his Heloïse, as well as the bust of Rousseau himself, with an inscription beneath it, beside many other votive testimonies scrawled by admiring visitors."

It was with the most eager delight that Dr. Chalmers embraced a proposal by Mr. Erskine, that they should make a short tour together through some of the inland provinces. Having accepted an invitation to pass a day or two at the château of the Duke de Broglie, their first excursion was into Normandy.

"*Friday, June* 29.—Left Paris with Mr. Erskine in a calèche, at half-past nine. Our last stage, from Pacy to Evreux. Here one of the finest of our first-rate cathedrals. Its double towers had a mixture of Gothic and Grecian; but in all other respects perfect. The best and greatest amount of painted glass, in three distinct ranges of numerous windows, I have ever seen. No longer wonder that Paris with its centralization should have such an ascendant over France, with its congeries of landed properties under a constant process of diminution. But it is a miserable state of things, when a single banker in the capital (La Fitte) can change a dynasty, by feeding for a few days the hordes of a metropolis. How many bankers would suffice to effect a revolution in England? Total journey this day, twenty-five and a half leagues.

"*Saturday, June* 30.—Our next stage to Broglie. Delighted with the approach. More of English-looking grounds, after leaving the village on the banks of the Charente, than I had before met with in this country; and certainly the best private château I have seen. To me the form is singular. It consists mainly of two rectangles inclined to each other, of immense

length. The public rooms lightly and elegantly furnished; and the whole establishment, as far as I have seen, both within and without doors, complete and well-ordered. All out when we arrived, save Madame de Staël, the Baron's widow, now on a visit here. In a little while the Duke came in; afterwards the Duchess, whose presence, manner, and talk, at once dissipated every feeling of strangeness. Our conversation was chiefly on pauperism, wherein the Duke immediately participated. Had many questions put to me; and from the interest felt by them in it, gave her my printed evidence on Irish Poor-laws. Much conversation in the drawing-room. The Duke made a very able defence of the French law of succession. His argument is, that if there be no increase of population there will no diminution of properties, and that, besides, there is a latitude of allowing one-third to the eldest over and above his share of the remainder; and the circumstance that in some parts of the country they do now avail themselves of this latitude, explains, in part at least, the larger estates to be met with here and there. He says that the sense of property, and the wish not to fritter it down, must act with strong preventive influences on the matrimonial arrangements of the people. He also says, that the greater part of the minutely subdivided land on the Seine was before not cultivated at all. Drew much to Madame de Staël;—delicate, pensive, highly interesting, the daughter of Madame Vernot, and grand-daughter of Professor Pictet, as well as sister-in-law to Diodati; a younger brother now in England, to whom, of course, I must show great attention.

"*Sunday, July* 1.—Found the morning worship party in the library at eleven. The Duke read a chapter of the French Bible, the tenth of John, at a table; the Duchess, opposite to him, read sermon, one of Audebez's. We then all knelt, and she uttered a French prayer; could not follow it, but her frequent 'O Seigneur,' in a most devotional tone, went to my heart. Whether the prayer was extemporaneous or learned by heart, I know not. At three, a small party. Conversed in the Duchess's own apartment, when I read a chapter and expounded. My topic was appropriation from the tenth chapter of the Romans. It gave rise to a brief conversation, chiefly on the part of Mademoiselle Ponnaret, who must in part have understood me. She is the same I met in Lady Elgin's, and who was spoken of to me as likely to translate my 'Natural Theology.' Madame de Staël said I had given her much comfort. All here are Catholics but

the Duchess and Madame de Staël. Was shown Diodati's translation of my St. John's Sermons. Family worship in the evening, consisting of a chapter and the Lord's Prayer, at which we knelt, the Duchess officiating; about seven domestics present in the morning, and fifteen in the evening.

"*Monday, July* 2.—Mr. Erskine and I, in going out, were arrested by the Duchess, who sent us to the Duke, with whom we had a most interesting conversation. He says that at Lisle there is a first-rate agriculture in large farms, from small properties pieced together; that in the Canton of Berne, one part, under the law of primogeniture, has large properties splendid houses, admirable agriculture, but a population supported by a poor-rate; another part, under the law of equal division, has a worse agriculture, and a better-conditioned population, without a pauper among them. Madame de Broglie told us that almost all the landed gentry were Carlists, and that the soreness of feeling was such that there was no intercourse between the opposite partisans. The clergy also much opposed to the present Government, though gradually coming round, which—such still is the remaining strength of the ecclesiastical influence—is of great consequence to Louis Philippe. I had a most interesting converse with the Duke, through Mr. Erskine, in his library, after dinner. I learn from him that the improvement of an estate does not expose it to a greater land-tax than before—that if the whole tax is changed in amount the proportion paid by each estate to the whole is invariable—that at present the whole sum raised by the land-tax is a hundred and forty milions a year—that there are some properties in France whose rental is a million of francs, or £40,000 yearly—that three whom he knows in the Chamber of Peers have this income from land; three more have £20,000, and forty to sixty members have £10,000 yearly from land, or thereabouts. He admits that the Chamber of Deputies has not so much wealth in it as formerly, and that because the most opulent are against the present Government, and have not taken the oaths to Louis Philippe. He father informed us, that he knew of seven or eight properties in the department of the Eure which have a population of 350,000, that yield to their owners from £3000 to £4000 a year, a proportion twelve times less, I believe, than obtains in Scotland.

"There are three pictures in the school of Broglie; one of Jesus Christ, another of Louis Philippe, and a third of the Duke, and under them are written respectively, 'Vive Jésus Christ!'

'Vive le Roi!' 'Vive le Duc de Broglie!' . . . They took leave of me with much kindness; and I even have the fondness to think, with some feeling. I myself felt much; and I pray for God's best blessing on the heads of all whom I met in that abode of elegant and lettered hospitality."

Leaving Broglie, they proceeded to Alençon. "The variety and amount of sweet and engaging landscape as we pass along quite baffling. A church to the right, another to the left, another onward, projected on the sky. The succession of loveliness prodigious. I now understand the beauty of Normandy." At Lemans, the cathedral attracted his attention, and the most minute description is given of it. "On the whole, a first-rate cathedral, and the most memorable of them all." Having reached the Loire at Tours, they ascended by the right bank of the river, crossing it to visit the two celebrated châteaux of Amboise and Chenonceaux, both rich in historic recollections. Long ere they reached Orleans, the two towers of its massive cathedral were visible. "The approach to Orleans, marked by many good houses, and the egress from it in like manner, but with a greater amount of foliage, and verdure, and vineries, which abound in the neighbourhood; but within two or three miles, there is a sudden change into a corn country, more available than any I have seen for the supply of towns—great breadth of homogeneous cultivation." From Orleans, they took the road to Pithiviers and Malesherbes;—"then came to the characteristic features of Fontainbleau scenery; rocks tumbled about in profusion which seem to have been rolled, fixed now in the earth, and rising into distinct hillocks, which, mingled with the trees, gives a Trosach character to the approach, were it not for the amplitude of the flat circular basin through which we pass. Got a blow on my head here, which I desire to record as a narrow escape and merciful providence. Had my position been half an inch different, it might have fractured my skull. May God cause this preservation to make me resolute on the side of holiness." From room to room of the celebrated palace he wandered, exhausting every epithet of wonder and admiration; pausing on the steps whence Napoleon took his last leave of Fontainbleau, and gazing with interest on "the small light round table on which he signed the abdication of his crown." The variety and gorgeousness of the apartments were so bewildering that at last he has to say, "Lost altogether my estimate of the geometry of the palace."

On returning to Paris, and looking back to this inland tour, he describes it as "a most interesting journey, by which my opinion of the actual state of property in France, and also my views of its eventual, have been made more favourable. Much, however, must be left to time and experience. Have been greatly enlightened by the conversation of the Duke de Broglie."

Not many months after his return to Edinburgh a letter from Mr. Erskine informed Dr. Chalmers of the heavy domestic bereavement with which the Duke had been visited.

"EDINBURGH, *October* 9, 1838.

"MY DEAR SIR,—What a sad event this death of the poor Duchess de Broglie! I have ventured to write the Duke on the melancholy bereavement wherewith he has been visited; and indeed nothing but the sense of its presumptuousness restrained me from sending a letter of acknowledgment to Broglie for all the kindness by which I felt myself so much honoured during our sojourn there—far the most brilliant passage of my excursion to France, but now sadly overcast by an event so unlooked for and solemnizing to us all.

"You mention in your letter that our dear departed friend was to have written me. I have received no letter from her; but let me hope that our next communion will be in heaven.

"I shall address this letter to Geneva, where I presume you are, and where it is probable that you will be in communication with Madame de Staël. Let her know how deeply I feel this heavy stroke; and it would to me be a communication from yourself of greatest interest, if you could inform me of any particulars, not only respecting the death, but respecting the surviving relatives—the Duke, Madame d'Haussonville, dear little Paul, Madame de Staël, and indeed any of the people whom we met on that splendid occasion, the retrospect of which is now so overclouded by the extinction from earth of the central and presiding lustre that so brightened the days of our abode at Broglie. —I am, my dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"THOMAS ERSKINE, ESQ."

The letter here alluded to was as follows:—

"EDINBURGH, *October* 8, 1838.

"MY DEAR AND MUCH HONOURED DUKE,—It is with great hesitation that I venture to intrude on the sacredness of your

grief, but pray to be indulged, if, for the relief of my own feelings, I lay before your Grace the expression of my deepest sympathy and sorrow on the heavy bereavement wherewith a merciful Providence has been pleased to visit you. The event is indeed a most solemnizing one to us all: Heaven grant that it may not prove overwhelming to you; but even in this the day of your severest trial, when the nearest and dearest of all earthly relationships is broken asunder, may your spirit be sanctified and sustained by the comforts of religion, by the well-grounded prospect of that blissful immortality where all suffering and separation are unknown.

"And there is one precious alleviation when we think of her who lived in the virtues and died in the triumphs of the faith. We know the solidity of that foundation on which her hopes were laid, and withdrawing our affections from a world, the best loved objects of which are so speedily withdrawn from us, let us henceforth be 'followers of them who through faith and patience are now inheriting the promises.'

"In the Duchess de Broglie I have lost the most exalted and impressive of all the acquaintances I had made for many years.

"Her kindness during the few days I lived under your hospitable roof will never, never be effaced from my grateful recollection. Her conversation, and, above all, her prayers, poured forth in the domestic circle, and which at the time of their utterance fell upon my ears like the music of Paradise, have left a fragrance behind them, and the memory of them is sweet.

"Let me send up my earnest prayers for the present consolation and for the future and permanent wellbeing of your desolated family. I entreat that you will convey the assurances of my condolence and regard to the Countess d'Haussonville, and to the Baroness de Staël. My heart bleeds for 'Paul,' your dear little boy; nor, as it is the prerogative of sensibility to be unceremonious and unguarded, will I disguise the love and veneration for yourself which the whole of our recent intercourse has awakened in my bosom. O may we 'so number our days, and so apply our hearts unto wisdom,' that we and our families may at length sit down together amid the glories of our Redeemer's kingdom.—Ever believe me, my dear Duke, yours with the profoundest sense of attachment and esteem,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"MONSIEUR MONSIEUR LE DUC DE BROGLIE."

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SEVENTH DECADE OF LIFE—LAST EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF CHURCH EXTENSION—PLAN OF MR. WILLIAM CAMPBELL—THE GREAT NORTHERN TOUR—THE GRAMPIANS—LOCH EIRICHT—INVERNESS—TARBET HOUSE—SKIBO CASTLE—TEANINICH—CROMARTY—FALL OF FOYERS—CATHEDRAL OF ELGIN—BANFF—THE BULLER OF BUCHAN—HADDO HOUSE—INVERCAULD—RESULTS OF CHURCH EXTENSION.

"It is a favourite speculation of mine," says Dr. Chalmers, "that if spared to sixty, we then enter on the seventh decade of human life; and that this, if possible, should be turned into the Sabbath of our earthly pilgrimage, and spent sabbatically, as if on the shore of an eternal world, or in the outer courts, as it were, of the temple that is above—the tabernacle in heaven. What enamours me all the more of this idea, is the retrospect of my mother's widowhood. I long, if God should spare me, for such an old age as she enjoyed, spent as if at the gate of heaven, and with such a fund of inward peace and hope as made her nine years' widowhood a perfect feast and foretaste of the blessedness that awaits the righteous." His own seventh decade —the wished for Sabbath of his earthly pilgrimage—was to commence on the 17th March 1840, and to the General Assembly of that year he had long looked forward as to the time when he should withdraw from public life. Before doing so, he desired to make one effort more, his greatest and his last, on behalf of his favourite scheme. "And now," says he, writing to Mrs. Chalmers, soon after his return from France, "as to my plan for the future, which is shortly as follows:—I long for retirement from public business, but not being able to relinquish it at present, my purpose is to earn a right to retire by the dedication of this summer and the next to Church Extension in the country, after which it is my earnest wish and firm intention to devolve the work on others." This plan was announced on the 15th August, and the 18th witnessed the commencement of its execution. On that day he began a tour through the south-western districts of Scotland, in the course of which ten Presby-

teries, embracing 170 clergymen, were visited; and addresses on Church Extension were delivered in Stranraer, Wigton, Greenock, Dunoon, Kilmarnock, Ayr, Paisley, Dumbarton, Hamilton, Lanark, and Biggar. It was a new sphere of effort which Dr. Chalmers had now entered. He was unpractised in extemporary speaking; and yet, without a considerable admixture of this form of address, he found that he could not adapt himself to the varied and promiscuous audiences which he addressed. He had never taken part in any platform discussion, yet in such public meetings as he now undertook to address, hostile collisions might occur. But he would do all, and dare all, for a cause that was so dear. Speaking of one of his addresses, about which he had been somewhat apprehensive beforehand, he says:—"There were a good many Voluntaries and common people there; and knowing this to be a Radical place, I made a special effort to get at the popular heart and understanding, and so availed myself of certain homely statements, which were possibly too much for sentimental G—, and superfine A—, but which I had occasionally repeated before in a series of addresses, by which our cause had been borne in safety, even in triumph, through the worst and most disaffected regions in Scotland. It is true that it were better if we lived in times when a calm and sustained argumentation from the press would have carried the influential mind of the community. But as it is, one must accommodate his doings to the circumstances of the age." Having laid his hand upon a new instrument, a new object of effort was now presented to him. The Assembly's Committee over which he presided, had too limited a sum at its command to allow of its doing more than contribute seven shillings and sixpence per sitting, or about one-fourth part of the cost of each new erection. By much the larger portion of the outlay was contributed by those living in the district where the church was raised. The new churches were built, therefore, only where a large amount of local sensibility to the spiritual destitution existed; and along with this, a large amount of willingness and ability to relieve it. Those neighbourhoods came to be helped first which were the most willing and able to help themselves. But a new class of cases came before the Committee for consideration—cases of deeper and more distressing destitution—where little or nothing could be expected from local efforts; and where, if churches were to be built at all, the whole outlay must be borne by the Committee itself, or at least where its rule of distribution would require to be reversed.

These were the cases which, above all others, Dr. Chalmers desired to reach, offering, as they did, the opportunity for such purely missionary operations among the poorest and most wretched sections of the community. But though the want was so great and urgent, where lay the means of relief? The remedy was suggested by a lay member of the Church, one who has ever been as prompt in doing as in devising, and whose name takes high and honourable place in the annals of Christian liberality. Mr. William Campbell, of Glasgow, suggested that a new fund should be created, especially intended to meet cases of extreme destitution; and that this fund should consist of contributions of £1 or upwards, for each of the next hundred churches that should be built. If one thousand such subscribers could be obtained in Scotland, then one thousand pounds, a sum adequate to defray the whole cost of the edifice, would be available for each of the new buildings. Mr. Campbell himself offered £25 for each such church, coming thus under personal obligation for £2500. Dr. Chalmers hailed the proposal with delight, and resolved to devote the whole summer of 1839 to an effort to carry it into execution.

The brief interval between the close of the College session and the meeting of the General Assembly, was filled up by visits to Dundee, Perth, Stirling, and Dunfermline. The General Assembly was scarcely dissolved when he resumed his tour, addressing influential audiences at Brechin, Montrose, Arbroath, and making his way to Aberdeen, where a peculiarly brilliant reception was given to him.* His progress was interrupted by a summons which called him instantly to London; but the busy and anxious negotiations in which he there for a time took part, directed though they were to a new and most embarrassing subject, did not divert him from his summer project, for again, and after only a few days of rest in Edinburgh on his return from the metropolis, we find him setting out on what he called his great northern tour. That tour is chronicled with unparalleled minuteness of detail as to place, and person, and incident. From the journal letters in which this chronicle survives, we could fill two hundred pages of this volume; and perhaps when it has acquired the character of the antique, the Wodrow Society of some future generation may take pleasure in presenting it to the public. Even now, as they are almost the last of the kind

* For an admirable account of this visit to Aberdeen, written, I believe, by D. Masson, Esq., see Lowe's Magazine, vol. v. p. 29.

that remain, and as they carry us to a hitherto untrodden region, we are tempted to offer to the reader the following extracts from these letters :—

"*Inverness, August* 15, 1839.—My very dear Helen,—Kept inside two stages farther, at Blair Athol. Missed the full view of a deal of beauty in consequence; and as it was now fairing, the outsiders had fairly the advantage of us. Meanwhile, we below were very restless, shooting out our heads from side to side like chickens stretching their necks out of a crib; and were particularly excited by the time we got to Killiecrankie — the wooded and precipitous pass of which is a noble display of Trosach scenery, the river Garry forcing its way through the rocks at the bottom of the ravine. Was particularly struck with the cottage ornée, occupied by Mrs. Hay of Seggieden, with the beautiful new church she has raised, and which supplies a graceful moral association to the landscape. At Blair Inn, sixteen miles from Dunkeld, I gave Dr. Nichol my place, and took his outside, behind the driver. We had passed Moulin upon the Tummel, Dr. Duff's native parish, by which I was interested. And being now in the very heart of the Highlands, I had all my eyes about me, right and left; and accordingly heard with the greatest interest that the Tilt, which we crossed, and which runs into the Garry, then into the Tummel, came from a region far out of sight, and down Glen-Tilt. Then prosecuting the drive up this Garry, we got at length to its source, named Loch Garry. By this time we had passed Dalnacardoch, which was the next stage from Blair. The mountains here devoid of character and marked individuality—long shelving ridges, and which presented a different aspect from that of a magnificent elevated barrier, which I had all along conceived the Grampians to be. However, it is good to have one's notions corrected; and I confess myself to be nearly as much on edge after novelties for the purpose of geographical truth, as for the purpose of a spectacle; and I even was very glad to take these Grampian swells, which I had formerly imagined to be so many noble Alpine elevations, just as I found them. Between Dalnacardoch and Dalwhinnie, the next stage, there is what I would like you to understand as the water-shed—that is, the place in the road where the water on this side ran south past your brother-in-law's, by Dundee, and to the mouth of the Tay; and where the water on the other side ran north into the Spey, and emptied itself into the ocean, more than a hundred miles away from the other water, that fell

one mile farther south. At this place—the water-shed—the summit of the country, its backbone, if it may be so called, the ridge from which the river falls on opposite sides, like the opposite sides of the roof of a house—this line, I say, separates the two counties of Perth and Inverness. Near this place had the view of a small part of the end of Loch Eiricht; and I do not know if I can make myself understood or sympathized with, but just imagine of this said loch, that I am told of its being fifteen miles long, stretching through wild and solitary valleys, the whole of this length, skirted on both sides with mountains unknown to observation, and of which fancy is left to conceive their grouping and their forms; and I ask if this be not an object fitted to excite the feelings, when one tries to figure how it is that the mysterious interior of this long-withdrawing solitude is fitted and filled up. And on the subject of this said boundary between these two shires, I have only farther to remark, that on the left of our road there lies a hill on this side, called the 'Sow of Atholl,' and on the other side, a hill called the 'Boar of Badenoch;' Atholl being the Perthshire district which we left, and Badenoch the Inverness-shire district which we entered. I really felt grateful to the driver for this piece of information, by which he introduced me to an acquaintance with the Sow and the Boar. Got to Dalwhinnie after five, where we swallowed a rapid dinner. This the farthest place from the sea in Scotland; and about the highest house in it. Again mounted outside for two stages farther; that is, to Pitmain or Kingussie and Aviemore. Much pleased with an opening prospect to Laggan and the hills of Corryarrick, which guided me onward in thought to Fort-Augustus. I at one time thought of making a detour that way to Inverness; but felt that it would not be safe. Seven miles from Dalwhinnie, we descend to a scenery of Trosach character, down the Truim, which runs into the Spey, one of the longest rivers in Scotland, and along which we went downward, through a country gradually improving in cultivation and fertility. On looking back was presented with a glorious medley of crags and mountain tops. Interested by Kingussie, where lives an admirable clergyman, Mr. Shepherd, known to me by correspondence, but not personally. On my way to Aviemore, the twilight became fainter, and I could scarcely descry the hills in the distance; but was exceedingly delighted by Cairngorm and Ben Macdhui, the highest hill in Scotland, being pointed out to me in the South—thus connecting the geography

of the Spey with that of the Dee. Got inside at Aviemore, thirty miles from Inverness.

"*Friday*, 16*th*.—The town handsome and respectable. The environs superb; and I wonder that I had never met with any celebration of what appears to me to be scenery of a very high order.

"*Saturday*, 17*th*.—Took boat at Invergordon Ferry. Honest Carment had been looking out for us a long time. The ferry is two miles across; and he came in a boat from the Invergordon side, and met us half way. We identified him at some distance, standing up, with his portly figure, and his ample plaid spread out like a main-sail when he extended his arms. Delighted with my drive along the north bank of the Bay of Cromarty. At the opening of the bay are two elevated ridges, which approach each other, and form its two opposite points, called the 'Sutors of Cromarty.' Went about six miles through a cultivated country, and landed at Tarbet House, the mansion of Mr. Hay Mackenzie of Cromarty. Mrs. Hay Mackenzie, the daughter of Sir James Gibson-Craig, a very agreeable person—exceedingly like her father in the face. Lord and Lady Hardwicke are guests here —he a naval officer, and most intelligent person, who succeeded to his uncle, the family name being Yorke—she, the sister of Lady Normanby, but of decided Conservative principles, as her husband and all are here. She exceedingly gracious and pleasant; a fine specimen of the English lady, and one of the most marvellous singers I ever heard.

"*Monday*, 19*th*.—Prepared for my Tain address, which I delivered to a full audience of upwards of a thousand—a marvellous day meeting in so small a place; and the dinner party of eighty still more marvellous. Was received with true Highland affection by Mrs. Mackintosh, the widow of old Dr. Angus Mackintosh, former minister of this place, and a person of great and distinguished worth. Much pleased with the antique and simple air of the town of Tain.

"*Tuesday*, 20*th*.—Rode up the south coast of Dornoch Frith; truly delightful. Across the frith could see Skibo Castle, the chief mansion of Mr. Dempster; and, what to me was very interesting, saw on the opposite bank the church of Criech where Mrs. Parker's father Mr. Rainy was minister, and the manse where Mrs. Parker was born. Saw also with great interest before us on the far west, the distant hill of Ben More Assynt, the highest in Sutherland, and which brought me into contact with

the north-west of Scotland. After crossing at Bonar Bridge, we were in Sutherlandshire; and now I may say that I have been in every Scotch county in the island of Great Britain except Caithness, and every English county except Cornwall. Mr. Dempster's shooting lodge is two miles farther up than Bonar Bridge. Took the most interesting walk I have yet had, in respect both of scenery and of geographical observation, Mr. and Mrs. Dempster along with me, on a hill behind their house. I cannot express the satisfaction I felt in having my eye brought into converse with objects so near to the north-west corner of the island, and themselves composing the main features of a region before unknown."

"*Teaninich, August* 22, 1839.—Went two or three miles along the south side of Dornoch Frith, where we struck off to the right, away from the road which leads to Tain, and across an elevated region that separates the Dornoch and Cromarty Friths. Passed through a series of mountain solitudes. At length descended, and at fourteen miles from Balblair reached the Slethenburn Inn, where General Munro's carriage was waiting. The name of his place is Teaninich. He himself is a fine old veteran of sixty; has been much in the East Indies, and seems to have brought with him from Madras a portion of the Christian spirit which is prevalent among certain of the society there. His lady in this respect kindred with himself. After tea two boys of the family came to us in splendid Highland dresses, the General's sons, of eleven and thirteen, of whom I pray that, under the tuition of their mother, who combines the Christian with the feminine, they may escape the pollution of an evil world. She is Irish, and the daughter of a clergyman. Went to bed about eleven, with the feeling after all that, however pleasant this life of variety, and though much among Christian people in the prosecution of a Christian object, home and regularity and moderate exertion supply a far better condition for the health of the soul and its growth in holiness.

"*Friday*, 23*d*.—I gave my address at Cromarty, after having been ushered in with an admirable prayer by Mr. Stewart, who is really a person of admirable sense and talent too. When I began, the people greatly interested, and the minister I saw smiling and smerkling, in his own characteristic way, at the more ludicrous passages. I had no idea of this being so primitive and sequestered a place.

"*Wednesday*, 28*th*.—A rather large and fatiguing party; and

some of them had the tone and manner of commonplace religious society. One lady asked me if I was proud or if I was humble, in the idea, I have no doubt, that the admiration of her, and such as she, must prove a sore trial to my vanity. My reply was, that I was somewhat short in the temper, under the fatigues and annoyances to which I was occasionally exposed in my public labours.

"*Inverness, Thursday, 29th.*—The public meeting took place this day; a full church.

"*Friday, 30th.*—A public breakfast of a hundred and twenty. The result of our operations amounts to the astonishing sum of £2000, a sum which, if carried out proportionally to Inverness, would realize £400,000 in the whole of Scotland. Inverness stands now at the head of the Supplementary Fund. The Provost, on our breaking up, told me that nothing could exceed the impression which had been made in favour of our cause.

"On driving along the north bank of Loch Ness the most striking feature is the steep and lofty bank on our right hand, shooting up into crags and precipices, and exhibiting all that is noble in rock scenery. Our road often cut out from the cliff, and protected by a parapet, to keep us from falling into the lake beneath. Reached the mouth of Glen Urquhart, through which the Endrick runs from the north, and discharges its waters into Loch Ness. Most beautiful landscape, and well denominated the Tempe of Scotland, enriched by wood, and diversified by slopes and swells in every variety. Landed at the house of Foyers, possessed by Mr. Frazer, an old gentleman of eighty, and proprietor of the estate in which the fall is. Under the guidance of Mr. Frazer, a preacher, I first crossed the river, walked up its east side, saw the falls from two successive points, a higher and a lower. In the last position the spray fell upon us as in a dense shower of rain. There was about the average quantity of water; and it is far the most magnificent thing of the kind I had ever witnessed. Not so lofty as the falls that mamma and I saw in South Wales, but of far greater weight and momentum; a good hearty thud, and in perfect contrast to the mutchkin fall that descended at one time on mamma's head. If she wanted enough of it, she would have had it here to her heart's content. The lower point of view is on the extremity of a projecting ridge, where there is a most impressive view of the rocks on both sides, comprising, I imagine, Coleridge's ante-chamber to the fall, though this is not perfectly

clear, for the banks are precipitous to nearly the mouth of the river, which sinks so much as to afford a suite of ante-chambers. And, besides, on ascending further, to the upper fall, of much less consequence than the first, we above all, came to a beautiful amphitheatre of level fields, skirted all round by rocky elevations, and giving rise to a beauteous little panorama, which, if Coleridge came to Foyers from Fort-Augustus, he behoved to pass through first, and which might, therefore, for aught I know, be his ante-chamber.

"*Saturday*, 31*st*.—Proceeded along the south bank of Loch Ness. Struck off for a mile along the pass of Inverfarigag. Such a scene of desolate and savage grandeur as I never before witnessed; rocks on rocks in glorious confusion, and where one might fancy himself not in the midst of a world, but in the midst of a chaos. Saw an opening which led to the beautiful amphitheatre above the Falls. Coleridge must not have seen this marvellous scene, else he would not have singled out the ante-chamber of the Falls of Foyers as one of the five good things in Scotland, for Inverfarigag, for wild and primeval majesty, is far beyond it. On this road Mr. Frazer pointed out the birthplace of Sir James Mackintosh, at Aldowrie, which Mrs. Rich lately visited, and wept over with great emotion. A noble object Fort-George, being the most complete fortification in Scotland. Had an interesting view of the opposite plains on the Moray Frith, formerly visited by me along the shores of the Black Island. Landed in the chaplain's. Drove into Nairn, which we reached at five. Dined with the Presbytery and a few of the principal citizens. Ran down to the shore, for a view of the town and harbour. Met, scrambling along the boats, the celebrated James Mitchell, of whom Dugald Stewart has written a memoir. He is deaf, dumb, and blind, and the state of his mind, with such few remaining inlets, is quite a study for the philosopher. I shook hands and hurrahed to him with great delight, when I learned it was he, to the surprise of my companions. Addressed a full meeting at Nairn on Saturday evening.

"*Monday*, *Sept*. 2, 1839.—Mr. Banbury drove me to Forres. The country brightens and beautifies even beyond the scenery at Auldearn; and little do we Southrons expect in this far north region a succession of landscapes so bland, and soft, and fertile, as much so as we meet in very many of the counties in the central or southern parts of England. At length crossed the Find-

horn by a new suspension bridge, and have seen few scenes so beautiful as the approach to Forres, with its two graceful spires, and the fine knolls that adorn its sonthern environ. I addressed a full church, and siested, as usual, and dined in a party of seventy. The speeches admirable, more especially those of Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Bruce of Kennet, who was really eloquent. It mnst not be disguised that the landed men of Morayshire, taken as a whole, are passionately and inveterately opposed to us. Visited the site of the castle where Duncan is said to have been murdered by Macbeth, and which is the undoubted scene of other noted events in history. This country is the theatre of Shakspere's Macbeth; and there are several places which claim a special property in his celebrated witches. The environs of Elgin of a very superior cast, finely diversified, and acquiring a character of enhanced importance from the number of its architectural elevations. Went between ten and eleven to the ruins of the cathedral, accompanied by Mr. Walker and others. The finest remains of antiqnity in Scotland, St. Andrews nothing to them;—they are not so large certainly, but a far greater and more picturesque variety. Excavated lately, and exhibiting such a floor as our own; but far more numerous fragments of wall, and more than ten times the amonnt of rich workmanship, with a large outline of both transepts, numerous windows, parts of interior arches, whole arcades, a chapel and fine chapter-house, supported on a single central column, and qnite entire, all composing a greatly fuller skeleton of what it was than we have at St. Andrews. Some remains of pilasters of particularly rich workmanship. The east window exhibits a double row of English arches. On the west side there are two towers, one of which we ascended by a stair of a hnndred and thirty steps, where we had a command of the town and country. On descending, I surrounded the cathedral, and enjoyed exceedingly the various oblique and direct views which we had of its external parts. The Fall of Foyers and Cathedral of Elgin are the two best things I have seen in this journey. Went to the noble, new, and very handsome, but withal greatly too large chnrch, holding not less than eighteen hundred people, yet full notwithstanding. Never felt myself at greater ease and liberty, and am told that I never was in greater force. To understand the scene which followed, you must know that Elgin presbytery is leavened with moderation, there being none bnt Mr. Topp and Mr. Gentle who go with us in the Non-intrusion question; and perhaps none but

them that go cordially into the object of Church extension. With these premises in your mind, understand you that we had a public dinner, in a very handsome public hall; that we numbered upwards of fifty; that the party was highly respectable; that Admiral Duff, a truly good man, and one of our hundred pounders, was in the chair; that on his left hand was Rear-Admiral M'Kay, brother to Lord Reay; that at the foot of the table was the county sheriff, and a goodly number both of clergy and of respectable citizens. Yet, with all these materials for a cordial meeting, there was not one response of enthusiastic feeling to a single sentiment that was uttered; that my first speech, a very fair one, fell still-born from my lips; that in my second, when I attempted, with great and graphic power, to portray the beauties of their country and their town, a few faint echoes of applause were all which I could elicit; that Mr. Buchanan, powerful and felicitous as he always is, and particularly was on this occasion, spoke with an utterance which only played buff upon them; that when Messrs. Lewis, Noble, and Cochran took up the tale, it told no more on the audience than it would have done upon a clay-dike—all symptomatic of the apathetic region and atmosphere which had been created here under the tender reign of moderation. But most decisive of all, and before the toasts had nearly run out, at least one-half of the whole party at the lower end, by a simultaneous movement, made off from the table, and left the *eminentes* of the upper half to themselves, to the evident confusion and distress of our chairman, and the no less obvious indignation of Mr. Buchanan. For myself, I was greatly more amused than annoyed, and philosophized on the suddenness of the transition from one Presbytery to another, as also on the great power of clergymen who could inoculate others so with their own prevalent feeling as to make it the prevalent feeling of their neighbourhood also. Have, nevertheless, got £300 subscribed for at Elgin; and so I went to bed about eleven.

"*Thursday, Sept.* 10.—Got to Banff. It is quite a gem of a town. Altogether it is a very perfect and beautiful composition; and there is a reigning gentility, or what the English would call tidiness, which pervades everything—the harbour, the walks, the streets, the houses, and, above all, the charming burial-place, full of the most tasteful monuments, inclosed with lofty walls, decorated with ivy, and presenting in its fragments of old architecture—the remains of a former church—a very

antique and imposing appearance. The present church has been altogether removed from it; and embowered among its ivied tombstones, I could spend whole forenoons with delight in a retirement so full of solemn and affecting interest. To me it is a far more tasteful cemetery than the 'Père la Chaise' of Paris. A full church, and an address of two hours. Then a siesta; then a public dinner of about fifty.

"*Thursday, Sept.* 12.—Addressed upwards of a thousand people at Peterhead.

"*Friday, Sept.* 13.—Left the coast somewhat on our left, though we had occasional glimpses of very beautiful rock. Soon recovered it at the far-famed Buller of Buchan. Fell in with fishermen, who said that it was quite a day for the boat. My heart leaped for joy at the achievement of getting inside of the Buller—so rare, that even Mr. Philip, the parish minister, had never been there, and Mr. Robertson, of the neighbouring parish, only once. So we scooted down the brae, launched the boat, manned it with four hands, and committed ourselves to the waves, which were moderate enough to admit of the enterprise, for it is only safe in calm weather. The rock scenery, irrespective of the Buller, is superb, bulging out into buttresses, or retiring into creeks, and altogether comprising the most variegated and rugged outline I had seen anywhere. Turned south to the Buller, where we were presented with a lofty arch, having a fine massive bending alcove, and leading to a hollow cylinder with the sky overhead, and a lofty wall of precipice all round. The waves rise higher in the archway, which is narrow, insomuch that our gallant crew had to ply their boat-hooks on both sides to keep us off the rocks: but got at length into the bottom of the churn, which churns nobly in a storm, and causes a manufacture of yeast, that flies in light frothy balls up to the top of the caldron, and is carried off through the country. It was calm enough, however, now to admit of our leisurely contemplation of the magnificent alcove into which we had gotten; and after glorying in our exploit for some minutes, we rowed and boat-hooked our way back again. Skirted farther south, among the projections and insular rocks between us and Slaines Castle, which we saw at the distance of a mile or so. Went round the noble rock of Dunbigh, covered with sea-fowl, some of which were seen, adding to the interest of the whole spectacle by their picturesque forms. Here we explored a beautiful recess, and looked into a dark viewless cave of unknown depth. Rowed

back to our old landing-place, recognising the Buller as we passed. We also saw Buchan-Ness light-house to the north, and were told of Longhaven between us and it as a great curiosity, but which it was too rough to visit. Our landing-place is in the bottom of a fine rocky bay, which of itself was worth the visiting and recording. On ascending the brae, went to the top of the Buller, and looked down to the place where we had been rolling half-an-hour before. With the exception of its land side, there is a narrow rim all round it, broadest at the place which surmounts the archway, but contracting into three or four feet at other places, and wearing away at one part into the most ticklish step of all. This broad rim is perpendicular on both sides, yet so often circumambulated, even by ladies, as to be trodden into a foot-path. I had the greatest desire to finish my conquest of the Buller, by following in the footsteps of these heroines; but thought of prosaic mamma, and made a virtue of moderation. Mr. Robertson says, that if I had offered to do it, he would have laid violent hands upon me. It is, in truth, very seldom done; though the last Duke of Gordon but one, after having dined at Slaines Castle, is said to have rode round it on horseback—a truly after-dinner achievement. Rode on to Slaines Castle, about two miles off. Lord Errol, its proprietor, had previously asked me to dine there yesterday; but as this could not be, I offered instead to call on him this day. He and the Countess received us most cordially. She, by the way, was a Miss Fitzclarence, and is daughter to the late William IV. She bears a great resemblance to the Royal family, and is withal a pious person, which appeared indeed in her conversation. Lord and Lady Errol showed us the rooms of their castle, going along with us; and nothing could exceed the blandness and perfect nature of the whole style of their attentions to us. It is a most singular place, altogether renewed within these few years on the site of the preceding castle, a mere fragment of which remains. It consists of only two stories—one sunk, and the other comprising all the accommodation of the members of the family—spread out, therefore, over a great space, and shooting upwards into a number of cones and pinnacles. It is built close upon the edge of the sea-rock, insomuch that at one place flush with the precipice there is no walking round it. The look-out is to me most interesting. The rocks not high; but having more the character of skellies projecting into the sea, forming a number both of creeks and promontories, and deriving an exquisite

beauty, first, from the outline of separation between the land and water, and secondly, from the vivid contrast of the rock with grass of bright verdure—it being the grass of rich and ornamental cultivation. Dr. Johnson was here in the time of the old castle, and said, that if you want to enjoy the sublimity of danger without its exposure you should sleep at Slaines in a storm. The roar of the waters is very noble, though the inmates from custom had ceased to be sensible of it; and it was quite in keeping with the scene, and with all its accompaniments, that there occurred, while we were sitting in the library, which overhangs the beach, a very brilliant flash of lightning, followed by a loud peal of thunder. It is a fine old library, with a great proportion of theology, and some of the best editions of the Fathers. Another drive of eight miles to Haddo House, Lord Aberdeen's, whither I and Mr. Robertson went by invitation. Went up the river Ythan which runs by Ellon, a small village, though the seat of a Presbytery, and got on through a prosaic yet cultivated country to his Lordship's, by seven, P.M. His Lordship tells me that the Dean of Faculty, who at one time threatened me with a rod-in-pickle, is now in the press with a pamphlet on Church matters. His Lordship and I, as well as Mr. Robertson, have had much talk about matters; and though not at one, I can perceive that his Lordship is very desirous of an adjustment, and will be of great use, I doubt not, in bringing it about.

"*Saturday, Sept.* 14, 1839.—Walked in the grounds with Captain Gordon, who laughs at a Veto without reasons, and is hostile to the Church in her present position. This is a noble place. The house not ornamental, but spacious, and with two large wings, the grandeur of the whole lying chiefly in its magnitude. A noble straight avenue, descending from a flight of stairs, and marked by ornamental gateways at intervals, stretching forward with an amplitude which is quite baronial; and at its foot having a beautiful lake on the left hand. On the other side of the house there is a beautiful wooded undulation, which contrasts well with the flowery level at the head of the avenue. Up the Ythan his Lordship has another place, called the Gight, still more lovely than the one I am describing, but which, though only at the distance of four miles, we could not visit. Took leave of the family at eleven, not without an enhanced respect for Lord Aberdeen, whose conversations, and whole conduct, have given me a deeper sense than ever both of

his talents and worth. He has had sad work lately with the perverseness of the people of his own parish threatening to veto a most admirable presentee. At one of the meetings he had with them, he himself opened with prayer, to the great delight of all the good in this quarter. Left Ballater between three and four. The beauty of the afternoon, and the glorious beauty of the landscapes, at length tempted us outside; and certainly the combined grandeur and richness far outstripped all that we have yet met with. Along the banks of the Dee, for twenty miles above Ballater, there is one continued enamel either of cultivation or woodland, while, on both sides, the hills rise in all varieties of form, presenting a glorious assemblage of crags and mountain tops. On leaving Ballater we were at once in the midst of fine scenery, but much enhanced after passing the bridge of Ginn, and from that to Mirven a fine specimen of the old Highland clachan. Then on the opposite side are the house and classic 'birks of Abergeldie,' succeeded by the kirk of Crathie on this side, and then again on the opposite side the house of Balmoral. Here the scenery is superlative. But the crowning glory of the whole is Lochnagar, surmounting all the hills that are around it, and now made immortal by the stanzas of Lord Byron on this noble mountain.

"*Wednesday, Sept.* 18, 1839.—At breakfast there came a polite invitation from Mrs. Farquharson of Invercauld, to stay with her while in this country. Set up our carriage again at eleven. Down the river by the road of yesterday. Left the carriage for some minutes to visit the Castle of Braemar, built about a century ago to overawe the rebels, and still the property of Government. Entered all its rooms, and looked out at every turret window. Ascended by a ladder to its roof; an interesting but limited panorama all round us, land-locked by hills, and presenting a horizon marked with their lofty outlines. Dismissed our own carriage, and got with Mr., and Mr. Farquharson, junior, into their own double one. Descended from this most satisfactory round and penetration into the inner shrines and recesses of Highland scenery to the house, whence we emerged on foot upon the beautiful grounds. Dined at six. A most delightful party of delightful people; and what charmed me exceedingly was, that the moment we sat down to dinner the bagpipes struck out in the lobby, and serenaded us during the whole feast —a most interesting but now very rare relic of centuries long gone by. I never felt more the spirit-stirring genius of the

Highlands and the old feudal times, than here; and finished a day which formed the brightest passage in my journey, by going to bed about eleven."

The biographer of Knox informs us that in the summer of 1559, at a critical period in the history of the Church's Reformation, he "undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom. The wide field which was before him, the interesting situation in which he was placed, the dangers by which he was surrounded, and the hopes which he cherished, increased the ardour of his zeal, and stimulated him to extraordinary exertions both of body and mind. Within less than two months he travelled over the greater part of Scotland. . . . The attention of the nation was aroused, their eyes were opened to the errors by which they had been deluded, and they panted for a continued and more copious supply of the word of life."

It was at a like critical period in the history of the Church's Extension that Dr. Chalmers undertook his tour through Scotland. His pre-announced and confident expectation was, that within a year he should raise £100,000, and add a hundred churches more to those already built; and up till the meeting of the General Assembly in May everything promised fair for the fulfilment of this hope. At that Assembly it was announced that more than one-fourth of the sum contemplated had already been subscribed; and as the fortnight during which Dr. Chalmers had made his circuit from Dundee to Dunfermline had yielded £6000, it seemed reasonable enough to calculate that the succeeding summer months would witness the completion of the design. But the event disappointed the expectation. "Better announce at once," said Dr. Chalmers, in presenting himself before the General Assembly of 1840, "that the last has proved a most extraordinary year in the history of Church Extension—in certain respects, a year of great disaster to the cause, yet in others opening up the hope, nay, even realizing the tokens of its coming enlargement. The present controversial state of the Church has operated most adversely in particular, on that fund, the nature and objects of which were fully explained to the venerable Assembly in the report of last year, and now well known by its designation of the Supplementary Fund, which, but for our unhappy divisions, might by this time have reached, as we calculated from the actual success in a comparatively small part of Scotland, our confident anticipation twelve months

ago of £100,000, but which, because of these divisions, scarcely, if at all, exceeds the sum of £40,000." It was discouraging that so much effort should have borne so little fruit; but the disappointment was borne with the greater equanimity on account of that contemplated retirement to which, at the end of his report, Dr. Chalmers thus alluded:—"The convener of your committee, who has prepared the above report, craves permission to close it with one brief paragraph which is personal to himself. He finds that the labours and requisite attentions of an office which for six years he has so inadequately filled, have now become a great deal too much for him; and for the sake of other labours and other preparations more in keeping with the arduous work of a theological professorship, as well as with the powers, and, he may add, the prospects and the duties of advanced life, he begs that he may now be suffered to withdraw. While he rejoices in the experimental confirmation which the history of these few years has afforded him of the resources and the capabilities of the Voluntary system, to which, as hitherto unfostered by the paternal care of Government, the scheme of Church Extension is indebted for all its progress, it still remains his unshaken conviction of that system notwithstanding, that it should only be resorted to as a supplement, and never but in times when the powers of infidelity and intolerance are linked together in hostile combination against the sacred prerogatives of the Church should it once be thought of as a substitute for a national establishment of Christianity. In days of darkness and disquietude it may open a temporary resource, whether for a virtuous secession or an ejected Church to fall back upon; but a far more glorious consummation is, when the State puts forth its hand to sustain but not to subjugate the Church, and the two, bent on moral conquests alone, walk together as fellow-helpers towards the achievement of that great pacific triumph—the Christian education of the people. He to whom you assigned so high and honourable an office as the prosecution of this object, and who now addresses you in the capacity of its holder for the last time, will not let go the confident hope, that under the smile of an approving Heaven, and with a blessing from on high, glorious things are yet in reserve for the parishes of Scotland; and though his hand, now waxing feeble, must desist from the performances of other days, sooner will that hand forget its cunning, than he can forget or cease to feel for the Church of his fathers."

At the earnest entreaty of the Assembly, Dr. Chalmers con-

tinued at the head of the Extension Committee for another year, nor did he retire from the great field of labour till two hundred and twenty churches—more than one-fifth of its whole complement—had been added to the churches of the Establishment. The following table exhibits the progress of Church Extension during the period of his convenership:—

In 1835	there were reported		62	Churches and	£65,626	1	11½
1836	do.	do.	26	do.	32,359	12	5½
1837	do.	do.	67	do.	59,311	6	0
1838	do.	do.	32	do.	41,183	1	4½
1839	do.	do.	14	do.	52,959	14	9½
1840	do.	do.	15	do.	36,055	8	0½
1841	do.	do.	6	do.	18,252	6	6
	Grand total,		222	Churches and	£305,747	11	2½

CHAPTER XXVII.

FIRST STAGE IN THE NON-INTRUSION CONTROVERSY—SETTLEMENT AT AUCHTERARDER—ACTION BEFORE THE COURT OF SESSION—DECISION OF THE JUDGES—APPEAL TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS—RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY 1838—SPEECHES OF LORDS BROUGHAM AND COTTENHAM—JUDGMENT OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS—GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1839—SPEECH OF DR. CHALMERS.

FIVE years had now elapsed since the evangelical interest became ascendant in the Church of Scotland, and the long-lost power at last recovered, every department of Church affairs bore witness to the zeal and energy with which that power was exercised. A prosperous commencement was made in the reformation of the eldership.* Candidates for the holy ministry were subjected to stricter examination, and the course of their collegiate education was enlarged. A salutary discipline was exercised over the ministers of the Church, and many worthless clergymen, over whose delinquencies a shield of protection would in other days have been thrown, were brought to trial and deposed. That spiritual oversight of parishes by Presbyteries, of Presbyteries by Synods, and of Synods by the General Assembly, which the constitution of the Church required, was fostered into increased effectiveness. The English and Irish orthodox Presbyterian Churches were admitted to that ministerial communion with the Church of Scotland from which they had been excluded,† while one entire branch of Seceders from the Establishment was received within its pale. Under the able guidance of Dr. Inglis and Dr. Baird, considerable efforts had been already made in furthering Foreign Missions and Home Education. To both these enterprises a new stimulus was now given. In 1796 the General Assembly had somewhat contemptuously refused to entertain the question of missions to the heathen. "As for these Missionary Societies," said one eminent individual, who has since

* This spiritual office had frequently been conferred with no other object than to entitle its holder to a seat in the General Assembly, so that many who had never discharged any of its duties became members of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court. This abuse was now corrected.

† By an Act of Assembly passed in 1799, the ministers of every other Church in the world were absolutely excluded even from an occasional occupation of the pulpits of the Establishment.

risen to the highest position on the Scottish bench, and who lived to deliver judgment against the Church in the Auchterarder case, "I do aver, that since it is to be apprehended that these funds may in time, nay, certainly will, be turned against the Constitution, so it is the bounden duty of this House to give the overtures recommending them our most serious disapprobation, and our immediate most decisive opposition."* In 1835, fresh from his field of labour in the East, the Church's own first and most honoured missionary, Dr. Duff, presented himself before the Assembly, and to his fervent pleadings on behalf of missions, the whole House gave back one unbroken response of direct and grateful acquiescence. Hitherto it had been only on educational destitution existing in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland that the General Assembly had fixed its attention. But now its more wakeful eye was fastened on the like but more fatal destitution existing in the large towns and more populous districts of the Lowlands; and under the counsels of Dr. Welsh, and the vigorous agency of Mr. David Stow of Glasgow, the best basis was laid for an improved and extended national education in the institution of Normal Schools. In 1836, widening still further the embrace of her sympathies and efforts, a scheme was organized, and an annual collection in all the churches was ordered, for the promotion of Christianity in the British colonies, where so many of our expatriated countrymen, through want of the means of grace, had fallen into spiritual forgetfulness. The year 1838 was distinguished by the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Jews, in execution of which Dr. Keith and Dr. Black, Mr. M'Cheyne and Mr. Bonar, journeyed over Europe to Palestine,—furnishing that Report upon which a new Scheme for the Conversion of the Jews was added to those formerly existing, and which received from the Christian public a general and cordial support. Altogether, in evidence of the rekindled zeal and redoubled energy with which all her public Christian enterprises were prosecuted, we can point to the Church's collective annual revenue for these objects in the year 1839, as being *fourteen times greater* than it had been in 1834. Speaking of this brief but brilliant period, Dr. Chalmers says, "We abolished the union of offices—we are planting schools—we are multiplying chapels—we are sending forth missionaries to distant parts of the world—we have purified and invigorated

* See "The two parties in the Church of Scotland exhibited as Missionary and Anti-Missionary, by Hugh Miller," p. 33. Edinburgh, 1841.

the discipline—we are extending the Church, and rallying our population around its venerable standard—we are bringing the sectaries again within its pale—and last, though not least, we have reformed the patronage; and our licentiates, instead of a tutorship in the families of the great as their stepping-stone to preferment, now betake themselves to a parochial assistantship or to a preaching station, with its correspondent home-walk of Christian usefulness among the families of the surrounding poor, as the likeliest passage to a higher place in their profession, even as it is the best preparation for the duties of their high calling. And not only is there the visible glow of this great and wholesome reform abroad over the country, or in the outer department of the Church, but in the business of its courts and judicatories, in the General Assembly itself, there is the same great and obvious reformation; so that, instead of the ecclesiastico-political arena which it once was, more at least than half its time is taken up with the beseeming cares of a great moral institute, devising for the Christian good and the best interests of men both at home and abroad." It was no common calamity which put an abrupt and fatal close to a career so promising, and our countrymen, to the latest generation, will be found inquiring what were the mighty interests in defence of which operations so fruitful of good were all arrested, and the men who were so vigorously prosecuting them driven beyond the pale of the Establishment. We have now to enter upon the painful history of those proceedings which terminated in this disastrous issue.

A few months after the passing of the Veto Law by the Assembly of 1834, a presentation was issued by the Earl of Kinnoul to the vacant parish of Auchterarder in Perthshire. Mr. Young, the presentee, was not in orders, holding only a license from his Presbytery which permitted him to preach as a candidate for the holy office. After he had preached on two successive Sabbaths in the pulpit of the vacant church, a day was appointed for moderating in a call—that is, for inviting the people to express their concurrence in his settlement. In a parish containing three thousand souls, only two of its inhabitants came forward upon that day to sign the call; and when, in obedience to the recent Act of Assembly, an opportunity was afforded to those male heads of families whose names were on the attested communion-roll, of tendering their dissent, out of the three hundred entitled to use this privilege two hundred and eighty-seven, or more than five-sixths of the whole members, gave in their names as dissentients, and

all expressed their readiness to make the solemn declaration, that they were actuated by no factious or malicious motives, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of themselves and the congregation. To afford them time for reconsideration, and an opportunity, if they chose to avail themselves of it, to withdraw their names, the Presbytery adjourned for a fortnight; but at the adjourned meeting, without one exception, they all adhered to their dissent. Before any final judgment was given, in consequence of objections taken to some parts of the Presbytery's proceedings, the case went by appeal before the Synod of Perth and Stirling, and afterwards before the General Assembly of 1835. Having repelled the objections which had been taken to the actings of the inferior Court, the Assembly remitted the case to the Presbytery, with instructions "to proceed in the matter in terms of the Interim Act of last Assembly." Acting under these instructions, the Presbytery, on the 7th July 1835, rejected Mr. Young, "so far as regarded that particular presentation." Against this rejection the presentee entered an appeal to the Synod, which he afterwards abandoned; and it was with mingled curiosity and alarm that the Church learned, that in conjunction with the patron he had raised an action against the Presbytery before the Supreme Civil Court, the Court of Session. As the action was originally laid, the Court was asked to review the proceedings of the Presbytery solely with the view of determining the destination of the benefice, and declaring that the just and legal right to the stipend still lay with the rejected presentee. The case, however, had not been in Court more than a few weeks when an ominous change was made upon the whole character of the action. This change, technically denominated "an amendment of the libel," was effected by the introduction of new clauses, in which the Court was asked to find and declare that the rejection of Mr. Young, expressly on the ground of a veto by the parishioners, was illegal, being contrary to statute, and that the Presbytery was still under statutory obligation to take Mr. Young upon trial, and if found qualified to ordain him as minister of the parish. The case, the novelty and importance of which began now to be universally appreciated, was ordered to be heard before all the judges. The pleadings began on the 21st November, and closed on the 12th of the succeeding month. On the 27th February 1838, and on six subsequent days, the judges delivered their opinions, deciding, by a majority of eight to five, in favour of

the pursuers and against the Church. The majority was composed of the Lord President (Hope), Lord Gillies, the Lord Justice-Clerk (Boyle), Lord Meadowbank, Lord Mackenzie, Lord Medwyn, Lord Corehouse, and Lord Cuninghame. The minority consisted of Lord Fullerton, Lord Moncreiff, Lord Glenlee, Lord Jeffrey, and Lord Cockburn. The judgment of the Court, delivered on the 8th March, did not cover the whole of the conclusions craved by the pursuers; but after repelling the objections which had been taken to the jurisdiction of the Court and the competency of the action, restricted itself to finding, that in rejecting Mr. Young "on the sole ground that a majority of male heads of families, communicants in the said parish, have dissented, without any reason assigned, from his admission as minister, the Presbytery have acted illegally and in violation of their duty, and contrary to the provisions of certain statutes libelled on."

Throughout all the lengthened arguments delivered at the Bar and from the Bench, the two leading questions which were carefully distinguished from each other, and subjected to separate discussion, were—1. The legality of the Veto Law—whether the Church, under statute or otherwise, was legally competent to enact such a law, and whether, in enacting it, she had violated any statute of the realm; and, 2. The competence of the Court of Session to interfere, in case it should find the Veto Law to be illegal, for any other purpose, and to any other effect, than simply to regulate the destination of the benefice. The pleadings at the Bar, as well as the opinions delivered from the Bench, left a certain amount of obscurity resting upon both these leading topics. It sometimes seemed as if the alleged illegality of the Veto Law lay exclusively in the conclusive force bestowed upon an arbitrary dissent of a majority, and in the Church having thereby transferred to the people a privilege which, though possessed by herself, she was not at liberty to alienate; so that if, taking Mr. Young upon trial, and looking upon his non-acceptability as a disqualification, she were on that ground by her own authority and upon her own judgment to reject him, she would be guilty of no breach of any statute. In the arguments, again, by which the competency of the Court of Session to adjudicate upon this case was sustained, it was difficult to know whether it was affirmed or not, that over all such actings of Church Courts as directly or indirectly carried civil consequences, the Court of Session claimed the same authority which it pos-

sessed and exercised over all the inferior civil tribunals of the kingdom, or whether any separate standing and exclusive jurisdiction was allowed to the ecclesiastical judicatories. The Court of Session had considered itself competent to declare that a Presbytery which, acting under the explicit directions of the supreme ecclesiastical tribunal, had done nothing but carry out a law of the Assembly, had done an illegal act. But was it prepared to do here what, in every like case of a purely civil character, it was its right and duty to do—to order the Presbytery to proceed as it directed; and holding the Veto Law as a nullity, simply because it, the Court of Session, held it so, to take the necessary steps towards the presentee's ordination: and in case of the Presbytery's disobedience, was it prepared by the ordinary compulsitors of law—by fine or imprisonment—to enforce obedience to its edict? In itself the sentence pronounced by the Court was equivocal. Declaring what the Presbytery had done to be illegal, it stopped short of declaring or prescribing what the Presbytery should do. That sentence might have been given though all that the Court meant to interfere with was the appropriation of the stipend. One thing alone was clearly and conclusively determined by it, that should the Church persist in rejecting Mr. Young, she incurred thereby the forfeiture of the benefice. It was to prevent, if possible, this forfeiture, that, at its meeting in May 1838, the General Assembly instructed its law officer to appeal the case to the House of Lords. That there might be no misunderstanding, however, of the position relative to the Civil Courts assumed by the Church, the same Assembly passed a very memorable resolution. The Church's separate and exclusive spiritual jurisdiction, though not yet actually invaded, was most seriously menaced. Opinions had been uttered both at the Bar and from the Bench which went to strip her of all those liberties and privileges, which, given her by her Great Head, she believed had been amply guaranteed to her by statute, and which, except in the darkest periods of her persecution, she had freely exercised and enjoyed. The blow had not yet been struck which should lay her prostrate beneath the secular power, but the arm was lifted, and there seemed no want of will to strike. Calmly, solemnly, resolutely, in front of the impending danger she took up her ground—ground from which she never swerved. By a majority of 183 to 142, the General Assembly of 1838 resolved—

"That the General Assembly of this Church, while they unqualifiedly acknowledge the exclusive jurisdiction of the Civil

Courts in regard to the civil rights and emoluments secured by law to the Church and the ministers thereof, and will ever give and inculcate implicit obedience to their decisions thereanent, do resolve, that as it is declared in the Confession of Faith of this National Established Church, that the Lord Jesus Christ is King and Head of the Church, and hath therein appointed a government in the hands of Church officers distinct from the civil magistrate, and that in all matters touching the doctrine, government, and discipline of the Church, her judicatories possess an exclusive jurisdiction, founded on the Word of God, which 'power ecclesiastical (in the words of the Second Book of Discipline) flows from God, and the Mediator, Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of his kirk;' and they do further resolve, that this spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy and sole headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, on which it depends, they will assert, and at all hazards defend, by the help and blessing of that great God who, in the days of old, enabled their fathers, amid manifold persecutions, to maintain a testimony even to the death, for Christ's kingdom and crown: And, finally, that they will firmly enforce obedience to the same upon all office-bearers and members of this Church, by the execution of her laws in the exercise of the ecclesiastical authority wherewith they are invested."

Nearly a year elapsed ere the Auchterarder case was heard before the House of Lords. Lords Brougham and Cottenham having delivered their opinions on the 2d and 3d May 1839, and their opinions substantially agreeing, the sentence of that Court was passed dismissing the appeal and confirming the deliverance of the Court of Session. For one thing, at least, the Church of Scotland had to thank these noble Lords: their speeches cleared away all the ambiguity which had rested upon the discussion of the Court below. It was by a simple and very short line of argument that they each arrived at their interpretation of the Law of Patronage. By the concluding clause of the Act of Queen Anne restoring patronages, the Act 1592 had been revived, and became the governing statute upon this subject. That statute ordains "that all presentations to benefices be directed to the particular Presbyteries, with full power to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical within their bounds, according to the discipline of the Kirk; provided the foresaid Presbyteries be bound and astricted to re-

ceive and admit whatsoever qualified minister presented by His Majesty or lay patrons." According to the interpretation put upon this statute by Lords Brougham and Cottenham, the sole province of the Church in the matter of collation, beyond which she cannot travel without subjecting herself to civil coercion, is to judge of the personal qualifications of the presentee, and in so judging she must strictly limit herself to an inquiry into his life, literature, and manners. "With respect to qualification," said Lord Brougham, "I am somewhat surprised to find in the very able and learned arguments from the Bench below, an attempt made to show that qualification is of such extensive meaning, that within its scope may be brought the whole of the matter at present in dispute—namely, the acceptableness and reception of the party presented by the congregation as finding favour in their sight. . . . I am going to show your Lordships that no such meaning can possibly, by the law of Scotland, be given to the word 'qualified.' It is a technical word in this question: it is not the word 'qualified' used in its general sense, as you talk of a man's qualities—of his capacity—of his abilities—of his merits, which are all general phrases, and none of them technically defined. The word 'qualified' is as much a known word of the law, and has as much a technical sense imposed upon it by the statutes—by the law authorities—by the opinions of commentators—by the dicta of judges, as the word 'qualification' has when used to express the right to kill game, or when used to express a right to vote in the election of a member of Parliament. . . . It means a qualification in literature, life, and morals, to be judged of by the Presbytery; and no one talks of interfering with that right of so judging by them."* The Lord Chancellor was equally explicit: "But if it be clear, as it certainly is, that the qualifications referred to in the statutes are personal qualifications—'literature, life, and manners'—there can be no ground for contending that the dissent of the majority of the heads of families is a disqualification within the meaning of the statutes. . . . The absolute right of patronage, subject only to the rejection of the presentee by the adjudication of the Presbytery for want of qualification, which is secured by the statute, is inconsistent with the exercise of any volition by the inhabitants, however expressed."† Such an interpretation confined the jurisdiction of the Church to the one single topic of judging of the presentee's life, literature, and manners, and de-

* Robertson's Report, pp. 14, 15, 17. † Ibid. pp. 52, 53

prived the congregation or general body of communicants of all standing, weight, and influence in the settlement of ministers. It was an interpretation altogether new—new to every party of Churchmen in Scotland, and inconsistent with the whole current of hitherto unchallenged laws and actings of the Church. When a patron happened to present a clergyman already ordained, upon whose personal qualifications the Church had already passed approving judgment, in such a case, and according to this interpretation, no ground or liberty of rejecting him remained. Lord Brougham referring expressly to such a case, declared that nothing so wild had ever been urged as the supposition that the Church could claim or exercise such a right; and yet up to this time, neither among the lawyers nor the ecclesiastics of Scotland had there ever been a doubt as to the Church's possession of this right—her whole proceeding in the instance of the translation of ordained clergymen from one parish to another was based upon its existence—in innumerable cases had it been exercised, ordained presentees having been rejected, and yet never once, whether in court civil or ecclesiastical, had this power of rejection been challenged. In 1817, Dr. Hill, the leader of the Moderate party, introduced and carried a measure in the General Assembly, by which the union of a professorship in a college and the ministerial charge of a country parish was prohibited. By this new version, however, of the Law of Patronage, such a measure was *ultra vires* of the Assembly, and any professor rejected upon the ground of this prohibition had only to bring his case before the Civil Court to have his right to admission confirmed and enforced. So universal was the conviction that the Church's prerogative extended beyond a mere adjudication upon life, literature, and morals, that when, in 1833, Dr. Chalmers first introduced the Veto Law, Dr. Cook's motion, which on that occasion was carried, declared it competent for the heads of families to give in objections, of whatever nature, against the presentee, and for the Presbytery, if they thought such objections to be well grounded, to reject him. In the discussion which then took place, Dr. Cook strenuously affirmed "that the Church regarded qualification as including much more than learning, moral character, and sound doctrine—as extending, in fact, to the fitness of the presentees, in all respects, for the particular situation to which they were appointed."

Had the interpretation now put upon the Law of Patronage been known in the preceding century, to what an amount of

ecclesiastical litigation about calls would it have put an immediate and final termination! For many years in the earlier part of that century, and so long as that party still predominated which was resolved to carry out the principle, which the Church had so often declared to be a fundamental one, that no pastor should be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people, cases continually occurred in which presentees were rejected on no other ground whatever than the insufficiency of the call—their want of acceptability to the people; but there never was a case of any such rejected presentee having recourse to the Court of Session, because neither in the Parliament House nor in the Assembly had this new view been broached, of the unfettered right of the patron. When the Moderate party, under the able guidance of Lord Brougham's distinguished relative, Principal Robertson, began that course of policy, which, after many a painful conflict, finally reduced the call to a mere dead form, the struggle was restricted entirely to the Church Courts, which it certainly would not have been had it ever been imagined that so summary a method of settlement was available, as that supplied by the decision of the House of Lords.

The mere novelty, however, of this interpretation of a single law, was not nearly so alarming as were those general views as to the constitution of the Church, and the nature and consequences of her connexion with the State, upon which that interpretation obviously and ostensibly was based. The Church's power in this single case had been limited to such narrow boundaries, because no statute could be found which distinctly and specifically bestowed upon her any other or wider range of action. It was in vain that the Church's advocates spoke of powers and privileges—of a constitution and polity possessed by her, not in virtue of any donation by the State, but in virtue of her divine institution by Christ. It was in vain that they pointed to the many express statutory recognitions and ratifications of her government and discipline, as flowing to her from her great Spiritual Head. It was in vain that turning to that very Act of 1592, by help of which the right of the patron was to be carried triumphantly over all those defences against the intrusion of unacceptable ministers which the Church had erected, they quoted the clause which gave the Church full power to put order to all matters and clauses ecclesiastical, *according to the discipline of the Kirk*. It was in vain that they quoted another portion of this same statute, in which, referring to and repealing a

previous Act which had asserted the Royal supremacy over all persons and causes ecclesiastical, it was declared that it "should no ways be prejudicial, nor derogate anything from the *privilege that God has given* to the spiritual office-bearers in the Kirk, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, *collation or deprivation of ministers*, or any suchlike censures specially grounded and having warrant of the Word." The statute had spoken only of judging of the presentee's qualifications, and beyond that the Church must not proceed. If in her judicial capacity she had frequently prevented the settlement of ministers against whose "life, literature, and manners" nothing could be alleged; if in her legislative capacity she had passed many laws, imposing other restrictions upon Patronage than the single one now allowed, her judgments were illegal, her laws were impotent. Instead of her own old conception that she had all freedom, except that which statute specifically denied, the new conception was that she had no freedom except that which statute specifically granted. Adopting this conception, "one-half, and more than one-half, of the privileges of the Church would be disallowed; and she would be rendered more bare of honour and prerogative, than even any ordinary corporation, whose privileges may be asserted and ascertained by an appeal to the general practice of the constitution."*

In their sentence, the Court of Session had refrained from laying any order upon the Presbytery, and the House of Lords did nothing more than simply affirm that sentence. In the forwardness of his zeal, however, Lord Brougham volunteered to instruct the Court of Session as to their future course. "And then," said his Lordship, "may come this question, 'What is the Court of Session to do upon the petitory part of the summons, supposing that shall be insisted upon?' Enough it is for me to-day to observe that this is not now before us. But suppose it were, I should have no fear in dealing with it. I should at once make an order upon the Presbytery to admit if duly qualified, and to disregard the dissent of the congregation;" "and if they did not admit, they broke the laws, they acted illegally, and were liable to the consequences, civil and other, of disobeying the positive and clear order of a statute." . . . "Still it is affirmed that the Presbytery may persist in refusing. My Lords, it is indecent to suppose any such case. You might as well suppose

* See the admirable speech of the Solicitor-General (Rutherfurd), in Robertson's Report, vol. i. p. 356.

that Doctors Commons would refuse to attend to a prohibition from the Court of King's Bench; you might as well suppose that the Court of Session, when you remit a cause with orders to alter the judgment, would refuse to alter it." Never once during all that period when litigations about conflicting presentations, and the settlement of ministers thereupon, had been so numerous, had the Court of Session ventured upon such an act as that which they were now so heartily counselled to perform. They had been once asked to do a kindred deed, but they had refused to interfere; "because that was interfering with the power of ordination, or the internal policy of the Church, with which the Lords thought that they had nothing to do."* Should the Presbytery persist in refusing to settle Mr. Young, one clause of the very act upon which so much was grounded, might have suggested to Lord Brougham another alternative than the one which he had suggested:—"Providing always, in case the Presbytery refuses to admit any qualified minister presented to them by the patron, it shall be lawful to the patron to retain the whole fruits of the said benefice in his own hands." If Presbyteries were under statutory obligation to admit qualified presentees, and by the ordinary compulsitors of the law could be forced to fulfil such obligation, how came such a clause as this into that very Act, by which, as it was alleged, that very obligation was imposed? That clause, indeed, stands upon the statute-book as a perpetual protest against that series of encroachments upon the spiritual prerogatives of the Church upon which the Court of Session was now hastening to embark, and a perpetual vindication of that position which, as the sequel will indicate, the Church felt herself compelled to occupy.

The speeches of Lords Brougham and Cottenham were delivered early in May 1839, and had great influence in determining the proceedings of the General Assembly, which commenced its sittings on the 16th of that month. They effected a very important change in that course of policy which Dr. Chalmers had been prepared to advise. He was in no way particularly wedded to the Veto Law. Regarding it only as one mode of gaining a certain end—the hindering of bad and the promoting of good appointments—he was ready to make any change in the mode, if only the same end could be realized. The decision of the Court of Session had made it clear that whenever a rejection

* Report in the case of Dunse, by Lord Monboddo, quoted by Mr. Bell.—Robertson's Report, vol. i. p. 117.

under the Veto Law took place, a forfeiture of the temporalities of the living would ensue. But up to the time when the Lord Chancellor and Lord Brougham had delivered their opinions, he had been convinced that if, relinquishing the form of procedure established by the Veto Law, and falling back upon her own intrinsic powers, the Church were to sit in judgment upon each case of settlement as it occurred, she would be able to prevent all improper intrusion of parties upon reclaiming congregations. He had been prepared, therefore, to advise that the Assembly should repeal the Veto Law; and, with a general declaration of a resolution to maintain the principle of Non-Intrusion, should commit the whole matter in the first instance to the Presbyteries of the Church. These speeches of the two Chancellors taught him that a veto by the Presbytery would now be held to be as illegal as a veto by the congregation; and that to repeal the Veto Law would bring them no nearer to the effecting of such a harmony between the law of the State as interpreted by the highest legal functionaries of the realm, and the law and practices of the Church for the prevention of intrusion, as should hinder the dissevering of the benefice from the cure of souls. Assuming that the Church were to stand firm in her purpose, to take no part in the ordination of men whom she conscientiously believed to be unfit for that particular charge to which they had been presented, it was obvious that the desired harmony could be attained only through the intervention of the Legislature. A direct and immediate application to the Legislature seemed, therefore, the fittest, if not the only course for the Church to pursue. For six years past Dr. Chalmers had not been a member of the General Assembly, and with the exception of reading his Annual Report on Church Extension, he had taken little part in the general management of Church affairs. But a truly momentous crisis had now arrived, before which his strong purpose of retirement gave way, and every energy of his nature was devoted to the guidance of the Church through the troubled and perilous passage. He entered the conflict with an anxious but unembarrassed spirit. Mere party ties had but little hold on him. With many of the opinions held, and many of the sentiments uttered by some of the most prominent evangelical leaders, he had no sympathy. He did not participate in the conviction that the right to choose their own ministers belonged by divine donation to the people. He disliked when the contest on which the Church had now fairly entered was represented as a contest

for the rights of the Christian people; nor could he approve of the phraseology, rife now in some quarters, according to which the privileges of communicants, in the matter of the appointment of their religious instructors, was spoken of as part of the liberty wherewith Christ had made his people free. Believing in the existence of no divine right, wedded to no abstract theory, his position was, that the Church should be left free to carry out her own conscientious convictions—should be left unbridled and unfettered to do what she thought best for the Christian good of the people; and, as his own convictions most cordially went along with what the Church had declared to be a fundamental principle of her policy, he was prepared at any hazard to take any necessary step, at once for the preservation of the Church's general freedom, and the protection of the Church's humblest congregations. The General Assembly, upon whose deliberations and decisions so much was now depending, met at Edinburgh on the 16th May 1839. Scarcely had the necessary preliminaries been concluded, when Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, rose to say that there was one question of such pre-eminent importance, that he wished the day for its discussion to be fixed without delay; intimating, at the same time, his intention to submit a resolution regarding it to the House. On the following Monday, three motions were read and tabled; one by Dr. Cook, one by Dr. Chalmers, and one by Dr. Muir. The discussion was fixed to be on Wednesday, and for several hours before the Assembly convened upon that day, the House was crowded in every corner. The days were past when the Edinburgh public suffered an Assembly to go by with little other notice than that which the military cortege of the Commissioner excited. Interests were now at stake, in which Scotland's remotest extremities were concerned; and the great heart of the body ecclesiastic beat fuller and stronger as each returning Assembly came round. Participating in those deep and solemn feelings, which had gathered many a group of the faithful over the land around the Throne of Grace, the General Assembly, before the debate began, called upon the venerable minister of Kilsyth to engage in prayer. Dr. Cook opened the discussion. His motion was to the effect that the Assembly should hold the Veto Law as abrogated, and proceed as if it had never passed. Dr. Chalmers's motion consisted of three parts:—The first embraced an acknowledgment of, and acquiescence in, the loss of the temporalities of the living of Auchterarder; the second con-

tained the expression of a resolution that the principle of Non-Intrusion was not to be abandoned; and the third proposed the appointment of a committee to confer with the Government, in order to prevent any further collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The magnificent oration in which Dr. Chalmers supported this motion occupied three hours in its delivery; and so great and exhausting was the effort, that he had to retire from the Court immediately, nor was he able to return to give his vote at the close of the debate. The discussion had commenced at twelve o'clock on Wednesday the 22d; and at two o'clock on the morning of the following day, when it was announced, as the result of the vote, that Dr. Chalmers's motion was carried by a majority of 49, the irrepressible cheer that burst from the galleries, told in what direction, and how strongly the popular current was running. It will not be deemed an overloading of these pages, to present anew, and thus preserve, a few passages from Dr. Chalmers's speech. Having disclaimed all connexion with any section of the Assembly, having explained the personal position which he occupied, and touched on a few preliminary topics—"But we now pass on," said he, "to vindicate another part of the motion, by which it is implied that, meanwhile, and previous to the settlement of the question between the Legislature and ourselves, the Veto Law shall continue the unrepealed law of the Church. Is there not rebellion here, it may be asked—and that too against an authority to which hitherto we have been professing the homage of so much loyalty and respect? By the sentence of the Civil Courts this law is pronounced to be illegal; and if we persist in keeping by it, we incur of course the forfeiture of certain temporalities. But how can we, it is said, how can we, after such a sentence, persist in yielding obedience to it as a law of the Church, without incurring the further charge of disobedience to the law of the land?

"To answer these questions I must fall back on what I conceive to be the true theory of the connexion between Church and State.

"When this alliance then was first entered on, the first movement was made by the State. The overture came from them, on what motive, whether of piety or patriotism, or any other cause, it matters not—if it was such an overture as could be righteously, in which case it might be most rejoicingly, consented to by the Church, who might bless God in orisons of the devoutest gratitude, in that, by aid of the civil magistrate, a way had

been opened up for the lessons of the Gospel, for the words and the message of everlasting life to all the population. The boon on the one side was a maintenance for the Church's labourers, who might be distributed over the length and breadth of the land, and act each as the herald of salvation on his own assigned portion of the territory. The return on the other side was an immense blessing to the State—that best security, not for the temporal and eternal happiness of individuals only, but for the moral and political and the economic wellbeing of every community—a universal Christian education.

"Such then is the precise footing on which the Church enters into that alliance with the State, by which it becomes what is termed a National Church, or an Established Church, or a Religious National Establishment. It may have subsisted for many ages as a Christian Church, with all its tenets and its usages, not as prescribed by human authority, but as founded either on the Word of God or on their own independent views of Christian expediency—meaning by this their own views of what is best for the good of unperishable souls. None of these things were given up to the State at the time when the Church entered into an alliance with it; but one and all of them remained as intact and inviolable after this alliance as before it. She did not make over her liberties to the State, at the time when she entered into fellowship with it, in this new character of a National Establishment—she only made over her services. That was the return, the only return she could make, if along with the new she was to retain her old character as a Christian Church; and I will say an adequate, nay, an overpassing return, for the maintenance of her clergymen. Her office henceforward was to dispense the lessons of Christianity to the people of that sovereign who gave subsistence to her labourers; but still it was no other than the Christianity of the Old and New Testament. Her subsistence came from the State; but her formularies and her doctrine, and her discipline, and the methods of her ecclesiastical polity, and her articles of faith, and her methods of worship and of government, were all her own.

"It would serve, I think, greatly to clear this argument, did we make careful discrimination between the Church of Scotland viewed as a National Establishment, and the Church of Scotland viewed as a Church of Christ. There are certain obligations incumbent upon her *quasi* a Christian Church, and there are certain privileges which belong to her *quasi* an Establish-

ment. Now, I hold it to be quite an axiom, a first and elementary truth, that we are never, in any instance, to depart from the obligations which lie upon us as a Christian Church, for the sake either of obtaining or perpetuating the privileges which belong to us as an Established Church. But though, on the one hand, we cannot either rescind or refrain from enacting what we hold to be vital—ere we make a voluntary withdrawment of ourselves from the State, we should make every attempt to obtain its concurrence, and that in order to avert the calamity of a disruption betwixt us; and this too in the face of every ungenerous misinterpretation, to which our desire of preserving the connexion between the parties with all its advantages is liable. There may be nothing of the sycophantish, nothing of the sordid, in the most strenuous attempts which principle will suffer us to make, to maintain unbroken the alliance between Church and State. On the contrary, it may be the high aim of Christian patriotism, prosecuted in the spirit and with the apostolic zeal of a devoted missionary, intent on the spiritual wellbeing of the country's population, and therefore desirous of enlisting the energies of the civil government in the holy enterprise of bringing the lessons of the Gospel within the reach and hearing of all the families of the land. Every method should be tried to preserve, or, if we have unfortunately lost it, to recover the favour and confidence of our rulers. But meanwhile, till we make this out, we have nothing for it but to administer our own affairs in conformity with, and under the guidance and authority of our own statute-book. Now, it was by the deliberate voice and judgment of the Church that this law, so obnoxious in other quarters, found its way there; and though it never should be consented to by the State, it must continue to be our regulator till rescinded by the same power to which it owes its enactment, and on no other considerations I trust than those of principle and of the public weal. Whether a law is to be established or repealed by us, let me never see the day when we shall be constrained to either the one or the other by a force *ab extra*, or by any principle whatever distinct from our own spontaneous views of what is best for the interests of Christ's spiritual kingdom. The only moving principle which we should acknowledge is the '*majus bonum ecclesiæ;*' and that not in any sordid or secular meaning of the term, but in the sacred, the celestial, the high, and wholly disinterested sense of the '*majus bonum populi*'—the greater good of their unperishable souls. In other words,

we should decide this and every other question on considerations purely religious and ecclesiastical alone.

"But let me now, instead of looking forward into consequences, give some idea to the Assembly of the extent of that degradation and helplessness, which, if we do submit to this decision of the House of Lords, have been actually and already inflicted upon us—a degradation to which the Church of England, professing the King to be their head, never would submit; and to which the Church of Scotland, professing the Lord Jesus Christ to be their head, never can. You know that by the practice of our Church the induction and the ordination go together. We regard both as spiritual acts; but by the practice of the Church of England, the two are separated in point of time from each other, and as they look only upon the ordination as spiritual, this lays them open to such civil mandates and civil interdicts as we have never been accustomed to receive in the questions which arise on the subject of induction into parishes. But ask any English ecclesiastic, whether the Bishop would receive an order from any civil court whatever on the matter of ordination; and the instant, the universal reply is, that he would not. In other words, we should be degraded far beneath the level of the sister Church if we remain in connexion with the State, and submit to this new ordinance, or if you will, to this new interpretation of their old ordinances. I hold in my hands a book entitled a History of the Romish and English Hierarchies, by James Abbott, A.B. of Queen's College, Cambridge. He was refused ordination by the Bishop of Norwich, and afterwards by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he carried his case by appeal. Upon this he addressed a letter to the King as head of the Church, dated Bracondale House, Norwich, November 27, 1830. Of this letter, in which he details the circumstances of his case, the following is the concluding paragraph:—'I, therefore, earnestly invoke your Majesty, as head of the Church, and father of your people, graciously to consider my prayer, to remove this hindrance to my obtaining Episcopal ordination; in order that your Majesty's royal prerogative may secure to me the privileges and rights of a denizen and of a British graduate.' The following is Lord Melbourne's reply, written by his secretary:—

"'WHITEHALL, *December* 29, 1830.

"'SIR,—I am directed by Lord Melbourne to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, and to inform you

that his lordship cannot advise the King to give any command for controlling the judgment of a bishop on the subject of ordination to holy orders.—I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

S. M. PHILLIPS.

"'James Abbot, Esq.,
Bracondale House, Norwich.

"To what position then are we brought if we give in to the opposite motion, and proceed in consequence to the ordination of Mr. Young? To such a position as the bishops of England, with all the Erastianism which has been charged, and to a great degree I think falsely charged, upon that Establishment, never, never would consent to occupy. Many of them would go to the prison and the death rather than submit to such an invasion on the functions of the sacred office. We read of an old imprisonment of bishops, which led to the greatest and most glorious political emancipation that ever took place in the history of England. Let us not be mistaken. Should the emancipation of our Church require it, there is the same strength of high and holy determination in this our land. There are materials here too for upholding the contest between principle and power; and enough of the blood and spirit of the olden time for sustaining that holy warfare, where, as in former days, the inflictions of the one party were met with a patience and determination invincible in the sufferings of the other."

Having quoted also from a speech of the Bishop of Exeter, in which that prelate had declared it to be his intention not to obey a certain law, though it should receive the sanction of the Legislature, Dr. Chalmers concluded with some remarks on the principle of the Veto Law.

"I am fully prepared for all the wanton ridicule which has been cast on a popular antipathy with reasons, or such reasons as can be stated before a bench of judges for them to judge upon. The Dean of Faculty, in his pleading before the Lords of Session, makes repeated and contemptuous allusions to this mystic and incomprehensible something, too shadowy for expression, too ethereal to be bodied forth in language, and on which we would reject the presentee—grounding our rejection on a veto, itself without grounds, or at least such grounds as are capable of being set forth and made intelligible to the minds of other men. Now, if there be one thing of which we are more confident than another, it is that here we have all philosophy upon our side, and all that is sound in the experience of human nature. Not in

Christianity alone, but in a thousand other subjects of human thought, there may be antipathies and approvals, resting on a most solid and legitimate foundation—not properly, therefore, without reasons, but reasons deeply felt, yet incapable of being adequately communicated. And if there be one topic more than another on which this phenomenon of the human spirit should be most frequently realized, it is the topic of Christianity—a religion the manifestation of whose truth is unto the conscience; and the response or assenting testimony to which, as an object of instant discernment, might issue from the deep recesses of their moral nature on the part of men with whom it is a felt reality—able therefore to articulate their belief, yet not able to articulate the reasons of it. There is much, and that the weightiest part by far of the internal evidence for Christianity, that rests on the adaptations which obtain between its objective truths and the felt necessities or desires of our subjective nature—adaptations powerfully and intimately felt by many a possessor of that nature, who is yet unable to propound them in language, far less to state or vindicate them at the bar of judgment. And if ever the prerogatives of the human conscience were at one time more cruelly trampled on than at another, it has been within the last century, and at the bar of this House—when the collective mind of a congregation, who both knew and loved the truth as it is in Jesus, has been contemptuously set at nought; and the best, the holiest feelings of our Scottish patriarchs, by lordly oppressors sitting in state and judgment over them, were barbarously scorned. In that age of violent settlements, these simple, these unlettered men of a rustic congregation, could say no more, yet said most truly of the intruded minister, that he did not preach the Gospel, and that in the doctrine he gave there was no food for the nourishment of their souls. I cannot image a more painful spectacle than such men as these, the worthies of the olden time, at once the pride and the preserving salt of our Scottish commonwealth, placed under the treatment and rough handling of an able, jeering, ungodly advocate; while coarse and contemptuous clergymen, booted and spurred for riding Committees, were looking on and enjoying the scene; and a loud laugh from the seats of these assembled scorners completed the triumph over the religious sensibilities of men, who could but reclaim with their hearts and not with their voices. This was the policy of Dr. Robertson, recently lauded in high places—a policy which has dissevered our population from our Church, and shed

most withering influence over the religion of the families of Scotland. Re-enact this policy if you will, and you place your Kirk as a National Establishment on the brink of its sure annihilation. Have a care, ye professing friends of order and loyalty, have a care lest, by a departure from the line of resolute and unswerving principle, you strip the Church of all moral weight in the eyes of the community. Think of the deadly enemies by whom we are encompassed; and have a care lest, by one hair-breadth of deviation from the path of integrity and honour, you cause the hearts of these Philistines to rejoice.

"This discernment of the Gospel, this just perception of truth on the part of a home-bred peasantry, though unable to assign the principles or reasons, is not more marvellous than is their just perception of beauty, though unable to assign the philosophy of taste. Hear the most philosophical of all our poets, Akenside, who, in his 'Pleasures of Imagination,' bids us

> "'Ask the swain who journeys homeward from a summer day's
> Long labour, why, forgetful of his toils
> And due repose, he loiters to behold
> The sunshine gleaming as through amber clouds
> O'er all the western sky. Full soon, I ween,
> His rude expression and untutor'd air,
> Beyond the power of language, will unfold
> The form of beauty smiling at his heart,
> How lovely, how commanding!'—'Heaven,
> In every breast hath sown these early seeds
> Of love and admiration.'

"In the one case our peasant feels, and correctly feels, an admiration, which, unskilled in metaphysics, he cannot vindicate; in the other he knows the truth, though, unskilled in logic, he can neither state nor defend the reasons of it.

"'It has been frequently remarked,' says Dugald Stewart, 'that the justest and most efficient understandings are often possessed by men who are incapable of stating to others, or even to themselves, the grounds on which they proceed in forming their decisions.'—'An anecdote which I heard many years ago, of a late very eminent judge (Lord Mansfield), has often recurred to my memory, while reflecting on these apparent inconsistencies of intellectual character. A friend of his who possessed excellent natural talents, but who had been prevented, by his professional duties as a naval officer, from bestowing on them all the cultivation of which they were susceptible, having been recently appointed to the government of Jamaica, happened to express some doubts of his competency to preside in the Court of Chancery. Lord Mansfield assured him that he would find the difficulty not so great as

he apprehended. "Trust," he said, "to your own good sense in forming your opinions; but beware of attempting to state the grounds of your judgments. The judgment will probably be right; the argument will infallibly be wrong." '*

"I would take the verdict of a congregation just as I take the verdict of a jury, without reasons. Their judgment is what I want, not the grounds of their judgment. Give me the aggregate will; and tell me only that it is founded on the aggregate conscience of a people who love their Bibles, and to whom the preaching of the cross is precious; and to the expression of that will, to the voice of the collective mind of that people, not as sitting in judgment on the minor insignificancies of mode and circumstance and things of external observation, but as sitting in judgment on the great subject-matter of the truth as it is in Jesus—to such a voice, coming in the spirit, and with the desires of moral earnestness from such a people, I for one would yield the profoundest reverence."

* "Stewart's Elements," vol. ii., 8vo, pp. 103, 106.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FIRST EFFORT OF THE NON-INTRUSION COMMITTEE—DEPUTATION TO LONDON—INTERVIEWS WITH THE LEADING POLITICIANS—REPORT TO THE ASSEMBLY'S COMMISSION—EXTRACTS FROM PRIVATE JOURNAL.

THE first effort of the important Committee appointed under Dr. Chalmers's resolution, was to obtain from the Legislature a confirmation as to civil consequences of the Veto Law. There was much to recommend that law as the basis of their earliest negotiations. It embodied the mildest form in which conclusive effect could be given to the will of the people. During five years, and out of one hundred and fifty settlements which had taken place under it, in ten instances only had the power which it conferred been exercised. Some of its greatest ecclesiastical enemies had expressed their surprise and satisfaction at the quiet manner of its operation, nor had any opposition been elicited from the patrons of Scotland. There was one special reason, besides, for counting upon the prompt aid of the Government now in power. It was with the express concurrence and sanction of that Government that the Veto Law had originally been passed;* and if, in carrying out a measure to which it virtually had been a party, the Church had become involved in the most painful perplexity, it was natural to expect that the generous hand of the Government would instantly be extended to extricate her.

In obedience to Lord Melbourne's advice, and as the best

* One of the earliest expressions of Government countenance to the Veto Law, is contained in the following letter of Lord Jeffrey, then Lord Advocate:—

"HOUSE OF LORDS, 13*th May* 1833.

"MY DEAR DR. CHALMERS,—Your obliging letter of the 9th has just been brought to me here. I wrote very fully to the Solicitor on Thursday last, on the important subject to which you refer; and directed him to communicate that letter, or the substance of it, to you. If this has been done, you will find a satisfactory answer to the question you now propose; and if it has not, I believe I cannot be much mistaken in saying, that I have the strongest conviction that the Government must be much gratified by the Assembly's adopting such a resolution as you mention, and that I entertain little doubt that they would be anxious to give effect to it, by any legislative measure which might be thought necessary for that purpose—though I must guard myself against the risk of being supposed officially authorized to announce such a resolution, or formally to pledge them to such a proceeding.—Believe me always, very faithfully yours,

F. JEFFREY."

way of opening their negotiations, the Committee resolved to send a large and influential deputation to London. As there was a strong desire that Dr. Chalmers, as convener of the Committee, should head this deputation, and as he was now absent on his northern Church Extension tour, Dr. Gordon was commissioned to write to him to that effect. He received the following reply :—

"Stonehaven, *June* 22, 1839.

"My dear Sir,—The effects that may arise from the measure of a deputation to London are so very uncertain, that I could not have incurred the responsibility of advising it; but now that it is resolved upon, I, for the very same reason, could as little incur the responsibility either of resisting or of refusing to sanction it. After Lord Melbourne's reply, it was very natural for the Committee to feel themselves as if shut up to the necessity of adopting the resolution which they have come to; and as I have incurred no absolute engagements beyond Aberdeen, I shall, if God will, so soon as I am quit of these, take the first lawful opportunity by steam of making my way to the metropolis.

"And now, my dear Sir, let me express my earnest hope and entreaty, that you will join us. I do honestly think it of the greatest practical importance that you should; and as it otherwise would not be in keeping with the noble appearance which you made the other day before the Lords in Edinburgh (a far more formidable looking set than any Lords in London), and for which the Church of Scotland owes you a debt of gratitude.

"It is right, however, that the Committee should know that on the occasion of the last deputation to Government from the Church, Lord Melbourne expressed a hope or wish that 'that d—d fellow Chalmers was not amongst them.' I have not the vanity to think that his Lordship cared whether the person was present or absent. It was the embarrassing proposition with which he was charged, and which he was prepared to urge in every possible, if right, way, that probably annoyed him. But should he still manifest the same antipathy, this will not restrain me from doing all the good I can in other quarters. It is the chance of this which enters very strongly into the determining force that leads me to join the deputation. I am very strongly of opinion, that as this is in no shape a political question, we should with the full knowledge of the one party, hold explicit and full communication with the other party in the State—all

should be above boards with both. Nor should we consent to the introduction of any question into Parliament, without a previous reasonable assurance of its passing favourably through both Houses.

"Allow me to say that both you and Mr. Candlish ought to preach when in London.—I am, &c.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

On the 4th and 5th of July, Dr. Chalmers was tossing on the German Ocean on his way to London.* For reading upon the passage he had supplied himself with some of the recent pamphlets on the Church question, to two of which he thus alludes: "Hugh Miller's Letter to Lord Brougham is a very noble composition. . . . Finished Gray's pamphlet, which I pronounce to be an admirable composition, and written with very great force both of argument and expression." His time in London was chiefly occupied by formal interviews with the leading political men of both parties in the State.

"*Saturday, July* 6.—I called on Lord Aberdeen. A long conversation with him: friendly and intellectual, but not thoroughly satisfied, and refused to pledge himself. I was a little damped. He rose in my estimation, though I can see how strong the barrier is in the way of a thorough understanding. . . . I prevailed with Dr. Gordon, very much against his will, to be the spokesman with Lord John Russell to-day, even as he was with Lord Melbourne yesterday—a measure of great public policy as well as personal prudence on my part. This would not and did not prevent me from striking in when I chose, and I did not want the trouble of conning over a formal conversation on the matter. . . . Thirteen of us moved to the Home Office at half-past four o'clock. Lord Belhaven said, that it was better that as Dr. Gordon was the speaker at Lord Melbourne's, he should be the speaker here too. Afraid somewhat, I think, of my effusions; but they will not be able to restrain them. Let me enumerate the thirteen, whom I counted and looked over as we sat in the ante-chamber:—Lord Belhaven, Dr. Chalmers,

* The roll of the sea was so heavy as to prevent most of the passengers from attempting one "useful operation," which, notwithstanding, he resolutely carried through. "I have a hereditary intrepidity," he writes, in detailing this, "in the matter of shaving. My father had no fear in putting himself into the hands of a drunken barber, John Bruce, the great Anstruther operator in my beardless days. He sometimes came staggering into my father's back-shop with his razor in his hand; yet my father shrunk not, but submitted himself to him, for he had uniformly found, that the moment John got him by the nose, he steadied himself thereby, and got through the whole process in perfect safety, and without a scar."

Dr. Gordon, Dr. Dewar, Dr. Makellar, Mr. Candlish, the Procurator, Mr. Alexander, Captain Trotter, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Hog, Mr. Dunlop, Mr. Shaw Stewart. In a minute or two we were called. Dr. Gordon opened the matter very well; and I and the Procurator struck in;—but such a feckless and fushionless entertainment of the matter on the part of his Lordship I never witnessed in my life. It was 'N, nihil, naething,' as we used to say to the tee-totum. I could not but laugh when we came out, and looked at the blank faces of all and sundry. . . . The Conservatives are all on the *qui vive* about the matter, but I can perceive that they are sadly blind and prejudiced.

"*Monday*, 8*th*.—Breakfasted all together at 32, Craven Street. Arranged our business. We offer interviews to the influentials, and so many of them are accepted. The acceptors are parcelled out among four sub-committees of three each. Sir Robert Peel fell to my share for this day. I have two very agreeable colleagues, Mr. Hog and Mr. Bruce; but I proclaimed a liberty to any others to accompany me, and so there went forth with us, beside the two above mentioned, the Procurator, Mr. Alexander, and Mr. Trotter. With Sir Robert there came in to us Sir William Rae, and afterwards Sir James Graham. I opened the case, and spoke altogether about twenty minutes or more. I was nobly supported by our friend Mr. Bruce; and, on the whole, it has been our first comfortable interview since I came to London. There will be nothing done this session, but that makes not our visit here useless or insignificant. Sir Robert very bland, and Sir James Graham quite joyous and cordial. Sir William Rae friendly to our object, I have no doubt. The Conservatives don't promise so much, but I have more confidence in their doing all they engage for. . . . Went back to 32, where so many of us rendezvoused for the dinner of this day. We set forth in two carriages, and were conducted thereby to the Duke of Somerset's in Park Lane. Fox Maule was there, and other Lords and M.P.'s whom I do not remember. But the main person was Lord Melbourne, whose whole deportment was very remarkable. He shook hands with Dr. Gordon, whom he had seen on Friday, and perhaps one or two more of the deputation, but brushed past me. . . . After these cuts, I of course was thrown back on my independence, and asserted it more firmly and calmly than I had ever done before. . . . The first seeming approximation which Lord Melbourne made to me was to look at me while talking as if he was directing that talk to me; but

without some more individual and distinct act of recognition, I was determined to keep aloof, and so escaped the Premier without exchanging words with him.

"*Tuesday*, 9*th*.—Sallied forth to the Duke of Sutherland, whose natural but polished simplicity delighted us all. He is not unhopeful, though naturally ignorant of the merits of the question. Had the great kindness to conduct us through some of his rooms and best pictures. A very splendid mansion: the rooms vie with those of Versailles and Fontainbleau. . . . Threaded my way to Sir James Graham's. Met with a most frank and friendly reception. Mr. Colquhoun came in, and we fell to on our Church question. Sir James's views have given me more comfort than any I have met in coming to London. I am particularly delighted with the effect which my conversation in Sir Robert Peel's, where he was, had on him, and still more with the effect of my printed speech, which has converted him from his strong principle of a veto with reasons, whereas he now acquiesces in a dissent without reasons. See the last pages of the latest of my works, and more especially my quotation from Akenside, which has impressed Sir James very powerfully. Came away greatly relieved and comforted; for Sir Robert's extreme caution and coldness operate as a damper on a man's spirits, whereas Sir James is a fine, hearty, honest, outspeaking Englishman, of great good feeling and practical sense withal.

"*Monday*, 15*th*.—I sent a few of our deputation to join Lord Belhaven at our last and final interview with the Premier. It was not politic for me to go—me who am in disgrace at Court—me who am the hapless object of the chief of the Cabinet's frowns —me who must retire in chagrin from public life, and spend in obscurity and pining neglect the remainder of my days; yet though outwardly scowled upon, inwardly elated with the honour of such a distinction,—for quoth the poet, 'A courtier's curses are exalted praise.'"

At a meeting of the General Assembly's Commission held on the 14th August, Dr. Chalmers gave in a Report of the Deputation's proceedings in London:—

"After frequent opportunities to converse with the leading men of both parties, they can confidently state, as the result of the whole, that they are more hopeful than ever of matters being brought to a speedy and successful termination.

"First, we can state our having received the assurance of the

Government, that they were fully impressed with the importance of the subject, and would give it their most serious consideration, and that they would give instructions to the Lord Advocate to prepare, along with the Procurator, a measure to be submitted to the Cabinet.

"And for those who might desiderate something more definite, and as they perhaps feel, more substantial than this, we have the satisfaction of announcing, if not yet a specific measure by the Legislature, at least a specific and most important concession to the views of the Church on the part of the Government. They have authorized us to state, that in the disposal of those livings which are at the momination of the Crown, its patronage will most certainly be exercised in accordance with the existing law of the Church, a resolution which applies to nearly one-third of the parishes of Scotland. But we reckon on a good deal more than this. We deem ourselves to have good grounds for believing, of the great majority of our patrons, that they will not be outdone by the Government, either in a kind and liberal consideration for the difficulties, or in a deferential respect for the laws of the Church of Scotland.

"It will not be expected of us, in the yet unfinished and necessarily immature state of our proceedings, that we can be more particular. Suffice it to say, in one word, that after much intercourse, both with the highest functionaries of the State and many of the highest standing and name in public affairs, it is our firm persuasion, that, if we but prosecute and sustain our part rightly here, there exists no insuperable obstacle there to the happy settlement of this question. We have every prospect of obtaining a large and liberal consent on the part of the patrons, and we cannot doubt that there will be a full expression of sentiment on the part of the community—that the people will make known their wishes to the Legislature, and that, for the liberties of a Church dear to Scotland, a call will be lifted up from its towns and parishes which our rulers will not fail to listen to. With such helps and encouragements on our side, let but the adherents of this cause remain firm and united in principle among themselves, and with the favour of an approving God, any further contest will be given up as unavailing; when, let us fondly hope, all the feelings of party, whether of triumph on one side, because of victory, or of humiliation on the other side, because of defeat, shall be merged and forgotten in the desires of a common patriotism, to the reassurance of all who are the friends of our Estab-

lishment, to the utter confusion of those enemies who watch for our halting and would rejoice in our overthrow."

Betwixt the time of his return from London and the meeting of Commission an interval of a few days occurred, during which Dr. Chalmers resumed his private Journal, which had now for a long period been suspended, and which was not resumed till the spring of the succeeding year.

"*July* 30.—A sad interval of great action and variety, with some melancholy defections, and no distinct spiritual progress. Attempting this night in Edinburgh an hour of religious exercise. Awoke this morning in heaviness, against which I am sure there is no right remedy but a confident hold on Christ and His righteousness as my righteousness. Farther, sure that this confidence cannot hold along with the cherishing of sin. O Lord, I pray for Thy grace and strength being perfected in my weakness. Give me to experience, like Augustine, the light and liberty consequent on the abandonment of every wrong affection. There is a great conflict before me. O my God, in Thee may I have strength and victory. My repeated failures have arisen from drawing upon myself as if the power were in me, instead of drawing upon Christ for the power that is out of me.

"*July* 31.—Let me, in prospect of an encounter with temptation this day, hold myself forewarned, and be forearmed against a humiliating defeat. But conscious of my own infirmity I hereby implore the grace and strength of Christ. May His power rest upon me; and I lift this not as a general prayer, but as a prayer for this specific thing. O that in this way I could succeed in making a real business of my sanctification. How delightful it were to hold communion with God in the midst even of a festive party, a communion with Him in the exercise of duty, if not of express and formal devotion.

"*August* 2.—Let me renew my efforts on the occasion that lies this day before me. I have been in heaviness from various causes—the want of public sympathy with our Church question—perhaps the amount of time not filled up by interesting occupation—the sense of manifold infirmities—a feeling to a certain extent of wounded vanity from the way in which I was met by argument in a recent committee, all of which causes can only be counteracted by a transference of thought and affection to the objects of that boundless and elevated panorama which faith places before and around the soul. Then would there be trust in God—a quiet assurance that He would bring good out of evil

—a busy engagement of the heart with His service—peace of conscience in the fellowship of Christ—the absorption of self and of all selfishness in the glory of our Father in heaven and the good of men.

"*Sunday, August* 4.—This my marriage-day, which event took place twenty-seven years ago. What a life of ungodliness and transgression, and carelessness and neglect, both of personal and family religion, have I led! O how little have I acted on the feeling of my responsibility for the sonls of my children! O my God, let me set up now the new principle in my heart and the new order in my family. But let me begin at the beginning. Let me accept of Christ. Give me, O Lord, full assurance of heart in the blood of the everlasting covenant. In this blood would I wash out my sins; and, O my God, give me henceforth the clean heart and the right spirit, the love of Thyself shed abroad in my heart by the Holy Ghost. I would now go forth with my bands loosed, and pray that my future life may be a perpetual thank-offering to Him who died for me and who rose again. Hear these, my aspirations, O God, and fulfil them speedily.

"*August* 5.—Felt more than ever the anteriority of confidence in Christ to the keeping of His commandments—the priority of simple trust in the act of closing with Him, of faith in my acceptance with God as a preliminary to cheerful and fruitful obedience. Let me cherish this all the day long; and let me watch the effect of it, now praying in the name of Christ that it may succeed. I would pray unto watching, and watch unto prayer."

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CASE OF LETHENDY—THE DEAN'S ADVICE—THE PRESBYTERY'S PROCEDURE—THE APPEARANCE BEFORE THE COURT OF SESSION—THE REBUKE—THE CHARGE OF REBELLION BROUGHT AGAINST THE CHURCH—HER ANSWER TO THAT CHARGE—THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION INVOLVED IN THE COLLISION—APPEAL TO THE LEGISLATURE—COURSE TAKEN BY THE MODERATES—PAMPHLET BY THE DEAN OF FACULTY.

In a letter given in the preceding chapter allusion is made to an appearance of Dr. Gordon before the Lords in Edinburgh. The occasion of that appearance was one which threw a still fuller light upon the course which, fortified by the decision of the two Chancellors, the Civil Court was prepared to prosecute. In 1835, the Crown, as patron of the parish, nominated an assistant and successor to the aged and infirm minister of Lethendy. Mr. Clark, the nominee of the Crown, was vetoed by the people, and on that ground rejected by the Presbytery of Dunkeld.* An appeal having been made to the General Assembly of 1836, and that Court having confirmed the sentence of the Presbytery, Mr Clark appeared to have acquiesced in the decision. In November 1837, however, under the same prompting which instigated the rejected presentee of Auchterarder, he raised an action against the Presbytery in the Court of Session,—the patron, however, being no party in this case. Not long afterwards the aged incumbent died. Proceeding upon the validity of the Veto, and lending thus the whole weight of its sanction to the procedure of the Church, the Crown, regarding the parish as vacant, issued a new presentation. When the Presbytery were on the eve of ordaining the presentee, Mr Kessen, an interdict from the Court of Session was served upon them, prohibiting the ordination. Sisting procedure, they reported the matter to the General Assembly, and craved advice. The case came before the Commission of Assembly in May 1838, by whom, with only two dissentient voices, the following deliverance was pronounced:—"Find that admission to the pastoral office is entirely an eccle-

* After the Disruption Mr. Clark was deprived of his license, having been found guilty of drunkenness.

siastical act, subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and ordain the Presbytery to proceed without delay to the induction of Mr. Kessen, upon the call in his favour, according to the rules of the Church." The last clause of this deliverance was framed with the special purpose of indicating that the Church declined altogether meddling with the civil question of the comparative validity of the two competing presentations, a question which it belonged to the Civil Court to decide. The interdict which had previously been obtained prohibited the Presbytery from proceeding upon the presentation to Mr. Kessen. As that interdict might be found too narrow to cover the sentence of the Commission, which had directed the Presbytery to proceed alone upon the call, a new and ampler one was granted, prohibiting the settlement, whether upon the ground of the call or an any other ground whatever. On this second interdict being served upon them, the Presbytery, which acted throughout with mingled caution and firmness, referred the matter to the Commission which met in August. The motion that the Presbytery should be directed to proceed immediately, notwithstanding the interdict, was seconded by the Rev. Hamilton Buchanan of Strathblane, a minister strongly attached to the Moderate party in the Church. The Rev. Dr. Brunton of Edinburgh, a clergyman of similar sentiments, "regretted that the necessity of deciding this case had been thrust upon them, but still he felt that the necessity existed. They had instructed the Presbytery to do a purely spiritual act, to ordain Mr. Kessen as minister of the parish, and for this they were interdicted. It might happen that the temporalities of the parish would not go to the minister in this case, but he thought that was exceedingly unlikely. He for one would never consent to delay, nor would he consent to go into a civil court to plead this cause. He knew his own province, and in that province he would stand or fall." The motion to proceed was carried by a majority of fifty-two to six; and in that small minority only one solitary clergyman was found, so general was the conviction that the Court of Session had overstepped its boundaries and made unlawful inroad on the Church. When, on the day named by the Commission, the Presbytery of Dunkeld assembled, the agent of Mr. Clark sought and obtained leave to read an opinion from an eminent lawyer in Edinburgh. It came from the Dean of Faculty, the leading counsel and chief adviser in all the legal measures taken against the Church. It was sufficiently start-

ling, and had the ministers who sat to listen to it been men of infirm principle or yielding purpose, it might well have shaken their determination, for it hung over them the weightiest terrors of the law. "The members of the Presbytery," said the Dean, "will most infallibly be committed to prison, and most justly." It had been said, that in acting as he had done Mr Clark had been guilty of contempt of the Church, and some had even spoken of depriving him of his license, so as to take from him the ground that gave him his legal standing. The Dean at once placed the rights of Mr. Clark upon what seemed to him a broader and surer basis. "The deliverance of the Assembly attempts illegally to trample on Mr. Clark's rights as a British subject; for *any man in this country who adheres to its doctrines is entitled to be a member of the Established Church.** The rights of Mr. Clark as a probationer, in this respect, are as sacred as those of a layman. He was legally entitled to his license, and he holds it as a British subject." Perhaps it was their clear conception of the length to which such a doctrine would go in exposing the whole discipline, as well as the whole government, of the Church to secular dictation and control, which helped to fortify this Presbytery against all the arguments and threats by which they were assailed. Unmoved by these, they ordained Mr. Kessen to be minister of Lethendy. They had now to face a more trying ordeal. The act of ordination had no sooner been consummated than a complaint was lodged against them for a breach of interdict, and they were summoned to appear at the bar of the Court in Edinburgh, on the 14th June 1839. In itself it was a formidable enough matter to be dragged from their quiet country charges and to be pilloried for public observation

* "According to the Dean's *ideal* of the relationship between the Church and the State, the Church would not have the command of its own discipline. On this question, too, he would subordinate the ecclesiastical to the civil power. He tells us of the right of Church membership, which is neither more nor less than a right of admission to the sacraments, and which right he gives us to understand may be prosecuted by any of the citizens at a court of law; so that, if armed with this authority, he could force his way to the communion-table, even though, by the judgment of the Church, and all its consistories, he should thereby profane the ordinance, and bring damage and condemnation upon his own soul. Ere he can forfeit the privilege there must be a *corpus delicti*—some specific delinquency, palpable enough for cognisance and condemnation by a bench of secular judges, at whose mandate the prostrate Church must receive into her inmost sanctuary men, who, in her own judgment, though living without any gross or definable immorality, are yet living without God in the world. If this be State religion, the sooner it is banished from our land the better for the good of the Church and for the moral wellbeing as well as the peace of the commonwealth. If such be indeed the necessary consequences of an ecclesiastical establishment, in the name of all that is sacred, let our establishments perish; but let it never be forgotten that the authors of this their fearful degradation, that they, and they alone, are responsible for their overthrow."—"Remarks, &c., occasioned by the Publication of a Letter from the Dean of Faculty." By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. P. 27.

in an uncongenial court, and before an unsympathizing bar. But it was as criminals guilty of a contempt of constituted authorities—it was for punishment as such that they were to appear. The Dean had pledged his word that they would be imprisoned, and there were not wanting other tokens that his prophecy might be verified. A very deep sympathy on their behalf was excited, and one or two of the leading clergymen of Edinburgh resolved to accompany them to the bar. The day arrived. When the twelve Judges took their places on the Bench they had a court-room before them crowded densely to the door. The Presbytery was summoned to appear. They entered, accompanied by a few friends. The crowd through which they passed had already closed, when once more it opened, and, with meek but dignified demeanour, Dr. Gordon stepped forward to place himself at their side. There was something singularly appropriate in the act. No minister of equal talent had been more unobtrusive, or shown a stronger aversion to popular agitation, or anything like public display. But now that clergymen who had mingled in the strife of parties as little as himself were called to suffer for conscience' sake, he felt compelled, in the most public manner, to countenance and support them.

"Gentlemen," said the Lord President, after their names had been read over, and the citation read, "I have to ask you, one and all, whether, by yourselves or counsel, you have anything to say, and what you have to say, in explanation or vindication of your conduct?"

"As my name," said the Rev. Mr. Stirling of Cargill, "is the first on the list, and as I happen to be the senior minister present, I have been intrusted by my brethren with the statement which they wish to make to the Court." The following statement was then read by him:—"My Lords,—We appear in obedience to the citation of your Lordships, inasmuch as we hold it to be the duty of all subjects to render their personal compearance when cited by the Civil Courts; and being deeply impressed with the obligation of giving all honour and reverence to the judges of the land, we disclaim any intention of disrespect to the Court in what we have done. But in ordaining to the office of the holy ministry, and in admitting to the pastoral charge, to which, in our proceedings complained of, we strictly limited ourselves, we acted in obedience to the superior Church judicatories to which, in matters spiritual, we are subordinate, and to which,

at ordination, we vowed obedience." Mr. Kessen having read a similar statement, the Judges retired for consultation, and the Court adjourned. By a narrow majority the clergymen escaped imprisonment, and were subjected only to the solemn censure of the Court. In pronouncing the censure, the Lord President took occasion to say,—"I am directed by the Court to signify that it was not without considerable difficulty their Lordships brought themselves to adopt this lenient measure; but they desired me to state, that if you or any other Presbytery of the Church were ever brought before them again under similar circumstances, you and they will be dealt with in a very different manner. The ordinary punishment for disobedience to the law by a breach of interdict is imprisonment; and I am directed to say, that if a case like the present should occur again, that punishment will be resorted to."

Why did the Court of Session not proceed one step further, and annul the ordination? and why did not the Moderate party in the Church openly condemn the breach of interdict, and afterwards declare that they held the ordination void? Because neither the one party nor the other was prepared for a step which yet, as we shall presently see, was ere long deliberately taken by both.

The charge with which the country was now ringing was that the Church was in open rebellion against the law of the land. It might have been so; yet, condemned before the bar of man, she might have stood acquitted before the bar of God. There have been human laws, the keeping of which was tantamount to a breaking of the divine. But the charge, as made against the Church of Scotland at this time, involved the assumption that the authority which she resisted was a legal one. She denied that the Constitution had clothed the Court of Session with any such power as it had attempted to put forth. The State, by Act of Parliament, had created three secular Courts in Scotland, each supreme in its own sphere, and none of them permitted to exercise any jurisdiction over the other. The administration of justice was committed to the Court of Session in all civil, to the Court of Justiciary in all criminal, to the Court of Exchequer in all fiscal causes. The decisions of these Courts might not only be different, but they might be, and sometimes have been, directly opposite to each other; and when such a collision between Courts of co-ordinate jurisdiction occurs, the Constitution knows no remedy: it holds the decision of each separate Court to be right,

and it allows it to carry out that decision by its own proper and peculiar methods. It has committed to none of these Courts a sovereign authority over all the others, nor does it permit the exercise of any such control. And the same State which created these Courts supreme in all secular, had recognised and ratified the authority of the Church as supreme in all ecclesiastical causes. From the latter to the former there lay no appeal, and by the former over the latter no supreme jurisdiction could constitutionally be exercised. Interpreting the Law of Patronage for her own especial purpose, the Church had declined ordaining either Mr. Young or Mr. Clark. Interpreting the same law for its peculiar purpose, the Court of Session had decided that in doing so the Church had violated the statute. Let its proper civil effect follow the one decision, and its proper ecclesiastical effect the other; but let not this collision be otherwise characterized than would a like collision between any two of the Courts already named, nor let an attempt be made to end it which the Constitution in every parallel case repudiated. If in thinking and acting as she did the Church misunderstood her position, it was for another party, but not for the Court of Session, to correct the error. The State, in raising her to the condition of an Establishment, had attached certain conditions to her enjoyment of the civil immunities of that position. These conditions had been embodied in certain statutes, the interpretation and execution of which, as to all civil effects, was intrusted to the Court of Session, and as to all spiritual effects, to the Church. If they understood the conditions differently, neither was bound to accept the interpretation of the other. The Church was at liberty to act upon her own understanding of the terms on which she held her endowments; but if that understanding happened to be so different from the one entertained by the Civil Courts that their decisions came into collision, it was for the State to step in, and by new legislation to adjust the difference. The right of the State to define, or alter, or remodel, and that for the guidance of both parties, was admitted; but the right of the Civil Courts to do so for the guidance of both parties was denied. It was evident, at least, that until the competent authority had declared that she had mistaken her position and privileges, the Church could not fairly be charged with the flagrant crime of rebellion.

It was to that alone competent authority that she had now carried her appeal, and she might perhaps have been suffered to

prosecute that appeal without any further obstructions having been thrown in her way. That an interval clear from all new internal difficulties might be secured, though she had not repealed, she had suspended for a year the operation of the Veto Law. It would have been a generous and a dignified course in the opponents of the Church, if, during that year, at least, they had suspended all hostile operations. She had approached the Legislature; she was about to deal with the British Parliament—a body but little acquainted with her history or peculiar constitution. The task was sufficiently delicate and difficult in itself; her own children might have suffered her to make the attempt without throwing new embarrassments in her way. But neither the Moderate party nor their legal and political advisers had magnanimity enough to refuse to take advantage of the difficulties in which the Church was involved. They acted, we believe, upon a sincere conviction that they were doing what was best for their Church and country; but the course taken by them at this time was neither an enlightened nor a very generous one, and had the actual result been known to them, we doubt whether they would have helped so vigorously to realize it.

The favourable Report given in by Dr. Chalmers to the Commission in August got a most unfavourable reception from one quarter of the House. Contrary to his recent practice, which had been to absent himself from the meetings of Commission, Dr. Cook was present on this occasion; and no sooner had Dr. Chalmers sat down than he rose to declare that the announcement just made, that the Government of the country intended to exercise their patronage in conformity with the Veto Law, appeared to him to be nothing short of a violation of the law on the part of the Crown. In the leading case which came before the Court he put forth all his strength of argument to prove that the Veto Law was now defunct,—the decision of the Civil Courts had blotted it out of the statute-book of the Church. The casting of such an imputation on the Crown, and the continuance of a vigorous opposition in the Church Courts, though calculated to increase the existing embarrassments, may have appeared to the Moderate party necessary for the vindication at once of their principles and their consistency. We can offer no such excuse for the next step taken by the Dean of Faculty. If not, as generally believed, the prompter, he had been the vigorous promoter of all the litigation by which the Church had been harassed. The struggle had now been carried to a different

arena, where his interference was less called for, and, perhaps, not so appropriate. He had power, however, even in that quarter, to hinder the Church's getting what she asked; and with the laborious diligence which distinguished all his doings, he exerted that power in the production of an enormous pamphlet, given to the public soon after the close of the Commission. "There is one peculiarity," said Dr. Chalmers, "in this pamphlet of the Dean's, which makes it far more difficult to deal with than any to which my attention has been called or challenged on the lists of controversy. And this peculiarity lies, not so much in the multifariousness of its topics, as in the utter malarrangement of them. Truly it is not with literary or with intellectual as it is with military tactics, when the very disorder of a hostile force makes it all the easier prey to the victors who are bearing down upon it. It is different in the warfare of argument, where the ill-marshalled paragraphs of some lengthened and laborious ratiocination, instead of offering a facility to the assailant, leave the author well-nigh unassailable; almost safe and beyond the reach of attack, because entrenched as it were in the mazes of his own confusion. There is one line of English poetry, which I happen to recollect, the first half of which, taken alone, is descriptive of this pamphlet, 'A mighty maze,' but when taken along with the second half, ceases altogether to be descriptive of it, 'A mighty maze, but not without a plan.' The study of the universe is not so formidable as is the study of this enormous miscellany—this *mare magnum*, and interminable medley of contents, *moles indigesta*—having, if not the vastness, at least all the confusion and disorder of a chaos, 'A mighty maze, but quite without a plan.'"

Confused as to its topics, this pamphlet exhibits a singular unity of design; the object, never for a moment lost sight of, being to exhibit the sayings and doings of the dominant party in the Church in such a light as to create the greatest possible amount of opposition and antipathy. The long dark winding passages, which few might have patience to tread throughout, are yet so constructed, that enter or make his exit where he may, the same hideous phantom is obtruded on the reader's eye, and made to haunt his fancy. The errors as to fact, the inconsistencies of argument, are manifold; but whether it be popular fickleness or clerical ambition that is denounced—whether the Veto Law is condemned as assumption by the Church of an unlawful power, or as a transference, by the Church to the people,

of a power which she never should have parted with—whether the recent movement is represented as an organized design to abolish Patronage, and put the election of their ministers wholly into the hands of the people, or as a cloaked attempt to establish a spiritual despotism, dangerous alike to the civil and religious liberties of Scotland, the one unvarying impression attempted to be stamped upon the reader's mind is, that a spirit of priestly fanaticism, reckless of change, and panting for domination, had got hold of the Church of Scotland, and was threatening a thousand nameless evils to the land. What Dr. Chalmers felt as the unkindest act of all, was the deliberate and sustained endeavour made by the Dean to arouse against that Church the hostility of Englishmen. By members of the English Church and Senate the question would come finally to be settled; and to awaken their prejudice was an effectual mode of preventing a settlement favourable to the Scottish Church. Every strong or bitter sentence, therefore, that had recently been uttered against the English Episcopate by any of the evangelical leaders, was quoted and commented upon, whilst the alarm was loudly sounded that if they got what they demanded, the patronage and peculiar policy of the English Establishment would be no longer safe.

Having done what he could to prevent such a parliamentary adjustment as would be satisfactory to the Church, "The Dean," says Dr. Chalmers, "proposes for us an alternative, either to give in to him, or go out of the Church; the first time, perhaps, that a majority, and a large one too, had the doors opened, and the way out shown to them, by the champion and representative of that minority whom they themselves had vanquished. Our reply to this civil hint is, that upon this subject we stand alike opposed to those on our own side who have threatened a secession, and unmoved by the kind suggestion of the Dean of Faculty. There may a conjuncture arise, when the sin of not coming out from among them might outweigh the sin of schism; but till that happens, let the virtuous remonstrance, and the reclaiming testimony of our brethren, be heard within the walls and precincts of our Establishment, rather than from beyond them, so long as conscience can allow—let them not quit their places at the call of their taunting adversaries, nor leave the beloved Church of our fathers a useless *residuum*, and a mere *caput mortuum* in their hands. A forcible ejectment from our places would put an end to all the difficulties of conscience; and the sin of schism would then be no longer ours.

But, meanwhile, we refuse to be bowed down stairs, or walked off from the Church of our fathers by the Dean of Faculty. We shall as little understand his hints as he seems to understand our arguments; or, to avoid putting it in this form, he will at least forgive us if we shut our ears against his propositions, as long as he is going to shut his eyes against our pamphlets."*

As Dr. Chalmers commenced writing his reply before he had finished reading the Dean's pamphlet, it was not till he had advanced a considerable way in its composition that he fell in with those passages in which an open attack was made upon the integrity of that Report, which, as the head of the deputation to London, he had recently given in to the Commission. "I cannot say," says Dr. Chalmers, in dealing with this unworthy accusation, "how much I have been shocked and mortified by this painful discovery. The cause is still the same, but the combatant now stands in a new character before me.

"This casts another light on certain anterior passages of the pamphlet, in which light if I had seen them at the time, I should have modified, or rather repressed altogether, certain anterior passages of my own. What I innocently conceived, and indeed called a historical imagination, or a hypothetical basis on which to rear his adverse reasonings, I can now well understand to be a real and settled conviction in the breast of one who virtually tells the world, of the Assembly deputation to London, that, in framing their Report to the Commission, he does not believe that they have acted in good faith." . . .

The whole of this unhappy passage is wound up by the following sentence:—"*I suspect that Lord Melbourne has been very ill used in the whole of this affair.*"

"I am not conversant in those methods or laws which regulate the intercourse of statesmen; nor have I often in the course of my life had access to the elevated platform on which they move. I know not, therefore, what it portends to the Church of Scotland, when I behold the Premier of England approached from the opposite quarter of the political horizon, in the language first of adulation, and then of condolence, because the untainted chivalry of their higher region has been desecrated and broken in upon, by an inroad of Jesuitism and low cunning from beneath. I cannot divine either the character or the effects of this strange approximation and act of obeisance on the part of the inflexible

* The Dean had announced that he would read nothing that was written against him.

Tory, to the head of our present Liberal administration. Meanwhile, as a spectacle it is very curious to behold; and the last and most exquisite touch is given to it by the hand of the Dean of Faculty, when he finishes off by the expression of his deepest sympathy and concern for the sorely injured Lord Melbourne.

"Let me hope, for his own sake, that the Dean of Faculty will yet make avowal of his regret for these unguarded and most unseemly paragraphs."*

* "Remarks, &c., occasioned by the Publication of a Letter from the Dean of Faculty." By Thomas Chalmers, D.D., &c. Glasgow, 1839. Pp. 5, 10, 11, 78, 80, 81, 93.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CASE OF MARNOCH—THE REFRACTORY PRESBYTERY OF STRATHBOGIE—THEIR RESOLUTION TO DISOBEY THE ORDERS OF THE COMMISSION—THE SUSPENSION OF THE SEVEN MINISTERS—THE PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL PROHIBITED IN THE DISTRICT OF STRATHBOGIE—THE BROKEN INTERDICTS.

In June 1837, Mr. Edwards was presented to the church and parish of Marnoch. Having acted previously, for a period of three years, as assistant to the former incumbent, he was well known to the parishioners, and so unacceptable were his ministrations, that at their urgent and almost unanimous desire, their aged pastor had dispensed with his services. In a parish whose population was about 2800 souls, his call was signed by one solitary communicant, the keeper of the inn at which the Presbytery were wont to dine. Out of 300 heads of families whose names were on the Communion-roll, 261 tendered their dissent. Acting under special direction of the General Assembly 1838, the Presbytery of Strathbogie rejected Mr. Edwards; and on this rejection being intimated to the patrons, the Trustees of the Earl of Fife presented another individual to the charge. Upon the issuing of this second presentation, Mr. Edwards applied for and obtained an interdict from the Court of Session, prohibiting the Presbytery from proceeding with the settlement. After due consideration of this document, and with the declared principles and recent practice of the Church before them, the Presbytery resolved "That the Court of Session having authority in matters relating to the induction of ministers, and having interdicted all proceedings on the part of the Presbytery in this case, and it being the duty of the Presbytery to submit to their authority regularly interponed, the Presbytery do delay all procedure until the matters in dispute be legally determined." This judgment was brought under review of the General Assembly of 1839. The circumstances being precisely similar to those which had occurred at Lethendy, the Presbytery might have been enjoined to take the same course which had been prescribed to the Presbytery of Dunkeld. Instead of this they were simply instructed

to suspend all further proceedings in the matter till the following General Assembly. Avoiding all immediate and direct collision between the Presbytery and Court of Session, this decision was one which even those who disapproved most vehemently of the recent actings of the Church could have no difficulty in obeying; and it was framed so as to lay the least possible pressure upon the majority of a Presbytery well known to be so affected. While the Church was dealing thus tenderly with her own children, under the first indications of a refractory and rebellious spirit, Mr. Edwards was pressing on the action which he had raised against the Presbytery in the Court of Session; and in June 1839, he obtained a judgment in his favour, by which it was declared that, notwithstanding the veto put by the people on his appointment, the Presbytery were still bound to take him upon trial with a view to ordination. As this judgment was purely a declaratory one, unaccompanied by any such order as Lord Brougham had suggested as the proper means of enforcing obedience, the Presbytery with perfect safety, and without violating their own convictions, might have delayed, at least till the compulsitors of law had been applied. Their new-born allegiance, however, to the Court of Session was too ardent to admit of delay; and no sooner was its sentence notified, than, with needless haste, and with a violence and irregularity of movement which found no defender, even among the leaders of the Moderate party, by a majority of seven to three, they resolved to bid open defiance to their ecclesiastical superiors, and to proceed forthwith to settle Mr. Edwards as minister at Marnoch. It was in these circumstances that the case came before the Commission of Assembly on the 11th December 1839. In vain were the seven refractory clergymen asked to reconsider their extraordinary resolution; in vain were they assured that if they would only sist procedure, and in the meantime do nothing, all judgment upon their contumacy would be waived, and the Commission would be content simply to remit the matter to the General Assembly in May. They would make no concession. They would neither express any regret for the past, nor give any promise as to the future. Its authority thus openly defied, its laws and decisions thus daringly trampled on, what was the Church to do? In the way of prevention, rather than of punishment—to take from them for a season that power which they had openly declared it to be their purpose to employ in a manner so flagrantly unlawful —it was resolved that they should be suspended from exercising

the functions of the holy ministry. In a speech of extraordinary ability, Dr. Candlish moved this resolution. It was warmly supported by Dr. Chalmers:—"I did expect," he said, "that we would have been followed in our forbearance by the other side; that there would have been a cessation of hostilities. Everything, however, is doing to thwart us—everything is doing to annoy us—everything is doing to prevent us from bringing these negotiations with the Legislature to a happy issue. But our immediate business is not with any partisanship out of doors, but with the part which our own brethren, the ministers and elders of the Church of Scotland, take in this question. Let us remember that it is not the Veto Law we are now considering, but a thing greatly more radical, and vital, and elementary, and of far more permanent and pervading importance to the Church, than any single law on its statute-book. The Veto is a bagatelle, and but dust in the balance, when compared with the proper independence of our Church in things ecclesiastical, and to which, in the case before us, there is superadded another object charged with essential principle, and where neglect or irresolution on our part would be followed by consequences the most ruinous—the proper subordination of our inferior to our superior courts. These are the momentous considerations which now engage us; on which Vetoists and anti-Vetoists ought to feel a common interest, and to make a common cause. They did so in one of the Commissions of 1838, when parties dropped their differences on this specific question, and took all but a unanimous view of the interdict by the Court of Session in the matter of Lethendy. In the name of all principle and all patriotism, I would implore them to do so still, and to remember that what they are now called upon to do, is not to defend or to rescind the Veto law, but to protect our beloved Church from anarchy within, and that tyranny which now menaces and lowers upon us from without. Heaven forbid that in the heat and frenzy of our divisions on another, and altogether distinct topic, we should go headlong on this; or that in the wild delirium of our controversies, the principles alike dear to both parties should at the moment be forgotten, and the Church of Scotland should fall by the hands of her own children."

At the largest meeting of Commission ever known to have assembled, and by a majority of a hundred and twenty-one to fourteen, the motion for suspension was carried. By this sentence the refractory majority were prohibited from discharging

any duties of their office; and the minority, as constituting now the Presbytery of Strathbogie, were directed to take all proper means for supplying their parishes with ministerial services. At the same time, and in the hope that a final and irreparable breach might still be avoided, a committee was appointed to open a friendly correspondence with the suspended ministers. As a deputation from this committee, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Makellar, and Mr. Bruce, proceeded to Aberdeen, where they had invited the Strathbogie ministers to meet with them. On arrival, however, they were met only by a legal agent, who put into their hands a paper signed by the seven clergymen, in which they declined the interview. Already, indeed, had proof too palpable been afforded that all hope of reconciliation was gone. On the day after that on which the sentence of supension was passed, and while the Commission was still sitting, a notarial protest, at the instance of these ministers, was served upon that Court; and a few days thereafter, as if no judgment against them was in force, they assembled as if in Presbytery, and proceeded to take Mr. Edwards upon trial. The protection sought for and relied upon was that of the Civil Court, to which they presented an application, in which they called upon the Court to suspend the sentence of the Commission—to prevent its intimation and execution—to prohibit the minority from acting as a Presbytery, and to interdict all clergymen of the Church from preaching or discharging any of the functions of the ministry in any of their parishes. The demand was so broad and startling that even the Court of Session for the moment drew back. "In this case," said the Lord President, "the Court are prepared to grant the interdict, but not to the full extent prayed for. The complainers prayed the Court to interdict and prohibit the parties complained of from preaching in the respective parishes of the complainers. Now, the Court could not prevent any man preaching in these parishes. Any one might preach in the open air for instance. The Court had jurisdiction only over the parish churches, the church-yard, the school-room, and the bell." Taking in the meantime this limited view of its jurisdiction, the Court interdicted the minority of the Presbytery, and all others, from using, in executing the sentence of the Commission, any of the places and buildings specified by the Lord President. Acknowledging, as it so fully did, the Court's right of entire control over all its temporalities, the Church yielded immediate compliance with this interdict. The clergymen appointed to intimate the judg-

ment of the Commission either preached in the open air or under such shelter as some neighbouring shed or barn could furnish. Then and afterwards an opportunity was opened for the effective preaching of the Gospel over a wide district of country. Some of the ablest ministers of the Church were deputed by the Commission to officiate in the parishes of the suspended clergymen. In Marnoch, and the seven parishes in its neighbourhood, their warm and zealous ministry gathered around them crowds of attentive and devout hearers. "I have no words," wrote one of these clergymen,* "to describe the scenes of yesterday at Marnoch. Never in my life has it been my privilege to witness such intensity of feeling as in that congregation. Men and women were bathed in tears; numbers rose to their feet, and stood in breathless attention, and at the close of the service all seemed unwilling to retire." In proportion, however, to the interest excited among the people must have been the annoyance to the suspended clergymen. Unsatisfied with the exclusive possession of their church, church-yards, and school-houses, they renewed their application to the Court of Session, which, on the 14th February, by a decision which outran all its predecessors, granted to its full extent the prayer of their primary petition. In doing so, that Court not only suspended a spiritual censure passed by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, being guilty thus of a direct interference with the spiritual discipline of the Church, but by drawing a fence round a whole district of the country, and by prohibiting any member of the Establishment from preaching or administering the sacraments within its bounds, it at once deprived such of the people as remained true to the Church of all freedom to worship God according to their conscience, and it assumed the right of dictating to the Church where, and where only, by whom and to whom, the ordinances of the Gospel were to be administered. It was an open invasion of the most sacred territory of the Church, and it met with a resistance at once prompt and decisive.

The Church instantly made known her resolution, and followed it out with unfaltering footstep. At a public meeting held in Edinburgh on Monday the 24th February, Dr. Chalmers said—"We come not here to sound the trumpet of defiance, or make boastful proclamation of whom we disobey. We come here as to an assembly of fellow-Christians, and would lift in your hearing the solemn proclamation of whom we do obey. We stand

* The Rev. Mr. Buchan of Hamilton.

before you as sons and servants of the Church which Providence hath set up in these realms for the Christian good of the families of Scotland. We profess subjection to her authority when acting under the perpetual obligation of the precept, 'Go and preach the Gospel to every creature under Heaven,' she, within the limits of her own domain, passes her spiritual and sacred ordinances for the religious government of our Scottish parishes—for the moral and religious wellbeing of our Scottish families. This is our principle, and this the form in which we would propound it. But let there be no mistake. Should any earthly power—should the Court of Session, vested with legitimate authority in the things of Cæsar, stretch forth her hand to intromit or intermeddle with these undoubted things of God, then, if the character of an act is to receive its designation, not from the obstacle over which it has to pass, but from the urgent principle which impels to the performance of it, then let our act be named by that which is its actuating motive—obedience to the Head of the Church, rather than by that which is not its actuating motive—disobedience to the Court of Session. Still, whatever imputation be cast on our principles, let no ambiguity rest upon our conduct. If the Church command, and the Court countermand, a spiritual service from any of our office-bearers, then it is the duty of all the ministers and all the members of the Church of Scotland, to do precisely as they should have done though no interdict had come across their path."

The Commission of Assembly met on the 4th March, and its tone was no less firm and decided. "There are two questions," said Dr. Chalmers, in addressing it, "wherewith, in our present position, we are now implicated; and what I fear is, that neither the Church nor the country, in the gregarious movement of parties and of masses, will make the right discrimination between them. There is one of these questions which I would call the determinate one, by which I mean that it admits of but one solution, or one way of disposing of it: I mean the question of our spiritual independence. There are not two ways of resolving this question. It is a question on which all compromise is impossible—we have no choice; but must do by it what the apostle Paul did by the doctrine of justification through faith, who felt that by yielding to the slightest encroachment, he would be making a surrender of the whole principle. And therefore he tells us of its adversaries, however slight or imperceptible their inroad was, 'to whom we give place by subjection, no, not

for an hour.' In like manner, when invasion is offered by whatever party, and to however insignificant a degree, on the spiritual power of the Church's government in things which are spiritual, we take up his language and say, 'to whom we give place by subjection, no, not for an hour.' It is not a question of degree—it is a question of principle; and when called to recede by a single inch from that line of demarcation between the ecclesiastical and the civil, on which we have planted our footsteps, we have only one reply—that we cannot, we dare not. We trust that this will both explain and vindicate the position we have maintained from the first ontset of the present misunderstanding. We saw the mischief at its commencement: we saw it in what may be termed its seminal principle, and, as it were, through its rudimental or embryo wrapping, from the first deliverance of the Civil Courts on the case of Auchterarder. The public did not comprehend, and at the time did not sympathize with us. The celebrated interdict against preaching has at length opened their eyes: it has been a great astonishment to them, but it was no astonishment to us. We then saw in the germ what they now see in the development or full-blown expansion of the evil. The Court of Session have all along been most consistent with themselves. *We* were not at all surprised by their last inroad on the hallowed ground of the Church; nor should we be in the least surprised though, assuming a farther mastery over the Gospel's most sacred ordinances, they were to give forth their prohibitions and their mandates on the matter of sacraments, as they have already done on the matter of sermons, and compel at their bidding the prostrate Church to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper to all or any whom they shall judge in a civil action to have made good their right to it. I trust, therefore, that my Lord Tweeddale will recall the threat which, at an Intrusion meeting in East-Lothian, he cast out the other day against us ecclesiastics. He seems to intimate that before we can obtain any redress of our grievances from the Legislature, we must retrace the way that we have gone, and make our submission to the Court of Session. Why, this would be lording it over us with a vengeance! It would be making us swallow the whole principle; and the Church of Scotland, bereft of all moral weight, might henceforth he cast a useless and degraded thing into the bottom of the sea. I am glad, through the medium of this respected nobleman, the representative of a numerous and influential class, to take the opportunity of saying

one word against a misconception, I fear too common, both among Peers and among Parliament-men. It is right and may serve to simplify the question, that they should distinctly know the grounds upon which we stand. Be it known, then, unto all men, that we shall not retract one single footstep,—we shall make no submission to the Court of Session,—and that, not because of the disgrace, but because of the gross and grievous dereliction of principle, that we should thereby incur. They may force the ejection of us from our places: they shall never, never force us to the surrender of our principles; and if that honourable Court shall again so far mistake their functions as to repeat or renew the inroads they have already made, we trust they will ever meet with the same reception they have already gotten—to whom we shall give place by subjection, no, not for an hour—no, not by a hair-breadth."

Interdicts without number were served upon those clergymen who had received appointments to preach in the banned district, but they dealt with them as the apostles dealt with a like interdict of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem. That they might take their share in all the risk, and give their brethren all the sanction of their example, Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Makellar, Dr. Gordon, and others of like standing in the Church, in the face of interdicts served personally upon each of them, went and preached in the district of Strathbogie. Why was the threat so gravely made that the next breach of interdict would certainly be followed up by imprisonment not now carried out? Whatever was the reason for it, that threat remained unexecuted, and broken and dishonoured interdicts lay scattered over the country without a single effort made to vindicate an authority so often and so conspicuously disregarded. Had the law been legally and righteously administered, it could not, and ought not to have borne such an indignity. That it was borne without redress, the ordinary foundations of law and justice remaining meanwhile untouched and unshaken, is a very signal evidence that in the general judgment of the country the Court of Session had been guilty of a rash and unconstitutional act. It was a state of things, however, too anomalous to be suffered to continue. The call for legislative intervention was loud and urgent, and it might have been hoped that an enlightened and vigorous Government would have found some speedy and effective cure.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PROSPECT OF A SATISFACTORY MEASURE FROM THE WHIG GOVERNMENT—THE HOPE DEFEATED—THE CHURCH TURNS TO THE CONSERVATIVES—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD ABERDEEN, DR. CHALMERS, AND THE NON-INTRUSION COMMITTEE—THE BILL—THE MISUNDERSTANDING—THE CHARGE MADE BY LORD ABERDEEN—THE MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS MET BY DR. CHALMERS.

PARLIAMENT had once more assembled, and in petitions more numerously signed than any which had been presented since the days of the Reform Bill, the Scottish people asked for a measure to relieve and to protect their Church. To promote this object a deputation from the Assembly's Committee proceeded to London early in February 1840, and, instructed to disconnect their object in every possible way from party politics, they placed themselves in immediate communication with all the leading statesmen, whether Whig or Tory. It was upon the Government, however, that the first obligation to move in the matter rested, and the hopes which at the close of the preceding session it had permitted the Church to cherish it seemed at first ready to realize. "I lose no time," said one of the deputation in writing to Dr. Chalmers,* "in making you aware that we have now every cause to believe that the Government are undoubtedly at work upon a measure, and one likely to be satisfactory to the Church." The day was named on which the final, and as it was believed the favourable, answer of the Government would be communicated to the deputation. That day, however, brought with it a darkening of the prospect. "From all that we can learn," says Dr. Buchanan, "Government were prepared two days ago to have announced to us a measure substantially the same with the Veto. Meanwhile, it would appear, some adverse influence—dissenting, it is believed—has crossed their path, and we have been placed in this position—left either to ask our answer to-day, as we had been promised, with the certainty of getting it, but getting an answer that would tell us nothing, or to consent not to ask till Thursday, with an assurance that we

* The Rev. Dr. Robert Buchanan, in letter dated 17th March 1840.

shall undoubtedly have it fully and finally on that day."* The Thursday came, but still the Government was unresolved. At last, however, their determination was announced:—"We have just had an interview with Lord John Russell. His answer is, that they cannot consent to bring in a measure. He said he thought they could have prepared a measure which, *in their own view* of the matter, might have served the purpose, but that there was so much disagreement and difference of opinion everywhere on the subject, they thought there was no chance of carrying through a measure, and therefore that they would not meddle with it—at least till there was a greater agreement on the subject. So this is the end of all our dealings with a Government which has kept us waiting eight months to tell us they will do nothing. But let us not despair—our cause is righteous; and though great men may frown, let us trust that the Church's Head will smile. Meanwhile we must persevere in the use of means with more energy than ever. Never let it be said the Church of Scotland blenched before the opposition of men in power. It is when difficulties increase we must become more firm."† Deserted by the Whigs, the Church turned now to the Conservatives, upon whom, indeed, from the beginning, her chief hopes had been built. So early as the month of January, Lord Aberdeen, Sir George Clerk, and Sir William Rae had an interview at Edinburgh with the Non-Intrusion Committee, which led to a lengthened correspondence between Lord Aberdeen, Dr. Chalmers, and the Committee, from which the following excerpts are presented:—

"Argyle House, *January* 22, 1840.

"My dear Sir,—In a letter which I addressed, the day before yesterday, to the secretaries of the Non-Intrusion Committee, in answer to a communication received from them, I took occasion to repeat the suggestion which I had the honour of making to the Committee at their meeting on the 10th instant, as a substitute for the Veto. It appeared to me that this suggestion, if adopted, would give full effect to the principle of Non-Intrusion, which, according to any rational interpretation of the term, I am anxious to uphold. Although my letter will probably be laid before you, I transcribe here the substance of the suggestion referred to; and which, at the time it was made, appeared to meet with a decidedly favourable reception from the Committee.

* From letter dated 23d March 1840.
† From letter dated 30th March 1840.

"That the Presbytery shall be bound to take a qualified presentee on trials; and in the course of the proceedings previous to ordination, the objections of the parishioners, if any, shall be received and duly weighed by the Presbytery. Such objections, in every case, to be accompanied with reasons assigned; but the Presbytery to be at liberty to consider the whole circumstances of the case before them, and to form their judgment without reference to the actual number of persons dissenting, or their proportion to the whole amount of communicants and heads of families in the parish. The decision of the Presbytery, with respect to the fitness of any individual for the charge to which he is presented, to be founded on such full and mature consideration, and to be pronounced on their own responsibility, and according to the dictates of their hearts and consciences; all proceedings before the Presbytery to be liable to review in the Superior Church Courts. ABERDEEN.

"REV. DR. CHALMERS."

"EDINBURGH, *January* 27, 1840.

"MY LORD,—What I should have liked best was a full recognition by the Legislature of the Church's competency to deal, whether legislatively or judicially, with every question which related to the ordination and admission of ministers, reserving the patron's initiative, and at the same time protecting us from all interference by the Court of Session in the subsequent steps taken by the Church, after that the presentation was laid before us. This your Lordship will recollect to have been the substance of the propositions sent to you at Haddo House before you left home.

"When we met at Dalmahoy, your Lordship stated as your objection to the above proposal, that it did not preclude the General Assembly from maintaining the Veto Law.

"I next morning endeavoured to modify the proposition, and confined the recognition by the State to the Church's competency to deal judicially with the questions at issue, thinking that thereby the matter would be brought into conformity with your Lordship's views. I gave your Lordship that modified view, along with a copy of the Bill which had been previously given to the Lord Advocate.

"When we met with the Committee in Edinburgh, the impression I had from the conversation was, that we were all substantially at one, both as to the accompaniment of their dissent with reasons by the people, and as to the full power of

the Presbytery to sit in judgment on *the whole case*. I had the feeling at the time, that as this seemed to be the common understanding of both parties in the conference, it was unnecessary in some of our members to specify the particular case of a Presbytery not being satisfied with the reasons produced, and yet sustaining the dissent when satisfied of its proceeding from a real and honestly expressed dislike on the part of the people—thinking, as I did, that the fulness of the judicial power entrusted to the Presbytery, comprehended this and every other case that could possibly occur or be imagined. But even this specification did not appear to me to disturb our unanimity, as your Lordship, I thought, did not object to a dissent being sustained even in such an instance, provided that it was done by the Presbytery on its own responsibility.

"On further reflection, I am satisfied that the gentlemen who brought forward the instance of a dissent being sustained, irrespective of the reasons, did right. First, because it was fair and honest that you should understand the full extent of the judicial power which we desire for the Church. Second, because, though the reasons as expressed by the people might none of them be of a very presentable or pleadable character, there might after all be a well-founded dislike on their part, that might prove a most effectual moral barrier in the way of a minister's Christian usefulness among them. And third, because, unless the measure be of that full and comprehensive nature which may provide for every possible or conceivable instance, and so as to make the presbyterial veto quite absolute, we shall not be placed quite securely beyond the reach of interference, and so of a collision with the Court of Session.

"In reference to the finality of the *presbyterial veto*, which is altogether an expression of my own, it is but doing justice to my long-cherished opinions when I say, that so far from conflicting with the popular veto, I believe that in far the greater number of instances it will never be more righteously or usefully exercised than when giving effect to it. Grant me a simple and sincere, however illiterate, congregation, and there could not be offered a weightier element for my decision than the real unwillingness of such a people for a particular minister—if satisfied that it is on religious grounds, though grounds which can neither be distinctly stated nor far less logically defended by them.

"I confess that were the Veto Act still to subsist, I should

have liked to see a modification of it, at least to the effect of our being able to set aside the popular dissent on its being proved to have been a dissent not from religious motives. In the free exercise of our proposed judicial power, we shall be able to take cognizance of this element, and to decide upon it. If there be at all a difference betwixt us, it is whether we are to have a perfect and unexcepted freedom. Sir George Clerk, both in word and in writing, seems to concede this, and I flatter myself that your Lordship does not differ from him. The instance given is perhaps the best possible for testing the whole extent of our freedom. We are willing that reasons should always accompany dissent, and that these reasons should be dealt with and canvassed to the uttermost; but we are not willing that we should be bound to admit the presentee, if the people do not make good their reasons. On the contrary, we hold ourselves free, though not obliged, to exclude a presentee because of the strength of the popular dislike, though not substantiated by express reasons—a case which may occur, though not once in a hundred, I believe not once in a thousand times. The Act of 1690 requires that reasons shall accompany the dissent, and to this we object not; and it empowers the Presbytery to judge, not on the reasons alone, but on the whole 'affair.' With this, I think, (though your Lordship will now observe I am writing my individual opinion,) we will and ought to be satisfied. If your Lordship were alike satisfied, I do not see but we are thoroughly at one.

"We do not say that we desire the Church to be bound in every instance, as by a veto law, to reject the presentee in respect of a dissent irrespective of the grounds; but that the Church will not abandon the power of so rejecting him, if it seem to her right. Short of this we shall be exposed to the same shameful treatment of our people which disgraced the ecclesiastical proceedings of last century, with the fresh danger now of the Court of Session finding its way, through some opening or other, to the proper business of a Church not secured in the full exercise of her judicial and administrative powers, in every case that comes before us. THOMAS CHALMERS.

"*P.S.*—I beg to copy the following sentence of a letter received from Sir George Clerk, which meets with my full concurrence; and I really do not see what the remaining obstacle is to a general agreement, if it also meet the views of your Lordship:—

"'The leading features of the plan which was suggested were these, that full opportunity should be given to the people to express their dissent; that they should assign, for the information and the consideration of the Presbytery, the grounds of their objections to the presentee; and that then the Presbytery, subject to the review of the Superior Church Courts alone, should have full and unfettered power to decide judicially on the fitness or unfitness of the presentee for the particular parish, as their conscience and a sense of duty might direct, on the consideration of all the circumstances of the case, they being free either to admit or reject the presentee, without being bound either by the numerical amount of the objectors, or the precise nature of the reasons of dissent assigned.'"

"Argyle House, *February* 6, 1840.

"My dear Sir,—I cannot help thanking you for your last letter; with the sentiments expressed in which I almost entirely concur. I am also happy to perceive that you did not misapprehend the import of my former communication. This the Committee very unaccountably did; but the matter is now explained, and I am not aware of any material difference existing in the objects proposed by the Committee, and those which I should be prepared to support. Aberdeen.

"Rev. Dr. Chalmers."

The following letters supply the necessary information as to what that misapprehension was to which his Lordship here alludes.

"Edinburgh, *January* 28, 1840.

"My Lord,—It appears to the Committee that the result of your Lordship's proposition would be, to leave to the Church Courts simply to determine on the character of the reasons adduced for objecting to a presentee—preventing them from giving effect, even in a judicial determination, to their views of the inexpediency of a settlement in respect of the opposition of the people, apart from their opinion of the character of the reasons alleged for such opposition—nay, excluding, as an element in that determination, the circumstance of whether the objection be entertained by a few individuals, or the great body of the congregation. The Committee regret the more to find that such are your Lordship's views, as when at the conference Sir George Clerk expressed his acquiescence in the proposition, that the

Church Courts should have the power of judicially giving effect to the objections of the people, whatever opinion they might form of their reasons for objecting, the Committee were not aware that your Lordship had stated any dissent from Sir George's opinions.

"Although the Committee were inclined, which they are not, they have not the power even to entertain such a proposition, involving as it does the abandonment of that very principle which the Assembly, by whom they were appointed, resolved could not be abandoned. The special object with which they have been charged is, to endeavour to have it secured that the Church Courts may, without severing the benefice from the cure, give effect, where they see cause, to the opposition of the people, *independent of* THEIR *opinion of the reasons on which that opposition may be founded.* The proposal that the power of the Church in this matter should be exercised *judicially* in each case, and free from the imperative obligation of an unbending statutory rule; and that the reasons of disapproval should be stated, in order to admit of the Church Courts dealing with regard to them, was one that the Committee might have considered, (*whatever judgment they might ultimately have formed upon it,*) without violating the terms of their appointment; but any proposition implying that the Church *should not have power* to reject, simply in respect of the circumstance that the congregation continued to oppose the settlement, they cannot listen to for a moment.

ROBT. S. CANDLISH,
A. DUNLOP, } *Secretaries.*"

"ARGYLE HOUSE, *February* 1, 1840.

"GENTLEMEN,—It is very agreeable to me to be able to assure you that you have entirely misapprehended the import of my letter.

"I should hope, on a reference to my letter, that it will be found sufficiently clear and explicit, and that there is no expression which can fairly be understood to limit or fetter the discretion of the Presbytery in the ordination and admission of ministers. But, after all, as it is intended to place them in a state of freedom, and to liberate them from the obligations of the Veto Law, the Presbytery, like other men, must be governed by rational considerations.

"In order to prevent farther misapprehension, I will explain, by an imaginary case, in what manner I understand the pro-

posal, and the mode of its operation. It is agreed that, in all cases, the people objecting to a presentee, shall assign the reasons of their dissent, be they what they may. Now, let us suppose that any number of persons should object to a presentee because *he had red hair*. This would, no doubt, be a very bad reason; but if they persevered in their hatred of red hair, and the Presbytery found it consistent with their sense of duty, and the dictates of their own consciences, they might give effect to the objection by rejecting the presentee. But then the reason of dissent on the part of the people, as well as the rejection by the Presbytery, would be recorded; and if the Superior Church Courts should confirm the decision, the matter would there terminate. It is to this publicity, and to the common sense and justice of mankind, that I look for a security against arbitrary and capricious proceedings in any quarter. ABERDEEN."

"EDINBURGH, *February* 4, 1840.

"MY LORD,—The Committee are gratified to find that they have so entirely misapprehended your Lordship's sentiments, and they trust that they do not misunderstand them now, in supposing you to agree that the Church Courts should have the *power* to reject a presentee in consideration of the continued opposition of the people, although they should think the reasons assigned for that opposition as frivolous as that in the case supposed by your Lordship, viz., his hair being red. Your Lordship's proposition thus explained, will receive from the Committee an attentive and favourable consideration. A. DUNLOP."

Matters rested thus when the Government relinquished the attempt to introduce a Bill into Parliament. Lord Aberdeen took up the task. Acting upon his own individual responsibility, he declined entering into any communication with the Non-Intrusion Committee. He announced, however, his purpose to Dr. Chalmers:—

"ARGYLE HOUSE, *April* 4, 1840.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You will have seen from the public papers that I have undertaken to introduce a Bill into Parliament for the purpose of attempting to heal the present distractions of the Church.

"My chief object in writing to you at present is to explain to you, that the principle of my measure will be founded on the recognition of the judicial powers of the Church Courts in the

matters in question,—very much in accordance with your own views of that which, though not the most desirable, might be regarded as the most practicable solution of the existing difficulties. ABERDEEN."

Upon the 5th May, Lord Aberdeen introduced his measure to the House of Lords, after retiring from which he wrote thus to Dr. Chalmers :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot retire to rest this night without informing you that I have presented a Bill to the House of Lords, having for its object the termination of those unhappy differences by which the Church of Scotland is distracted.

"I deceive myself, if the report which you may receive from Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Hamilton will not show that, in all my communications with these gentlemen, I have evinced a sincere desire to meet their views to the utmost of my power; although, unfortunately, I may not in every instance have been able to adopt their suggestions. After all, however, I am well aware that the success of this measure will mainly depend on the reception with which it may meet from yourself. I believe that the peace of the Church is at this moment in your hands; for although, from the accident of birth and social position, I have had the means of proposing this measure to the Legislature, it will depend on you whether it is to receive life and efficacy.

"I pray that you may be led by the spirit of wisdom; and that your great talents may be directed to the restoration of peace and order, and to the happy union of all the real friends of the Church.

'Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt!'

ABERDEEN."

The Bill introduced by Lord Aberdeen allowed the parishioners to state objections of all kinds to the presentee; but it obliged them, at the same time, to state the grounds and reasons of their objections. It allowed the Presbytery to take all these objections into consideration, but it permitted them to give effect to them only when personal to the presentee, when legally substantiated, and when sufficient, in their judgment, to warrant his rejection. It altogether excluded a dissent without reasons. It disallowed unacceptableness to the people as a disqualification. It refused to the Presbytery the power of giving effect in any instance to the popular opposition simply as such, no matter how

general or how strong that opposition might be. That which the Veto Law had said should be done in every instance, it said should be done in none. It left the judgment of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder Case untouched; and it offered no protection whatever against such aggressions on the part of the Court of Session as it had recently committed. Even within the limited domain conceded to the Church, the Court of Session would be the final judges whether the objections on which a Presbytery rejected were such as the Bill allowed, and whether they had been sufficiently substantiated. The Presbytery might have the strongest possible conviction that acting within the provisions of the Bill, they were bound to reject; yet if the Court of Session thought otherwise, they would be bound to ordain, and if they refused, all the ordinary consequences of disobedience to the common law of the country would follow. It was nominally as a remedy for an existing evil that this Bill was introduced, yet it left that evil just where it found it. New legislation was asked for and required; yet it professed to be merely a declaratory enactment, and did not propose to effect any alteration in the Law of Patronage, as interpreted by the two Chancellors. The reader will not wonder, therefore, that after the most careful and candid perusal of it, Dr. Chalmers should have written thus to Lord Aberdeen:—

"Edinburgh, *May* 12, 1840.

"My Lord,—I have now examined the Bill; and it is with inexpressible grief and concern that I am forced to confess myself dissatisfied. Such is my intense desire for adjustment and peace, that all my tendencies were on the side of putting the most favourable construction on every clause, and of labouring to harmonize with all my might its various provisions with that independence which belongs to a Christian Church, and which we did not renounce in the act of becoming a National Church. I little thought, my Lord, after my incessant attempts all last year to bring down others to the point at which I conceived your Lordship willing for a settlement, I should have met with a fresh obstacle in finding that your Lordship had taken up a position so much lower than I was counting on. I find myself in a situation precisely analogous to that I was unexpectedly brought into this time twelvemonth, when I had resolved to move the transference of the case of Auchterarder from the popular to the presbyterial veto, and was driven from that position by the speeches of Lords Cottenham and Brougham, which

awakened the apprehension that even this presbyterial veto would not be sustained in the Civil Courts. Your Bill, my Lord, turns this apprehension into a certainty; and so conflicts with a principle which I have zealously advocated, both in speeches and writing, for four-and-twenty years—that the power of the Presbytery was co-ordinate with that of the patron, insomuch that it lay within the competency of the Church to put an arrest upon any presentation for any cause which might seem unto her good. THOMAS CHALMERS."

His Lordship was not prepared for such a reception of his measure by Dr. Chalmers, and a painful misunderstanding ensued :—

"ARGYLE HOUSE, *May* 14, 1840.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am persuaded that you are under a misapprehension in supposing that the Bill limits or restricts what you call the '*liberum arbitrium*' of the Presbytery in the matter of collation. . . . ABERDEEN."

"BURNTISLAND, *May* 18, 1840

"MY LORD,—Your Lordship seems to think that the Bill, as it stands, does not limit or restrain the *liberum arbitrium* of the Presbytery.* Now, it appears to me, that it does so in one most important particular. The Presbytery are restricted by it from giving effect to the conscientious dissent of the people, on the ground of the simple fact of that dissent, and irrespective of reasons. Even supposing that this were the alone restriction laid by your Bill on the *liberum arbitrium*, I hope to convince your Lordship of the insuperable barrier which it raises up in the way of its acceptance by the Church. . . .

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ARGYLE HOUSE, *May* 18, 1840.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Having had occasion to see the report of the recent proceedings of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and to mark the language of the men by whom it is directed, I am induced again to address you. It is not possible for me to believe that you can have any community with these persons;

* "I state it absolutely as a fact, which Lord Aberdeen will confirm, that if there was any object which both he himself and his acute and anxious legal adviser were determined, at all hazards, effectually to secure by means of the Bill, it was just the entire and utter exclusion of the '*liberum arbitrium*' of Presbyteries in the sense in which it was understood by the Church."—Remonstrance, &c., by John Hamilton, Esq. Edinburgh, 1841. P. 64.

and I address you because I wish to bring distinctly before you the state and prospects of the Church of Scotland, so far as the Legislature is concerned, as well as respectfully to represent to you the awful responsibility under which you are about to be placed.

"I have now only to pray that, by an effort of moral courage, you may save the Establishment from the dangers by which it is threatened. But whatever may be the course you may think it right ultimately to adopt, the convictions of my conscience assure me that I have performed my own part in the work, feebly, perhaps, and imperfectly, but honestly, and with a single view to this great end. ABERDEEN."

"EDINBURGH, *May* 20, 1840.

"MY LORD,—I feel the responsibility of my situation, and have long made up my mind to the principle, that anything short of an unfettered spiritual power in the Church would be fatal to its national establishment.

"It will be some satisfaction to recollect, that in this principle I had the entire concurrence of Sir James Graham, Sir George Clerk, Sir William Rae; and I certainly did flatter myself that I at one time had the concurrence of your Lordship in this view.

"I can assure your Lordship that the moral courage necessary at the present crisis is to defend our Church from the invasions which, for a hundred and fifty years, had never been attempted either by our Courts or in Parliament.—THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ARGYLE HOUSE, *May* 21, 1840.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Let me recall to your recollection what is the state in which I find the Church. The House of Lords, in affirming the judgment of the Court of Session, has declared that a Presbytery, by rejecting a presentee, on the sole ground that a majority of the male heads of families have dissented without any reason assigned, from his admission as minister, act illegally, in violation of their duty, and contrary to the provisions of the statute.

"Now, this restriction is not imposed by my Bill, but by the existing law of the land. I apprehend that no Presbytery will be permitted in future to reject a presentee on such grounds; and it certainly was never my purpose to enable them to do so.

ABERDEEN."

"Argyle House, *May* 23, 1840.

"My dear Sir,—I think it necessary to address a few words to you in answer to your note of the 20th, received last night.

"You say that it will be some satisfaction to you to recollect that in the principle of your proposed amendment, enabling the Church to give effect to the mere dissent of the people, you had the entire concurrence of Sir James Graham, Sir George Clerk, and Sir William Rae. Now, from recent personal communication with all three, I can venture with certainty to assure you that you are mistaken in this persuasion. I will go further, and express my doubt of there being a single member of the House of Commons who would give the proposition his support. There may be some who would grant the right of an absolute veto to the people; but I greatly doubt if any would be disposed to recognise in the Church that power which your amendment would confer.

"In the House of Lords I could name but one member from whom such support might be expected. Aberdeen."

"Edinburgh, *May* 23, 1840.

"My Lord,—There must be a profound misunderstanding somewhere. In terms as explicit as human language can make it, I have the assent of the three members named to my own principle of the Presbyterial Veto.* I hope to see Sir George Clerk on the subject; and can only now express my regret that your Lordship's last letters do not warrant the hopes which I had founded on all our previous correspondence.

Thomas Chalmers."

On the 27th May the Report of the Non-Intrusion Committee was laid before the General Assembly by its convener, Dr. Chalmers. After detailing the different measures which had been presented by it for approval to the leading politicians, it proceeded to allude thus to the Bill of Lord Aberdeen:—"With reference to the Bill which has recently been introduced to the House of Lords, your Committee are in no way responsible for its provisions. The noble framer of it had ceased to honour them with his correspondence for some weeks previous to its introduction into Parliament; and coming greatly short even of

* "Lord Aberdeen's Bill, unquestionably does not give the '*liberum arbitrium*,' in this sense of it, to the Presbyteries of the Church; although I may state that one and all of the leading Conservative Members of Parliament, with whom I had the honour to confer at the period of the Bill being introduced, were of opinion that it ought to have given that power."—Remonstrance, &c., by John Hamilton, Esq., p. 63.

that measure in favour of which they had been led to anticipate the full consent of all the influential members of both Houses with whom he is associated, the appearance of the Bill could not fail to be met by them with feelings both of disappointment and surprise." After reading this Report, and referring to the private correspondence with which he had individually been honoured by Lord Aberdeen after he had ceased to correspond with the Committee, Dr. Chalmers said, "I have to state, with deep concern, that up till three weeks ago I was led to believe that Lord Aberdeen's Bill would be of such a nature" (that is, would confer an unfettered *liberum arbitrium*). "I was led to expect it, and I think I have right and reason to be disappointed." The debate upon the Bill involved a very thorough discussion of its provisions, and in a division of the House, by a majority of 221 to 134, the Assembly resolved, that in its existing form they could not acquiesce in it, and that it was the duty of the Church to use every method to prevent its obtaining the sanction of the Legislature. A few days after this debate, in an anonymous communication to the *Advertiser* newspaper, the Dean of Faculty accused Dr. Chalmers and the Committee of having made an altogether unfounded charge against Lord Aberdeen, and denied most peremptorily that his Lordship had ever given them reason to expect a measure different from that which he had proposed. As the whole of the correspondence had been communicated to the Dean, and as he pointedly, and by date, referred to certain private letters, both from Dr. Chalmers and from Lord Aberdeen, which, as he affirmed, corroborated his assertions, this communication carried with it an air both of authority and weight. Dr. Chalmers immediately replied to it, and after stating some of the grounds on which his expectations had been grounded, and which justified his expression of surprise and regret, he added, "The misunderstanding is so very subtle and profound that I am not able to explain it, yet I will not let go my confidence that it is but a misunderstanding, and nothing more. Lord Aberdeen, though he occupies to the full as high a place in the aristocracy of mind as in the aristocracy of rank—a noble of nature as well as birth—might not comprehend what to him was a matter so extra-professional as the application which might be made of his proposed Act in our Courts of Law. . . . In these circumstances there is surely room enough for the explanation of all errors, on the principle that understandings are in the wrong, without the wretched resource of casting an imputation on the

honour or integrity of any one. This I am determined shall with me be the solution of last resort, and I have not yet nearly come to it, least of all with Lord Aberdeen, whose views I am at present not able to comprehend, yet with undiminished reverence for the virtues of that patriotic and high-minded nobleman."

While Dr. Chalmers was penning these sentences in Edinburgh, Lord Aberdeen was addressing the House of Lords on the motion for the second reading of his Bill. In doing so he referred to the Report which, as Convener of the Non-Intrusion Committee, Dr. Chalmers had laid before the Assembly, and having quoted from it a statement made by Lord John Russell, but which Lord Aberdeen erroneously attributed to Lord Melbourne, the following interlocutor occurred :—

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.—"I am sure that there is no good ground for the statement of the noble Viscount, that any measure of the Government relative to the subject would be objected to by your Lordships. This is not treating your Lordships in a manner becoming the noble Viscount."

VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.—"I do not remember it. Does the Report mention me?"

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.—"No, the term is the Government; but my noble friend must excuse me if I look to him as the Government. At all events, I am certain that the Report refers to the noble Viscount."

VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.—"I did not say anything of the kind."

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.—"I will fairly tell the noble Viscount, that I do not believe the statement contained in the Report. In the Report of the communications which the Committee have had with me, they have been so unscrupulous in their statements that it is probable they have not dealt more honestly with the noble Viscount."

VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.—"I do not mean to say that, however."

The report of this extraordinary conversation had no sooner reached Edinburgh than, in the name, and as the former chairman of the Committee, the Rev. Dr. Gordon addressed a letter to Lord Aberdeen, requesting to know whether he had made such an impeachment of their integrity, and if so, upon what ground. The correctness of the report was not challenged by his Lordship, and in vindication of his charge he referred to that very correspondence which contained the passages already presented to our readers, and which so fully warranted that statement, the honesty as well as the accuracy of which was called

in question. Dr. Chalmers, though still a member, had now relinquished the convenership of the Committee. In alluding to this, Lord Aberdeen spoke of Dr. Chalmers "as a reverend gentleman, a great leader in the Assembly, who having brought the Church into a state of jeopardy and peril, had left it to find its way out of the difficulty as well as it could." A few weeks afterwards, a pamphlet by Dr. Chalmers appeared, bearing the following characteristic title, "What ought the Church and the People of Scotland to do now? being a Pamphlet on the Principles of the Church Question, with an Appendix on the Politics and Personalities of the Church Question." In the Appendix the following passages occur:—"For ourselves, such is the strength of our natural veneration for rank (a sentiment that may be either of a chivalrous or a pusillanimous character), that we are most unwilling to relinquish the favourable opinion which we have been led to entertain of any person who may chance to inherit its honours; and would rather wait the most decisive evidence of ours being a misplaced and extravagant partiality, ere we could agree conclusively to let it go. But over and above this instinctive, or, as it may be termed by many, this blind affection, there are certain principles on what we hold to be best for the stability and good order of the commonwealth, which strongly prepossess our inclinations towards the aristocracy of the land. We look in fact on the great families of Britain as the supports or buttresses of our national edifice; and, just as we love in architecture the graceful minarets, by which not these ornaments but these lateral strengths of the building are surmounted—so do we confess an affection for the crowns and coronets which sit on the brows of our nobility. But greater, if not in the order of taste greater, far greater in the order of worth and solid importance than the supports of our edifice, is the foundation of our edifice; and on this principle a still mightier interest than even the character of our grandees, is the character of our general population. The most essential element of a nation's health and safety is that we shall be sound at bottom; but this is an element which nothing tends more fearfully to endanger, than that the Christian instructors of a land, the officials charged with that highest of all education, the education of principle—that they should be brought down, whether by their own deservings or the injustice of others, in popular estimation. 'Ye are the salt of the earth, but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall the earth be salted?' It is as

a blow struck at the corner-stone when the moral integrity of clergymen is assailed; and when, not in any secret or obscure whispering place, but on the very house-top of the nation, we behold, and without a single expression of remonstrance or regret from the assembled peerage of the empire, one nobleman sending forth his wrathful fulmination against the honesty and truth of ministers of religion, and another laughing it off in his own characteristic way with a good-natured jeer as a thing of nought —we cannot but lament the accident, by which a question of so grave a nature and of such portentous consequences to society as the character of its most sacred functionaries, should have come even for a moment under the treatment of such hands.

"I trust that I may now bid my final adieu to the field of authorship upon this question. Let me never at least be allured to it in the vain hope, that I shall be able to silence the voice of personal injustice, which I henceforth leave to expend itself upon me, either in the form of unhandsome disclosures or injurious criminations by adversaries, for whatever purpose may seem unto them good. It is not long since I have been made aware of a hostile misinterpretation on the part of Lord Aberdeen, which but a few weeks ago I should have deemed impossible to have come from such a quarter. He is reported to have said in the House of Peers, that after having led the Church into her present difficulties, I now leave her to find, as best she may, her own way out of them. He greatly overrates my influence. The Church came into her present difficulties not by my advice, but in opposition to it—and that advice, given as far back as 1833, I have now reiterated, as the likeliest method by which, if let alone from without, she might still be extricated with safety and honour. There are necessities which compel my retirement from all that is distracting or laborious in the public business of the Church, which I will not now explain; and, in virtue of these, it is more than a twelvemonth since I entered upon measures that might prepare for my resignation by the time of last Assembly, of all the tasks and managements that had been devolved upon me. But, in truth, apart from these necessities which have long decided me to the step of general retirement, his Lordship might have guessed at another reason for the separation of myself from the Non-Intrusion Committee, beside the one which he is said to have proclaimed in that high assembly, where no counter explanation could possibly be given. I cannot better express the true reason, than in the following

words of a late speech to the General Assembly, when I told them that I could no longer be a member of the Committee, whose Report I had just read to them:—'The truth is, that in this harassing warfare I am able to hold out no longer. Irrespective of this, I should have tendered my resignation of every office I hold from the Assembly, which involves the incessant labour of the last six years. For more than a twelvemonth I had made up my mind to do this in the Assembly of 1840, and during that twelvemonth, the resolution has been strengthened every day, by the infinity of calls and conflicts and tracasseries innumerable, to which my twofold situation of Convener of Church Extension and Convener for Non-Intrusion has exposed me; and, to crown and consummate all, there have not only been the fatigues, but, within these few weeks, the sore bitter crushing disappointment—the *blasting of all my fondest hopes for the good and peace of our Church, in my correspondence with public and parliamentary men.*'

"But his Lordship mistakes, if he thinks that there is no other field on which we can be of service to the Church, save that one which he accuses me of having deserted in cowardice—when he and his Conservative friends, to whom I look as our last and only dependence in London, may be more truly said to have driven me from it in despair. The weary struggle of six years that we had with his political opponents for the extension of our Church, we at length gave up in utter hopelessness of any good from them. And we are like to pass through the same experience, with another party in another cause. The fruitless higgling of the last six months,—and in which *shorter*, all the distastes and discouragements and annoyances of the *longer* period have been fully concentrated,—we now fling from us as we would a broken reed on which we unwarily had leaned. Lord Aberdeen may stigmatize as a desertion that relinquishment which has been forced upon us by our discovery and consequent distrust of those with whom it had been our habit to deal; but he will find that both their insinuating flattery and their disappointed violence are alike impotent of effect, for leading us either to betray the cause of the Church of Scotland into the hands of her once professing friends, or to surrender that cause into the hands of her now declared enemies.

"After all, I now feel that I owe an act of justice to the Whigs. I understand justice in the same sense as equity, (*æquitas*;) and I am now bound to say, that if on the question

of Church Endowments I have been grievously disappointed by the one party—on the question of Church Independence I have been as grievously disappointed by the other. Of course I speak on the basis of a very limited induction; but, as far as the findings of my own personal observation are concerned, I should say of the former, that they seem to have no great value for a Church Establishment at all—and of the latter, that their great value for a Church Establishment seems to be more for it as an engine of State than as an instrument of Christian usefulness. The difference lies in having no principle, or in having a principle that is wrong. In either way they are equally useless, and may prove equally hurtful to the Church; and though the acknowledgment I now make to the Whigs be a somewhat ludicrous one, if viewed in the character of a peace-offering, I am nevertheless bound to declare, that, for aught like Church purposes, I have found the Conservatives to be just as bad as themselves.

"It is for the Church now to renounce all dependence upon men; and, persevering in the high walk of duty on which she has entered, to prosecute her own objects on her own principles —leaving each party in the State to act as they may."

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH REFORMATIONS—THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY—ITS INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATE—CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND STATE IN SCOTLAND—CONDUCT AND TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCH—THE ACT OF 1592—THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT—DR. CHALMERS'S OPINION AS TO THE TWO PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTRUSION AND SPIRITUAL INDEPENDENCE—LETTER TO LORD ABERDEEN AND SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—POSITION AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE MODERATE PARTY IN THE CHURCH—SPEECH OF SIR ROBERT PEEL—REPLY BY DR. CHALMERS.

"THE child is father of the man."—With Churches as with individuals this holds true; and it stands conspicuously verified in the histories of the two Reformed Churches of England and Scotland. The English Church was created by a fiat of the monarch. The reformed doctrine had but little prevalence and power among the people when Henry VIII., by an act of royal authority, abolished the Papal jurisdiction, and substituted his own in its stead. From that period till the present time, the reigning monarch has been the Head of the English Church; a dogma which finds one of its embodiments in the fact, that in all matters, even as to doctrine and discipline, there lies an appeal from the Ecclesiastical to the Civil Courts. It was exactly the reverse in Scotland. It is now nearly three hundred years since the first General Assembly convened in Edinburgh. It met by no summons, it received no express sanction from the State. The spread of the Holy Scriptures and the preaching of that Gospel which they contain, had so leavened the general community, that in 1560, by the Estates of Parliament, and against the Sovereign's will, the Papal jurisdiction was abrogated. But no other was substituted in its stead. At their own instance, and having the Word of God as their alone guide and warrant, a few clergymen and laymen* assembled and organized the Protestant Church of Scotland. They framed a creed, drew up a code of discipline, and resolved that, as the highest court of the Church exercising supreme legislative and judicial authority, they should meet in General Assembly twice each year. There were not wanting

* The first General Assembly consisted of forty members, of whom six only were clergymen.

those who at first challenged the lawfulness of these Assemblies. At one of their earliest meetings, Maitland of Lethington, the Queen's Secretary, ventured to express a doubt upon this point. "Take from us," said Knox in answer, "the liberty of Assemblies, and take from us the evangel, for without Assemblies how shall good order and unity of doctrine be kept?" Seven years elapsed; fifteen General Assemblies were held; kirk-sessions were instituted; Provincial Synods erected; ministers appointed, suspended, deposed; in a word, all the highest functions of ecclesiastical authority were exercised without any authority from, or any recognition by the State.* It did finally interfere, not to create, however, but to ratify; and by Act of the Scottish Parliament 1567, "the ministers of the blessed evangel of Jesus Christ, whom God of his mercy has raised up among us, and the people of the realm that profess Christ, and do partake of the holy sacraments," were declared to be "the true and holy Kirk of Jesus Christ within this realm." One fourth only of the livings were at this time in the gift of lay patrons, the remainder being held by ecclesiastics. The Church unwillingly† consented that these lay patrons should retain the right of nomination; but in the statute ordaining this, it was specially provided that "the examination and admission of ministers be only in the power of the Kirk," and that in case the Church should "refuse to receive and admit the person presented by the patron, it shall be lawful to the patron to appeal to the superintendent and ministers of that province where the benefice lies, and desire the person presented to be admitted, which if they refuse, to appeal to the General Assembly of the whole realm, by whom the case being decided, shall take end, as they decern and declare."

One-third of the ancient revenue of the Church was set apart as a fund out of which stipends were to be paid to the reformed clergymen, the remaining two-thirds being appropriated by the Crown and the nobles. The Roman Catholic prelates, however, were permitted to retain for life, two-thirds of the rents of their bishoprics. At the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1571, the Earl of Morton found a clergyman willing to take the office, while allowing the Earl to retain for his own use the greater portion of the income. Knox was at this time residing

* The progress made during these seven years was extraordinary. In 1560 there were only twelve ministers of the reformed faith in Scotland: in 1567 there were 250 ministers, 467 readers, and 150 exhorters.

† In the First Book of Discipline, the provisions of which were in force from 1560 till 1567, it is laid down "that it appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their own minister."

in St. Andrews, unable through the infirmity of declining years to attend the General Assembly. He wrote, however, to his brethren, "Unfaithful and traitors to the flock shall ye be before the Lord Jesus, if that with your consent, directly or indirectly, ye suffer unworthy men to be thrust into the ministry of the Kirk, under what pretence that ever it be. Remember the Judge before whom ye must make account, and resist that tyranny as ye would avoid hell-fire." The Assembly responded to the sentiments of the firm and inflexible reformer. A remonstrance was written in their name by Erskine of Dun, and forwarded to the Regent Mar. "There is," says that remonstrance, "a spiritual jurisdiction and power which God has given unto his Kirk, and to them that bear office therein; and there is a temporal jurisdiction and power given of God to kings and civil magistrates. Both the powers are of God, and most agreeing to the fortifying one of the other, if they be rightly used. But when the corruption of man enters in, confounding the offices, usurping to himself what he pleases, nothing regarding the good order appointed of God, then confusion follows in all estates. The Kirk of God should fortify all lawful powers and authority that pertains to the civil magistrate, because it is the ordinance of God. But if he pass the bounds of his office, and enter within the sanctuary of the Lord, meddling with such things as appertain to the ministers of God's Kirk, then the servants of God should withstand his unjust enterprise, for so are they commanded of God."

Ten years after this the fidelity of the Church was still more severely tried. The Archbishop of Glasgow died in 1581, and some clergyman was needed by the Duke of Lennox to hold the office, under bargain that the lion's share of the revenue should go to the nobleman. The name and office of diocesan bishop had by this time been abolished by the Church, yet Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, accepted the nomination. His Presbytery prohibited him from doing so, but as he persisted, they reported the case to the Synod of Lothian. The civil authorities interfered, interdicted the Synod from proceeding, and summoned them before the Privy Council. Their representatives appeared, and in their name respectfully declined the judgment of such a Court as incompetent in such a matter. Montgomery was now summoned to appear at the bar of the General Assembly, indicted to meet at St. Andrews in April 1582. His case had just been called when a messenger-at-arms entered

the House, and, in the King and Council's name, charged them under "the pains of rebellion" to desist. Resolving that it was their duty to proceed, they ratified the sentence of the Presbytery, suspending Montgomery from the office of the ministry, and found that he had made himself liable by his conduct to the still weightier sentence of deposition and excommunication. Alarmed for the moment, the recreant minister appeared before them, confessed his error, and promised submission. His submission was so far accepted, that the sentence was delayed; but the Presbytery of Edinburgh was instructed and authorized, in case of a violation of his engagement, to proceed instantly to pass it. The sense of immediate terror had no sooner passed away than he revived his claims, and in face of all the threatenings of the Court the final sentence was promptly pronounced against him. The ministers of the metropolitan Presbytery were summoned to appear immediately before the Privy Council; one of their number was banished from the capital, and their sentence was declared null and void. The emergency was urgent; a special meeting of the General Assembly was called, and a remonstrance forwarded to the King, in which the following passage occurs:—

"Your Majesty, by advice of some counsellors, is taught to take upon your Grace that spiritual power and authority which properly belongeth to Christ, as only King and Head of the Kirk. The ministry and execution thereof is only given to such as bear office in the ecclesiastical government of the same; so that in your Grace's person, some men press to erect a new popedom, as though your Majesty could not be full king and head of this commonwealth, unless as well the spiritual as the temporal sword be put in your hand—unless Christ be bereft of His authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded which God has divided, which directly tends to the wreck of all true religion."

Montgomery and the Court gave way. The struggle between the Church and the State lasted some years longer, till the celebrated statute of 1592 was passed, by which were abrogated "all acts, laws, and statutes made at any time before the day and date hereof against the liberty of the true Kirk, jurisdiction and discipline thereof, *as the same is used and exercised within this realm.*" This statute was accepted and regarded at the time as ratifying that claim to an exclusive spiritual jurisdiction for which the Church had contended during the thirty preceding years—a statute like that of 1567, still in force, but which, in 1839, was strangely quoted and founded on as destructive of such a claim.

Our space does not permit us to complete this historic sketch. The first thirty years, however, are a type of all that followed. The right to a free and uncontrolled self-government—the liberty to order all her doings according to her own conscience and in obedience to the will of Christ, the Church of Scotland still resolutely asserted and maintained. For a brief season or two she ingloriously succumbed and suffered the invader's inroads.* But from these temporary disgraces she nobly redeemed herself. Under the tyranny of the Stuarts† four hundred of her clergy-

* In one of these periods of defection a few faithful ministers had convened in Assembly at Aberdeen. In the King's name, and on pain of rebellion, they were charged to dissolve. They offered to do so provided his Majesty's Commissioner would name a day and place for the next meeting. On this being refused, they continued in Assembly, for which act sixteen were committed to prison, and six were indicted on the charge of high treason. One of the six, John Welsh, the son-in-law of Knox, was condemned; and writing from his prison in the Castle of Blackness, he says, "Who am I, that He should first have called me, and then constituted me a minister of the glad tidings of the Gospel of salvation these years past, and now, last of all, to be a sufferer for his cause and kingdom! Now, let it be so that I have fought my fight, and run my race; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous God, will give, not to me only, but to all that love his appearing, and choose to witness that Jesus Christ is the King of saints, and that his Church is a free kingdom, yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven, not only to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, conventions, and assemblies, but also to judge all her affairs, in all her meetings and conventions, amongst her members and subjects. These two points—1. That Christ is the Head of the Church; 2. That she is free in her government from all other jurisdiction except His:—these two points, I say, are the special cause of our imprisonment, being now convicted as traitors for maintaining them."

† The first clergyman who suffered under the Stuarts was Mr. James Guthrie, and the last Mr. James Renwick. One of the leading counts in Mr. Guthrie's indictment was, that he declined the King's judgment as incompetent in matters of doctrine. In his defences, and for the purpose of showing how warrantable such a declaration was, Mr. Guthrie says, "The Word of God doth clearly hold forth that Jesus Christ hath a visible kingdom which He exercises in or over His visible Church, which is wholly distinct from the civil powers and governments of the world, and not depending upon nor subordinate unto these governments in the administrations thereof, which are spiritual, and are to be regulated not by the laws of men, but by His own laws, set down in His Word. . . . As for divine reason, the defender doth only say, that if the function of the magistrate be distinct from the ministerial function in all the causes thereof, then must needs the jurisdictions and exercises thereof he also distinct and not depending one upon another. The confounding of these, and the clashings and encroachments of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, have been the cause of much trouble and confusion in the world, and the preserving of them distinct, and giving to God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, is the best foundation of order, union, and peace, both in Church and State."

Mr. Guthrie's defences were overruled, and he died upon the scaffold at Edinburgh on the 1st June 1661. "I bless the Lord," said he, in his last speech, "that as I die not as a fool, so also that I die not for evil-doing. The matters for which I am condemned are matters belonging to my calling and function as a minister of the Gospel, such as the discovery and reproving of sin, the pressing and the holding fast of the oath of God in the covenant, and preserving and carrying on the work of religion and reformation according thereto, and *denying to acknowledge the civil magistrate as the proper competent immediate judge in causes ecclesiastical.*"—Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 184, 185, 193.

At his execution, on the 13th February 1688, Mr. James Renwick said, upon the scaffold, "I die a Presbyterian Protestant. I adjoin my testimony to all those truths which have been sealed by blood on scaffolds, fields, and seas, for the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against Popery, Prelacy, Erastianism, against all profanity, and everything contrary to sound doctrine, particularly against all usurpations and encroachments made upon Christ's rights, the Prince of the kings of the earth, who alone must bear the glory of ruling his own kingdom—the Church, and particularly against the absolute power assumed by this usurper, that belongs to no mortal."—Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 453, 454.

men voluntarily resigned their livings rather than acknowledge the royal authority as supreme within the house of God. And true to the same principles, their scattered flocks were driven into exile, shot down in the wild morass, or executed on the scaffold, till thousands perished. The glorious Revolution came at last. By one of William's earliest Acts it is declared that "the first Act of the Second Parliament of King Charles the Second, entituled, 'Act asserting his Majesty's supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical,' *is inconsistent with the Church Government now desired*, and ought to be abrogated. Therefore their Majesties, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, do hereby abrogate, rescind, and annul the said Act, and declare the same, in the whole heads, articles, and clauses thereof, to be of no force or effect in all time coming." Thereafter the Act 1592 was revived, renewed, and confirmed, by which "the sole and only power and jurisdiction within the Church" was declared to stand in the Church, and in her courts, as separate from and not subject to the supreme civil power. At the same time the Westminster Confession of Faith was ratified and engrossed verbatim in the statute. In the 30th chapter of that Confession it is announced as a fundamental principle, "That the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church-officers distinct from the civil magistrate."

It is in the light of her bygone history—in the light of her own authoritative documents—in the light of the authorship of the most eminent of her ministers—in the light of the doings and sufferings of her faithful members—that those statutes can alone be properly read and understood which ratify the Church's liberty, and assert over her the supreme and only Headship of Christ. It should not surprise us, therefore, that lawyers of the highest eminence—men versant in all the canons by which the terms of ordinary statute law are interpreted—should have failed in interpreting these statutes aright. Their true interpretation is to be discovered in the fact, that from the beginning of her history, and at no small cost of strife and suffering afterwards, the Church of Scotland held fast by the principle that the Church is a divine institute, deriving her existence, powers, and privileges directly from Christ, having the rule of her procedure in His Word, for the faithful following of which rule, and the preservation of her allegiance to her great Head, she must be free from all foreign control. She owed it to the peculiarity of

her birth—she owed it to the circumstances of her earlier years, that she only, of all the Churches of the Reformation, was called upon to search thoroughly into the principles upon which a pure connexion between the Church and the State can alone be established; and among all the children of the Reformation this was her distinction and her glory, that, walking hand in hand with the secular authorities, she had kept herself, in principle at least if not always in practice, pure and clean.

It was no false alarm which visited the heart of Dr. Chalmers when at the Bar and from the Bench he heard the Church of Scotland pronounced to be a creature of the State, and the civil supremacy over her actings so unhesitatingly and unlimitedly affirmed. That alarm was heightened when, for the discharge of a purely spiritual act, a Presbytery was summoned to the bar of the Civil Court and rebuked; and it received a full confirmation when the preaching of the Word and the administering of sacraments was prohibited in a whole district of the land. At an early stage of the conflict the paramount importance of the question as to the Church's spiritual jurisdiction revealed itself to his eye. It was when exercised in defence of the privileges of the people, that this jurisdiction had been in the first instance assailed, and the two topics of Non-Intrusion and spiritual independence had come thus to be implicated together. He was most anxious to distinguish and keep them separate, that its most proper place and its own right relative importance might be assigned to each. In principle he was opposed to all violent settlements as hurtful to the efficacy of the Christian ministry, and prejudicial to the interests of true religion. In no circumstances, and under no force of compulsion, would he ever have taken part or given any sanction to such an ordination as that of Mr. Edwards in the parish of Marnoch; but he was fully aware, notwithstanding, that the ideas prevalent in Scotland as to the nature of the pastoral relationship, and as to the conditions under which the Church should establish it, were to some extent peculiar to his country, and that what might be ruinous to the interests of religion there, might not have the same effect elsewhere, and that the obligations, therefore, resting upon the Church of Scotland might not rest equally upon all other Churches in all other circumstances. It was different with the other principle brought now into jeopardy. In his estimate it was a broad, a general, a universal truth, free from all accidents of place and time—a truth for all ages, and all countries, and all Churches—that how-

ever placed towards, and however indebted to the civil power, the Church of Christ, while giving her services, should never part with her liberties—while receiving State support, should never submit to State control, save in the disposal of the State's emoluments. It was the depth of this conviction which—when Lord Aberdeen, in a letter dated January 1840, referred to the "contempt and disobedience of the law" of which the Church, as he imagined, had been guilty—led Dr. Chalmers in reply to say—"I am quite sensible that the principles of our controversy are grievously misunderstood. The truth is, they have lain dormant for a century and a half, because they have never, during the whole of that period, been called forth by any disturbing force into exercise or manifestation; and so, excepting by ecclesiastics, they have been well-nigh forgotten. They are not, however, on that account less deeply seated in our own convictions, or less palpably, as we think, deponed to in the Word of God. They were once familiar even to the lay mind of almost the whole of Scotland, and we are sensible of a daily increasing number, now that public attention is turned to the question, who are beginning to perceive the sacredness of the principle that there are certain matters on which a Christian Church should be left untouched to its own power of internal regulation. If there be one assertion which I feel myself warranted to make with greater confidence than another, it is, that we have not rebelled, and that we have kept religiously within the limits of that ground on which the civil power ought to make no invasion. It is my profound feeling that the violence and illegality charged upon us are all chargeable upon the Court of Session, and that we have acquitted ourselves with the most exemplary moderation in the whole of this affair. In strict ecclesiastical propriety, the Strathbogie ministers, instead of being suspended, should have been deposed, and I fear will be deposed by next Assembly, in consequence of their disobedience, if not anticipated by a final settlement of the question." It was the same profound conviction which led him, in opening the debate on Lord Aberdeen's Bill in the General Assembly, to speak as follows:—

"Now, Sir, looking on this part of our case, keeping a stedfast eye on the question of our spiritual independence, and putting out of view for a moment the question of Non-Intrusion altogether, there are many, I trust very many, who think variously on the law of patronage and its modifications, and yet

would harmonize and enter into one conjunct and firm phalanx for the vindication of our Church's outraged privileges; and if ever there was a crisis in our history—ever a period of those manifold and sore controversies, among which from infancy our Church has been cradled, when courage and consistency have been more called for, it is the day on which we have now fallen —when the poison of false and hollow principle is undermining our strength from within, and thousands of our deadliest enemies from without are on the tiptoe of high expectancy for a coming overthrow. Sir, it is a leading principle of our Presbyterian constitution, that there is a distinct government in the Church, which the State of course must approve ere it confers upon us its own temporalities; or, in other words, that we have as uncontrolled a management of our own proper affairs as if we received not one farthing out of the national treasury; that when in the act of becoming an establishment, we, in the brief and emphatic deliverance of my friend Mr. Gray, 'gave them our services but not our liberties,' getting at their hands a maintenance for our clergy, and engaging in return for the Christian education of the people; a conjunction, we think, fruitful of innumerable blessings both to the Church and to society, but in which the value given is many hundredfold greater than the value received. Still, if the State be not satisfied with the bargain, they can at any time give us up. If, over and above our services in things spiritual, they must also have our submission in things spiritual, in these we have another Master, to whom, and to whom alone, we are responsible; and we utterly repudiate, as we should an accursed thing, the sacrilegious bribe that would tempt us from an allegiance to Him; for that in these things He has the sole and undivided mastery is a principle which lies at the very foundation of the Church of Scotland; and on her giving up this, as by the loosening of a corner or a key-stone, the whole fabric will tumble into ruins. The establishment of this, as the principle of our Church, is the peculiar glory of Scotland, the fruit of a hard-won victory, after the struggles and the persecutions of more than a hundred years. A principle which has cost us so much we are not now willing to let go; and if the State will insist on our surrender of it, or the forfeiture of our endowments, we are willing to try the experiment, and to brave the same cost over again. It is a principle, Sir, that we have not forgotten, though it has been renounced by a few declarationists among ourselves, and

though it has faded away from the recollections and the feelings of general society, like an old charter which might slumber in its repositories for generations, while its articles remain unbroken, but which the rude hand of violence will recall from its oblivion, and, quickening it anew into vigour and vitality, will bring back, as if by resurrection, on the face and to the observation of the world. It is even so with the grand, the fundamental principle of our Church—its own inherent liberty in things ecclesiastical—familiar as household words, Bishop Burnet tells us, even to the humblest of our peasantry, but which, suffered to lie quiet for a century and a half, because let alone, had ceased at one time to be spoken of, and so fallen away from the memory, even from the understandings, of men. From 1688 to 1838—from the time of the Revolution settlement to the time when the Court of Session gave forth its interdict against the Presbytery of Dunkeld in the case of Lethendy—no civil power ever attempted to interfere with the steps of our ecclesiastical procedure, or to meddle with our Establishment in aught but the temporalities which belong to her. It was the disturbance given then which has aroused the Church, and will at length arouse the nation, from its dormancy. It threw us back on the first elements of a question, which from the days of our great-grandfathers had been settled and set by. When conjured up again, it sounded like an antique paradox on many an ear; but minds are gradually opening to the truth and sacredness of our great principle, and we doubt not that the very agitations of this controversial period have flashed it more vividly and convincingly on the understandings of men than heretofore. Our ark is now in the midst of conflicting billows, but so that its flag is all the more unfurled by the storm which has raised them; and the inscription there, now spread forth and expanded in the gale, is making the motto of our Establishment patent to all eyes, that 'the Lord Jesus Christ is the only Head of the Church of Scotland.' Sir, we have nailed this colour to the mast, and will keep by it in all its fortunes, whether of tempest or of sunshine, through which the winds of heaven may carry it. The Lord Jesus Christ is the only Head of the Church of Scotland; that is the watchword of the party with whom I act; and is there none on the other side of the House to reiterate the cry? Yes, many, very many, perhaps all. And does not this justify the distinction of treatment that we are now making between the two questions of spiritual independence and of the Veto Law?

And the only other distinction I would press in the opposite quarter, from which we have now heard a response so cheering, is that which obtains between a declaratory and an effective proposition. You nobly join us in the declaratory; will you join us in the effective? I have the proud confidence that a goodly number of you will; and furthermore, that you will assert by deeds as well as words, the great principle on which we stand. We may break into a thousand differences on the Veto Law; of the sacred liberties of our Church there will be no surrender."

There were strong grounds for this appeal to the Moderate party in the Church. Between them and their evangelical brethren there were many differences on questions of ecclesiastical policy, but as yet there had been no difference as to the Church's spiritual independence. It might be difficult to convince politicians—doubly difficult to convince those who, born and educated in England, had imbibed the Anglican ideas as to the relationship between Church and State; but could there be any difficulty in convincing Scottish clergymen, acquainted with the past struggles and victories of their Church, that resistance to the recent interferences of the Court of Session was constitutional and valid? When the Lethendy interdict was issued, it was condemned by an almost unanimous Commission. When the last Strathbogie interdict was issued, the Presbytery of Edinburgh, without a dissentient voice, disapproved of it. The Moderates disliked the introduction of the popular element into the Church, conceiving that it served to vitiate its character. Leaving the majority, however, to fight their own battle of Non-Intrusion—a battle in which they could give no help—it would have been consistent with all their former principles and practice, it would have been a wise and generous policy for them to pursue, had they joined in the conflict for the protection of the Church's spiritual liberties. With a minority sanctioning the procedure of the Civil Courts, and with the hope held out that the majority would finally break down, the British Parliament might feel free to take its own course. But if the Church had presented an unbroken front of resistance, her liberties had been saved. Even after the Moderate party had come to think that the Civil Courts were in the right, and the Church was in the wrong, there was one weighty consideration by which their procedure might have been affected. Let the liberty now asserted as belonging by birthright to the Church be conceded to

her, their position remained unchanged; let it be refused, and the evangelical majority must either renounce their principles or withdraw from the Establishment. The Moderates would have deserved well of their Church and country if they had withheld their hand from helping to precipitate such a crisis. It had been a deed of highest patriotism, if, to avert it, they had sacrificed the immediate hope of regaining a lost ascendency. But they decided otherwise.

The course which they had resolved to follow was sufficiently indicated when the case of the Strathbogie ministers came before the General Assembly of this year. The first step taken by the Assembly, in dealing with these clergymen, was to appoint a Committee to hold a private conference with them. This Committee, while reporting in the strongest terms as to the kindly and Christian spirit which their brethren had manifested in the course of this conference, had yet the painful duty to announce that they would neither confess to past error, nor give assurance of future submission to the Church's Judicatories. The Assembly, in consequence of this, resolved that the sentence of suspension should be continued; that these clergymen should be cited to appear personally before the Commission in August; that, if they continued contumacious, they should then be served with a libel, with a view to deposition; but that the Commission should proceed no farther than to make the case ready for the decision of next General Assembly. The final sentence was deferred thus for a year, in the course of which it was hoped that some event might occur which would remove the necessity of passing it. In opposition to the motion which became the judgment of the Church, Dr. Cook, followed by all his party, moved, that as the Commission had exceeded its powers, its sentence of suspension and all proceedings connected therewith, should be held null and void. When the competency of the Commission was affirmed, he then moved again, that as these clergymen had done nothing that was censurable, the sentence should be removed, and they be at once restored to the full exercise of their ministry. It was not, however, till their reasons of dissent from the final judgment of the Court was laid upon the table, that it was known how far the Moderate party were now prepared to go. These reasons not only affirmed that the conduct of the seven ministers, in taking their orders from the civil rather than from the ecclesiastical court, was "conformable to the clearest principles of reason, and the express injunc-

tions of Scripture," but that, in the judgment of the dissentients, the sentence passed upon them was "unconstitutional, illegal, and invalid." Let but one step more be taken; let the dissentients act upon the opinion thus expressed, by holding ministerial communion with these clergymen, and the Church would have been forced to deal with them all as she had dealt with the seven. The bold measure of forcing this alternative at once upon the Church appears to have been contemplated. "If no steps are taken," said Lord Aberdeen, on the 16th June, in moving the second reading of his Bill, "for the settlement of this question before the month of August, a great and lamentable schism will take place in the Church, for a large body of ministers will then announce their intention not to obey the orders of the Assembly." A few days after this information was given to the House of Lords, a private circular, signed by Dr. Cook and others, was sent among their friends, inviting them to form an association, based upon the reasons of dissent already alluded to, and requesting that a general meeting, for the purpose of maturing the plans of this association, should be held in Edinburgh on the morning of the 12th August, the very day on which the Commission was to meet. They were emboldened to take strong steps, by the strong support of that great party into whose hands it was now evident that the ruling power of the State was speedily to pass. More than three-fourths of the evangelical clergymen of the Establishment were at this time Conservatives—the Conservatism of many of them due to the unfriendly, or, as they thought, hostile policy of the Whigs in relation to the ecclesiastical establishments of the empire, and to the strong assurances which they were in every way encouraged to cherish, that from their political opponents they would experience a steady and generous friendship. If Dr. Chalmers was not thrown into any close connexion with the leaders of that party, his intercourse with them, such as it was, was fitted certainly to generate the hope that the evangelical interest, which he represented, would experience no hostile treatment at their hands. But, from the time that Lord Aberdeen's Bill was rejected, the political friendship of the Conservatives was withdrawn from his party in the Church. Lord Aberdeen, to whom the conduct of the Scotch Church question in Parliament was committed by his political associates, appears at first to have recoiled into irritation and antipathy. Even after the verdict of the General Assembly had been delivered, he carried the

second reading of his Bill by a large majority in the House of Lords; and when presenting a petition from the Strathbogie ministers a few days afterwards, he took occasion to tell the House, that "the fact was that the General Assembly was governed by a few ambitious lawyers, and he had no doubt if the measure to which he alluded (his own Bill) were allowed to pass, that the great body of the clergy would acquiesce in its provisions"—that is, that they would act otherwise than they had voted. And when, on the 10th July, he finally withdrew his Bill, he was at pains to say, that it was not because of the objections taken to it by the General Assembly, but because of the opposition of the Government, that he had not pressed it further. He expressed, at the same time, in the strongest terms, his sympathy with the seven ministers of Strathbogie, whose case he stated at some length to the House—their conduct in obeying the Court of Session he highly applauded—and so severe was his censure of those who had violated the interdicts forbidding them to preach, that he went even the length of saying, that "there were some of the intruders that he should not object to see imprisoned." Sir Robert Peel, if not so severe, was scarcely less explicit. On the 27th July, on a vote for defraying the expense of building a new hall for the General Assembly, he took the opportunity of giving the first public expression of his judgment. It was calm and dignified, but authoritative and dictatorial. "He regretted that the Church of Scotland had placed itself in opposition to the State," and "had not felt the pre-eminent obligation of setting an example to all the subjects of Her Majesty in Scotland of paying implicit deference to the law." "He was exceedingly sorry that the Bill introduced into the House of Lords was not to receive the sanction of the Legislature. If it had come to that House of Parliament it should have had his cordial support. He could conceive that bills might pass the House introducing more of the principle of popular election into the choice of ministers—he could conceive that to be possible; but he was quite certain that no bill containing terms more favourable to ecclesiastical authority would ever pass. The spiritual authority now claimed by the Church of Scotland he believed to be unjust and illegal, and he would not for the purpose of conciliation give his support to it. He wished to say nothing that could at all prejudice a conciliatory settlement of this question; but the best evidence he could offer to the Church of Scotland of his regard and respect

was to take this opportunity of inculcating upon its authorities a giving up of their personal feelings and a strict obedience to the law." This counsel was repeated in various forms, and the echo of it was still ringing in his ears when Dr. Chalmers joined his brethren at the August meeting of Commission. The rumours of an insubordination about to break out into some wide display had drawn together such a number both of members and auditors that they had to adjourn from the Assembly Hall to the Tron Church, and to that crowded audience Dr. Chalmers addressed these words:—

"We must stand out against this series of aggressions thus rising in magnitude one above the other, else the most sacred of the Church's territories, the very innermost recesses of her sanctuary, will lie open to invasion and be trodden under foot. I know the obloquy which will be heaped upon us; I have heard the odious names which are given to this resistance, and am prepared for them. If not an impartial public, at least an impartial posterity will judge aright between us and our adversaries, and tell whether it is we who have been the rebels, or they who have been the persecutors. And here I may say one word in reference to those who express the hope, and I observe that Sir Robert Peel is among the number, that we shall give up our personal feelings and submit. What these personal feelings are he has not specified, whether irritation or a false sense of honour—the pride of men who have committed themselves and gone too far to retract without shame and degradation. Never was an appeal made so utterly wide of the object to sensibilities which have no existence, or if they have, it is in so slight a degree that they are overshadowed by principles of such depth and height, and length and breadth, as to engross and occupy the whole man. These principles, whether comprehended or not by our adversaries, are the only moving forces that tell or have told on the proceedings of the General Assembly. The free jurisdiction of the Church in things spiritual—the Headship of Christ—the authority of His Bible as the great statute-book, not to be lorded over by any power on earth—a deference to our own standards in all that is ecclesiastial—and what is more, a submission unexcepted and entire to the civil law in all that is civil;—these are our principles—*these*, and not personal feelings, are what you ask us to give up, by giving in to those adversaries, who have put forth an unhallowed hand upon them. And is there no room for a similar appeal being made to them?

Have *they* no personal feelings in this matter—no feeling of ignominy in the anticipation of defeat—no feeling of triumph in the anticipation of victory—no mortification of disappointed vanity should their own battle-cry, 'that what firmness has done before it will do again,'* be rolled back by a resolute and unyielding Church on the head of her haughty persecutors?"

This sentence, falling with overpowering effect upon the audience, had scarce been uttered when a member of the Court abruptly and impetuously called Dr. Chalmers to order. What the rock is to the rolling billow which breaks on it, this interruption was to that swelling tide of popular emotion which, rising high above it, burst into a tumultuous expression of approbation. For a few minutes the voice of no speaker could be heard. With recovered breath and reanimated enthusiasm Dr. Chalmers continued his appeal.

"Is there no inward chagrin among Parliamentary friends who now mourn over their own abortive attempts at legislation; and, let me add, is there no sense of offended dignity among the functionaries of the law, should it be found that law—no impossible thing, surely—has for once in 150 years gone beyond its sphere? Which of these two rival elements, we ask, in all conscience and equity, ought to give way? whether the feelings of men who, free from all hazard, lose nothing, in whatever way the contest is terminated, or the principles of men who risk their all for these principles, and who, though many of them now in the winter of life, will, rather than abandon them, brave the prospect of being driven from their comfortable homes, and cast with their helpless and houseless families on the wide world? I ask, is it well for Sir Robert, from his elevated station and seat of silken security, to deal forth such a lesson to the Church and the people of Scotland; and while he spares the patrician. the lordly feelings of all in rank or in office who have leagued to bear us down, to make no allowance for the consciences of men who, though humble in condition yet high in sentiment, are, like their fathers before them, prepared to renounce all for the integrity of that Church which is at once the glory and the bulwark of our nation?"

* The phrase used by the Dean of Faculty in his pamphlet.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PUBLICATION OF DR. ALISON'S PAMPHLET ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR LAWS IN SCOTLAND—DR. CHALMERS'S EFFORTS TO NEUTRALIZE THE EFFECTS OF THIS PUBLICATION—DISCUSSION AT THE MEETING OF THE BRITISH SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION HELD AT GLASGOW IN SEPTEMBER 1840 — PUBLICATION OF A VOLUME ON "THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM WITHOUT A POOR-RATE FOR THE RIGHT MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR"—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. THOMAS CARLYLE AND PROFESSOR DUNCAN — LECTURES TO THE MECHANICS OF GREENOCK ON THE LAWS AND PHENOMENA OF HEAT.

Dr. Chalmers's attention was now for a time diverted from this harassing warfare of the Church to a subject which, at an earlier period, had engrossed his thoughts.

That great change in the administration of the Scottish Poor Laws which took place in 1844, sprung from the publication in 1840 of a pamphlet by Dr. Alison. It may be doubted whether any similar production was ever followed by like speedy, extensive, and permanent effects. It owed much of its power to the simple, manly, earnest, and devoted philanthropy of its author. By accurate and well-digested statistical details, he fixed in the public memory the fact that Glasgow and Edinburgh exhibited a higher rate of mortality than any of the great towns in England or on the Continent. The fearful ravages of fever and other epidemics he attributed to the squalor and poverty prevalent in those wretched abodes whose inmates were hurried in hundreds to a premature grave. The extreme destitution suffered in so many instances to exist, without any attempt to relieve it, was faithfully delineated, while, in a tone the most fitted to make it felt, the startling announcement was made, that the "higher ranks in Scotland do much less for the relief of poverty, and of sufferings resulting from it, than those of any other country in Europe which is really well regulated." As the only effective remedy for all the evils which he had so patiently investigated, and so impressively exposed, Dr. Alison proposed that assessments for the poor should be levied uniformly and universally over the country; that the amount raised in this way should be increased from £150,000 to about £800,000

annually; and that a portion of these funds should be applied to the relief of indigence arising from want of employment. A general and generous, though, in Dr. Chalmers's judgment, a hasty and thoughtless response, was given to Dr. Alison's appeal. A demand was made for an investigation, to be conducted by public authority, with a view to demonstrate the failure of the existing system, and the necessity for the proposed alterations. A vigorous association was formed for the purpose of carrying out these views, and in a few years they were embodied in an act of the Legislature. In 1834, the English Commissioners, upon whose Report the Poor-Law Amendment Bill was founded, had eulogized the "admirable practice" of the Scottish system, and had pointed to Scotland as "that part of the United Kingdom where the local management and maintenance of the poor has been best conducted:" in 1840, Scotchmen became enamoured of the "admirable practice" which prevailed across the Border, and allowed themselves to be convinced that their country was that part of the United Kingdom in which the management of the poor was worst conducted. Dr. Chalmers had laboured long and earnestly to give a directly opposite tendency to the current of public opinion, not without considerable success; and it was not to be expected that he should witness such a sudden revulsion of the public sentiment without an attempt to check it. The meeting of the "British Association" at Glasgow, in September 1840, afforded him an opportunity of bringing forward his own views and proposals in opposition to those of Dr. Alison. It was an open stage, on which they might fairly meet and subject their differences to amicable discussion. No lack of public interest was manifested. When the day arrived on which the topic was to be discussed, the room in which the Statistical section of the Association ordinarily assembled was found too small, and an adjournment took place to an adjoining church. Nothing new, however, was added to what had already been brought before the public; and the discussion terminated without any effective check being put upon the Edinburgh movement. Unsatisfied with the result, Dr. Chalmers resolved to make a final effort to set forth the sufficiency of the parochial system without a poor-rate for the right management of the poor. This was done, in the first instance, in a series of occasional lectures, delivered to the students of Theology, during the session 1840-41; and which soon after their delivery were embodied in a publication, forming the twenty-first volume of his works.

Desirous to render this volume a complete and compendious exposition of the parochial system as the only effective remedy for pauperism, he brought together in the Appendix all those extracts from his former writings which bore most effectively on the subject. Dr. Chalmers sent a copy of this work to upwards of a hundred "public and parliamentary men," accompanying each copy with a letter from himself. From the large bundle of these letters and their answers we select a single specimen :—

"Burntisland, *September* 29, 1841.

"My dear Sir,—My immediate object in writing to you is to announce the liberty I have taken in sending you a copy of the work I have published the other day on Pauperism. I had read your 'Chartism' with the greatest interest, and have endeavoured, however feebly, to express my sense of its merits. My chief anxiety is for the insertion of a permissive clause in the new Poor-Law Bill, which might empower parishes to commence the retracing process to the better order of things without being fettered by the general provisions of the Bill. Could I obtain the concurrence of yourself and other literary and influential men of London in this view, it might go far in securing the object which I have had at heart, and for which I have now laboured more than a quarter of a century.—I am, yours most truly, Thomas Chalmers.

"To Thomas Carlyle, Esq."

"5, Cheyne Row, Chelsea, London, *October* 11, 1841.

"My dear Sir,—The book you have honoured me by sending, and the letter along with it, arrived here two days ago. Allow me to return many kind thanks for this attention. I am glad and proud to be remembered by one who is always memorable to me, and memorable to all the world, whether they have seen or have not seen him.

"A wholesome, grateful air of hope, brotherly kindness, cheerful sagacity, salutes me from this book as I eagerly glance over it: to read it with care, as I purpose shortly to do, will be no task for me, but a pleasure. One is sure beforehand of finding much, very much, that one must at once and zealously assent to; and slower assent, doubt, examination—nay, ultimate dissent itself (turning only on the application and details) can but render a beautiful deeper basis of agreement more visible. It seems to me a great truth this fundamental principle of yours,

which I trace as the origin of all these hopes, endeavours, and convictions in regard to Pauperism, that human things cannot stand on selfishness, mechanical utilities, economics, and law-courts; that if there be not a religious element in the relations of men, such relations are miserable and doomed to ruin. A poor-law can be no lasting remedy; the poor and the rich, when once the naked parts of their condition come into collision, cannot long live together upon a poor-law! Solely as a sad transitionary palliative against still fiercer miseries and insupportabilities can it pretend to recommend itself, till something better be vouchsafed us with *true* healing under its wings!

"Alas! the poor of this country seem to me, in these years, to be fast becoming the miserablest of all sorts of men. Black slaves in South Carolina, I do believe, deserve pity enough; but the Black is at least not stranded, cast ashore, from the stream of human interests, and left to perish there: he is connected with human interests, *belongs* to those above him, if only as a slave. Blacks, too, I suppose, are cased in a beneficent wrappage of stupidity and insensibility: one pallid Paisley weaver, with the sight of his famishing children round him, with the memory of his decent independent father before him, has probably more wretchedness in his single heart than a hundred Blacks. Did you observe the late trial at Stockport, in Cheshire, of a human father and human mother, for poisoning three of their children, to gain successively some £3, 8s. from a Burial Society for each of them! A barrister of my acquaintance, who goes that circuit, informs me positively that the official people durst not go farther into this business; that this case was by no means a solitary one there; that, on the whole, they thought it good to close up the matter swiftly again from the light of day, and investigate it no deeper. 'The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children!' Such a state of matters cannot subsist under the firmament of Heaven: such a state of matters will remedy itself as God lives—remedy itself, if not by mild means, then by fierce and fiercest!

"That you, with your generous hopeful heart, believe there may still exist in our actual Churches enough of divine fire to awaken the supine rich and the degraded poor, and act victoriously against such a mass of pressing and ever-accumulating evils—alas! what worse could be said of this by the bitterest opponent of it, than that it is a noble hoping against hope, a noble, strenuous determination to gather from the dry deciduous

tree what the green alone could yield? Surely, for those that have still such a faith, I will vote that they should have all possible room to try it in. With a Chalmers in every British parish much might be possible! But alas! what assurance is there that in any one British parish there will ever be another?

"But enough of this. Go as it may, your labours in this matter are not lost—no jot of them is lost. Nay, in one shape or another, as I believe, the thing that you advocate must verily realize itself in this earth—across what famines, poor-laws, convulsions, and embroiled strugglings, is not known to man. My prayer is, that a voice so humane, so true and wise, may long be heard in this debate, and attentively laid to heart on all sides.

"With many kind wishes for you and yours, with lasting esteem and regard, I remain, my dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

THOMAS CARLYLE."

Neither, however, did the publication of Dr. Chalmers's volume avail to arrest the recent Scottish movement. Public sympathy had been fairly roused, and when once roused it is impatient of inaction. Two remedies were presented to it—the moral and the pecuniary. The one, slow in operation, and relying upon influences the efficacy of which men are not ready to appreciate; the other offering an immediate, and, as it was affirmed, a satisfactory issue. The one was seized on which gave the quickest promise of success. Without entering upon any estimate of their comparative merits, we may refer simply to the fact, that at this period (1840) there were 643 non-assessed, and 236 assessed parishes in Scotland; the non-assessed containing a population of 1,178,280, the assessed a population of 1,137,646; the annual expenditure being, in the non-assessed, £48,769, 5s. 4d., in the assessed, £91,736, 16s.; the number of paupers relative to the whole population being almost exactly the same in the two classes of parishes. Had the destitution of which Dr. Alison complained been due to the insufficient allowances afforded under the Scottish Poor-Law, the smaller the allowance the greater should have been the destitution. But it was precisely the reverse. Upon the same number of paupers twice as much was expended in the assessed as in the non-assessed parishes, and yet the destitution in the former was incalculably greater. It was, in fact, from the assessed parishes that almost all Dr. Alison's instances were drawn. Should

not the fair conclusion from these facts be, that the size of the parish had more to do with the destitution than the amount of the assessment? In two hundred assessed there were as many people as in 600 unassessed; and even that general average gave no correct idea of the overgrowth of population in the parishes where the deepest destitution was found. Had the Scottish ecclesiastical apparatus been but sufficiently extended, by opening up a thousand channels for the benevolence of the rich flowing in upon the necessities of the poor, it would have done as much at least as larger assessments have yet done, while rendering a service at the same time in the way of prevention which the rival system pretends not to furnish. Dr. Chalmers asked only £10,000 a year, and offered in return the gratuitous services of 200 clergymen and 1200 laymen to aid in the management of the poor. Had £50,000 been given he could have doubled the agency which the whole Establishment supplied. Every large and every over-populous parish could have been broken down into small districts, and putting aside all the higher blessings conveyed by the ministrations of the Gospel of peace to the rude and godless masses, there would have been less destitution than now exists (for destitution to some extent, the destitution springing from reckless extravagance and vice, will exist under any system); and yet Scotland pays now to support her paupers upwards of £500,000 per annum.

Professor Duncan of St. Andrews, to whom Dr. Chalmers had sent a copy of his volume on the Parochial Economy, suggested the objection that the system pursued in Glasgow had not been imitated elsewhere, and invited him to write a brief explanation on this point. With that playful freedom used always in addressing Mr. Duncan, Dr. Chalmers writes:—

"Edinburgh, *October* 27, 1841.

"My dear Sir,—I am much disappointed with your letter. I write not in jest, but in sad and solemn earnest. You grounded an objection to my system on the fact of its not being followed by others, which is to say, that after being satisfied with the scheme, when brought to the standard of reason and experience, as you profess in the present instance to have done, you will then refer to another standard—that is, the opinion of men blind and prejudiced; or, in other words, after it has made full proof of its own absolute soundness, it must be rejected because it happens to be surrounded by a number of dunderheads. . . .

"I have met with nothing that has made me so heartless and despairing since I read Alison on 'Population.' If he, a literary man, on the spot, with the thing before his eyes, and you, a literary man, at a distance, with the thing set in true description before you, can still shut your eyes, not to the reasons but to the facts of the case—pray, where is my encouragement to writing any more about it, or for composing that address which you, with such glaring incongruity, recommend to me? I will write no more, and have had enough of vexation and annoyance in this weary struggle of a quarter of a century to make me cease from men, and betake myself to some of those purer and higher regions of thought where the provocations of all further controversy with hasty and superficial thinkers will not reach me.* I have no heart to speak and write the same things a thousand and one times. Oh! that is wearisome, wearisome, wearisome! I am, my dear Sir, your dejected and disconsolate friend,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

While at Glasgow during the meeting of the British Association in September 1840, Dr. Chalmers had the privilege of being present and taking a prominent part at a dinner given by the friends of the Church to the Marquess of Breadalbane, the only Scottish Peer true from first to last, in sunshine and in storm, within and without the Establishment, to the principles of the Scottish Church. There was another engagement of old date which Dr. Chalmers took the opportunity of his stay in the west of Scotland to liquidate. The reader may remember, that when on his Church Extension tour in the autumn

* "*Sabbath, December* 12, 1841.—The passage respecting Babel should not be without an humble and wholesome effect upon my spirit. I have been set on the erection of my Babel—on the establishment of at least two great objects, which, however right in themselves, become the mere idols of a fond and proud imagination, in as far as they are not prosecuted with a feeling of dependence upon God and a supreme desire after His glory. These two objects are the deliverance of our empire from pauperism, and the establishment of an adequate machinery for the Christian and general instruction of our whole population. I am sure that in the advancement of these I have not taken God enough along with me, and trusted more to my own arguments and combinations among my fellows than to prayers There has been no confounding of tongues to prevent a common understanding, so indispensable to that co-operation without which there can be no success, but without this miracle my views have been marvellously impeded by a diversity of opinions, as great as if it had been brought on by a diversity of language. The barriers in the way of access to other men's minds have been as obstinate and unyielding as if I had spoken to them in foreign speech; and though I cannot resign my convictions, I must now,—and surely it is good to be so taught,—I must now, under the experimental sense of my own helplessness, acknowledge, with all humility, yet with hope in the efficacy of a blessing from on high still in reserve for the day of God's own appointed time, that except 'the Lord build the house the builders build in vain.' In Thine own good time, Almighty Father, regenerate this earth, and gather its people into one happy harmonious family."—See Dr. Chalmers's "Horæ Sabbaticæ," vol. ii. pp. 17. 18.

of 1838, he had visited Greenock. He was asked at that time by the president and managers of the Mechanics' Institute to deliver a lecture on Education. He was so gratified by the request that he wrote the following reply:—

"GOUROCK, *September* 8, 1838.

"DEAR SIR,—It is with very great regret that I feel myself compelled by circumstances to decline for the present the request by which you have honoured me. You do me no more than justice when you count on the interest which I feel in everything connected with the improvement and comfort of our working-classes; and had it not been for the weight and variety of engagements, which will occupy me, I fear, for many months to come, I should have instantly betaken myself to the preparation, and that with a view to the delivery, of such a lecture as you have done me the honour to propose.

"I am the more gratified by your application for a public address on the subject of education, that I flatter myself you have made it in the knowledge, or at least with a pretty confident belief of my principles on this subject. The truth is, that I look upon no system of education as available for the wellbeing either of individuals or of society at large which is not based upon religion, and I deprecate the attempts which are now making to dissever the Christianity from the scholarship of our people; so that while I rejoice in observing that the *moral* improvement of those who attend it is one great object of your Institution, I do so consistently with my firm persuasion that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is the most efficient and powerful of all moralizers.

"On the other hand, let this principle be conceded to me, and let our primary or parish schools be protected and placed beyond the reach of the infidel or semi-infidel spirit of the times, and nothing would delight me more than the multiplication and prosperity of well-conducted Mechanics' Institutes all over the land. I have no sympathy whatever with those who would grudge our workmen and our common people the very highest scientific acquisitions which their taste, or their time, or their inclinations would lead them to realize; for next to the salvation of their souls, I certainly say that the object of my fondest aspirations is the moral and intellectual, and, as a sure consequence of this, the economical advancement of the working-classes, the one object which of all others in the wide range of political

speculation, is the one which should be dearest to the heart of every philanthropist and every true patriot.

"Such being my views, you will understand the cordial interest I feel in the subject of your communication. I dare not undertake any additional extra work during the present, or even the whole of next summer; but if beyond these periods I am spared, and in circumstances for entering on such a walk of exertion, I hereby promise that I shall make a commencement with one, and should they allow me, I would, if able, like it better with two, three, or more lectures to the mechanics of Greenock.

"With my earnest prayers to the Giver of all blessings for the best and highest interests both of themselves and of their families, I entreat you to believe me, dear Sir, yours most respectfully and sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The promise made in this letter was never forgotten, and on resolving to attend the British Association, he resolved at the same time to fulfil it. In preparation for this, after the bustle of the General Assembly of 1840 was over, and he had returned to Burntisland, he reverted to the studies of his youth, supplied himself with a small chemical apparatus, and to his own family and a few friends gave an evening series of familiar lectures on chemistry. Unsatisfied, however, with his own capabilities to do full justice to the subject, he asked Dr. Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy in St. Andrews, to accompany him to Greenock. An unfortunate circumstance, referred to in the following letter, had nearly disarranged all when on the eve of execution:—

"GLASGOW, 113, N. MONTROSE STREET,
September 22, 1840.

"DEAR SIR,—You are aware of the invitation given me two years ago by the mechanics of Greenock, and of the promise made by myself that I should deliver in their hearing a lecture on education.

"I have never lost sight of this engagement. I have corresponded on the subject with your predecessor in office; and my communications latterly have been more frequent as the time drew near for carrying the engagement into effect. It was at length settled that I should give my lecture on the evening of Monday the 28th, and that it should be followed up by a brief lectureship for some subsequent nights on the laws and phenomena of heat, as affording a specimen of one branch of education,

at least—the education of science. For the better execution of this additional and extended part of the scheme, I have procured the invaluable assistance of my friend Dr. Anderson, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, who is now in Glasgow, and has brought with him an apparatus, part of it obtained from England, for the purpose of elucidating some of the most recent discoveries. In short, all was in a state of forwardness for the execution of our purposes, and we fixed on Saturday last for an interview with two of your own number, that we might arrange the details.

"Meanwhile, on the Friday preceding—that is, on the 18th of this month, or four days ago—we were informed for the first time of another arrangement by a hand-bill from Greenock, which announces the opening of your Mechanics' Institution on Monday the 21st, under the auspices of the three following gentlemen, who are to address the meeting on subjects connected with the diffusion of knowledge and the improvement of mankind, viz., James Simpson, Esq., advocate, George Combe, Esq., and the Rev. Patrick Brewster; and all this previous only by a few days to my own lectureship, and which you have now been looking forward to for two years, on the subject of education.

"I will not enter on the consideration here of the principles of any of these gentlemen, though I have been told by others of a discrepancy so wide and palpable between their views and my own, that the proposal of such an opening for your Institution, when looked to in all its circumstances, might be regarded by some in no other light than as a personal and practical insult to myself. I will not entertain this feeling. Your own explanations of Saturday have led me to dismiss any idea of this kind from my thoughts. I will say further, that no provocation could ever have made me insensible to the obligation of my own promise. I feel it due to myself, provided the explanations I now give are previously acquiesced in by the mechanics, and laid before the public of your town, to do all I have undertaken to do; and still more do I feel it due to the sacred cause of a Christian and Bible education not to retire from the arena of its proposed advocacy, even though the most inveterate opponents of this cause, unknown to myself, and long subsequent to the task having been put into my hands, should have been invited to enter the field before me.

"It has now become indispensable that I and the mechanics, as well as the general community of Greenock, should under-

stand each other. The object of my appearance among you will be to protest against any system which would dissociate religion from scholarship, and to offer in my preliminary lecture the proofs and considerations on which I hold that, from the first dawnings of a conscience and understanding in children, they ought to be plied under the roof of their parents with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, and ought to be presented with the same lessons not only at church upon the Sundays, but in scriptural schools throughout the week. And though in the subsequent lectures to be given conjointly by Dr. Anderson and myself the time will be chiefly taken up with the demonstrations and experiments of natural science, this will not exclude my special office, which shall be not only to point out the theology that might be educed from the glories of the Divine workmanship, but if possible to neutralize the mischief that flows from but a little learning, which, when unaccompanied with certain principles and considerations that I shall endeavour to urge upon my hearers, is indeed a dangerous thing. I hold that this maxim of the poet admits of being disarmed, so as that even a little learning, instead of a dangerous, shall become a profitable thing, at once accordant with the modesty of true science, and with the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It shall be my assiduous endeavour, if I come amongst you, to impress on the minds of those who shall honour me with their attendance the little proportion which all that is or can be known bears to all that in our present state must remain for ever unknown, so as if possible to convince you that with every footstep of growing knowledge there ought to be a growing humility—that best guarantee both for a sound philosophy and a sound faith.

"May I beg that you will lay this communication before the members of your Committee previous to its appearance in the Greenock newspaper of Friday, after which, if no fresh obstacle be interposed, I shall find my way quite open to the place of delivery for my first lecture on the evening of Monday, when I hope to have a pacific and cordial meeting with you all.—I have the honour to be, dear Sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"MR. ALEX. MUIR."

A satisfactory explanation was offered, and Dr. Chalmers regarded the publication of his letter in one of the Greenock newspapers as sufficiently exonerating him from giving any

sanction to the educational views held by his predecessors. Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Anderson lectured on alternate evenings; Dr. Chalmers's first lecture, on the Education of Principle, being delivered on Monday the 28th September; his second and third, on the Laws and Phenomena of Heat, on the Wednesday and Friday following. It was an occupation altogether to Dr. Chalmers's heart, and on his return to Edinburgh he wrote to the Rev. Dr. Macfarlan, requesting him to supply some memorials of this visit. "It would complete," he adds, "the record which I wish to preserve of a brief but very interesting passage of my journey through the world." He spent the Christmas holidays of the following winter with the writer of these pages in the parish of Skirling in Peebles-shire. In the village schoolroom, to the inhabitants of a remote hamlet, and with the help of a much humbler apparatus, the lectures on heat were repeated; nor have I ever seen him kindle into a truer enthusiasm than when, to that plain but intelligent audience, he illustrated the truth, that the wider man's knowledge becomes the deeper should be his humility; for the more he knows the more he sees of what remains still unknown. Taking the board on which the village children learnt their lessons in arithmetic, he drew upon it a circle. "Let that circle," he said, "represent the extent or compass of a man's knowledge—the region of light which he has conquered and made his own out of the surrounding kingdom of darkness. Each point in this circumference represents a question about that which is beyond and without, to which the man finds that he can give no answer. Enlarge the circle, and you multiply the number of such points. The more, therefore, the man enlarges his circle of light, he sees but the more of the darkness that lies all around: *the wider the diameter of light, the larger the circumference of darkness.*"

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DR. CHALMERS'S REJECTION FROM THE CHAIR OF THEOLOGY IN GLASGOW—NARRATIVE OF THE SETTLEMENT AT MARNOCH—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1841—THE DEPOSITION OF THE SEVEN SUSPENDED CLERGYMEN OF STRATHBOGIE—THE SERVING OF AN INDICTMENT ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—DR. CANDLISH'S NOMINATION TO THE CHAIR OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM SUPERSEDED—PROPOSAL BY MR. SMITH OF GREENOCK—THE DUKE OF ARGYLL'S BILL—STATEMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT BY THE MODERATE PARTY—MEETING OF THE COMMISSION IN AUGUST—FIRST PROSPECT OF THE DISRUPTION—FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BY SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR.

In August 1840, the Chair of Theology in the University of Glasgow became vacant. Although Dr. Chalmers would not present himself as a candidate, it was understood that if elected he would accept this Chair. The choice lay with the Senatus, and it was imagined that they would seize eagerly upon this opportunity of benefiting and adorning their University. A rival, however, appeared upon the field; a rival between whom and Dr. Chalmers it was not pretended that any comparison as to literary or professional qualifications could be instituted. He had, however, this claim upon the suffrages of the electors,—that while Dr. Chalmers had identified himself with the evangelical movement, his opponent had been a consistent supporter of the Moderate party in the Church. As the day* named for the election approached, a large share of public attention was fixed upon the result. The *Times*, and other leading London journals, warned the electors in no measured terms of the disgrace which they would incur, if, upon any such ground, the pre-eminent claims of Dr. Chalmers were set aside. Nevertheless, the electors rejected him; the same University which had refused the Chair of Logic to Edmund Burke, refusing that of Theology to Dr. Chalmers. There was one voter upon this occasion whose movements particularly attracted the public eye. Sir James Graham was at this time Lord Rector of the University; and in the eloquent eulogies of his inaugural address, to the illustrious names of Bacon, Newton, Locke, and Herschell, he had added

* 20th October 1840.

that of Dr. Chalmers, as worthy of the high association. His office gave him a vote in the election, and he undertook a journey to Glasgow for the purpose of opposing Dr. Chalmers's appointment. In ordinary circumstances this had been less noticeable, as indeed there would have been little likelihood of its having occurred. As things stood, however, coupled with the recent appearances of Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel in the two Houses of Parliament, it was a clear index of the extent to which the Moderate party in the Church might count upon Conservative support.

Their knowledge of this may have encouraged the seven suspended ministers of Strathbogie to take their final step. Disregarding the citation of the General Assembly, and meeting each fresh judgment of the ecclesiastical tribunal by a nullifying edict obtained from the Civil Court, they had proceeded to take Mr. Edwards upon trial, and had found him qualified. They hesitated, however, as to the act of ordination. They had acted hitherto upon the decision of the Court, that they were bound to disregard the dissent of the people, but as yet there had been no express order to ordain. Mr. Edwards supplied them with the authority under which they expressed their willingness to act, by instituting an action, in which he craved the Court of Session to issue an order to that effect. The question of the competency of the Civil Court to interfere directly with spiritual acts, was here stript of all attendant or accessory considerations. It might review the proceedings of a Presbytery, and pass judgment upon their legality; it might declare, as it had done, that the rejection of a presentee, on the sole ground of the people's opposition, was contrary to statute. All this, however, might be done for no other purpose than to determine the destination of the benefice, and yet the Court might not have felt itself entitled to do what was now asked—give an authoritative direction to ordain. No doubt, however, was felt, no hesitation manifested by the majority of the Judges. Seven clergymen, suspended by the Church—reponed by these Judges, declared by the one authority to be incapable of performing any official act—recognised by the other authority as the one and only Presbytery of Strathbogie, were "decerned and ordained to receive and admit" Mr. Edwards as minister of Marnoch. This order having been received, these ministers proceeded with all due despatch to execute it. The announcement of their resolution to do so, fastened the public eye upon the scene of their operations. The populous

parish of Marnoch forms part of Banffshire, lying in a secluded situation along the banks of the Deveron. Its quiet and orderly inhabitants lived far from the great centres of political and religious agitation. Awake, however, to their own and their families' spiritual interests, they had taken the liveliest concern in those proceedings now about to be brought to so strange a close. Having done much and perilled much for their protection, the Church waited in intense anxiety to see how, in a position so new and so peculiar, this people would comport themselves. Thursday, the 21st January 1841, was the day fixed for this extraordinary ordination. A heavy snow-gale had passed over the country, choking up the public roads, and covering the earth to the depth of two feet and upwards. Stormy, however, as Wednesday had been, and few more stormy days had been experienced for many years—deep as the snow lay on the face of the earth, and gathered as it was in large and almost impassable wreaths on every highway and byway in Banff and Aberdeenshire, early on Thursday morning little bands of men from all the neighbouring parishes, moving on in lines, the stoutest in advance breaking up a path for his companions who followed him, were seen wending their way to the church of Marnoch. In two or three carriages drawn by four horses each, the clerical actors and their law-agents were conveyed to the same spot. A singular assemblage was gathered there to greet their approach. Upon the trampled and slushy ground around the kirk, two thousand men were standing. The church-doors were opened, and the church was instantly and densely filled—thick groups gathering about doors and windows who could not obtain admittance. The lower part of the building was reserved for the parishioners, and the galleries for strangers. The court having been opened by prayer, the following dialogue occurred:

Mr. Murray, one of the elders of the parish.—"I wish to ask you by whose authority you have met here?"

The Rev. Mr. Thomson of Keith, the Moderator of the Presbytery.—"By the authority of the National Church, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Mr. Murray.—"Have you any proof to show that you came here by the authority of the National Church?"

Mr. Thomson.—"The meeting must be first constituted by the Clerk reading the minutes, and we shall then answer your question."

All the necessary documents having been read, the Moderator

remarked that they had one party at the bar, and asked if there were any other individuals who wished to appear as parties in the case. The question called up Mr. Murray, and the interrupted dialogue was resumed, the law-agents of the respective parties taking now a part in it.

Mr. Murray.—"Came you here by the authority of the General Assembly? I ask you that before answering your question."

Mr. Thomson.—"We will give any information to parties at the bar, but not to any other. Do you intend to sist yourself as a party at the bar?"

Mr. Murray.—"No, Sir; but, at any rate, I should first require to know by what authority you came here."

Mr. Peterkin of Edinburgh.—"It is utterly impossible that any person can be heard who does not appear as a party at the bar, and is entered on the minutes a party there."

Mr. Duncan.—"As agent for the elders, heads of families, and communicants of the parish of Marnoch, and particularly for Mr. Murray, I put again the question, which has been as yet refused an answer. We cannot appear as parties at your bar, till we are convinced of your authority."

Mr. Thomson.—"Although we do not admit the right of any party to question us on our authority for meeting here, yet I have no objection to say that we are here as the Presbytery of Strathbogie, a part of the National Church, assembled in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Mr. Duncan.—"Do you appear here by the authority of the General Assembly, or against its authority?"

Mr. Thomson.—"We are sent here as the Presbytery of Strathbogie, and under the protection of the law of the land."

Mr. Duncan.—"Do you give me no reply to my question?"

Mr. Thomson.—"No, no."

As the authority of the Presbytery was not recognised by the people, the only alternative left to Mr. Duncan was, as their agent, and in their name, to read two protests, the one signed by all the elders, and the other by four hundred and fifty communicants. In the first of these, the protesters, addressing themselves to the ministers, said, "It is with extreme pain and disappointment that your personal position as suspended ministers of the Church of Scotland precludes us from appearing before you to lodge objections against the settlement of Mr. Edwards, which have been prepared and are ready to be substantiated

before any competent Church Court. These objections we solemnly declare to be such, affecting as they do the qualifications, life, and doctrine of Mr. Edwards, as in our opinion, to cause his deposition even if he were an ordained minister, and to preclude him from admission in his character of a licentiate claiming ordination as presentee to our parish. . . . . We earnestly beg you to consider the above, and avoid the desecration of the ordinance of ordination; but if you shall venture to disregard this representation, we do solemnly, and as in the presence of the great Head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, repudiate and disown the pretended ordination of Mr. Edwards as minister of Marnoch. We deliberately declare, that if such proceedings could have any effect they must involve the most heinous guilt and fearful responsibility in reference to the dishonour done to religion, and the cruel injury to the spiritual interests of a united Christian congregation."

"Having read the protest," we quote now the words of an eye-witness, "Mr. Duncan said, 'As agent for the elders, male heads of families, and communicants of Marnoch, I have now only to say, that they take no further part in these unconstitutional proceedings. They wait a better time and another court. They can have no further business here, and they will, I believe, all accompany me from the church, and leave you to force a minister on a parish against the people's will, but with scarcely one of the parishioners to witness the deed.' The people of Marnoch immediately arose from their seats in the body of the church: old men, with heads white as the snow that lay deep on their native hills, the middle-aged, and the young who were but rising into life. Gathering up their Bibles and Psalm-books, which in country churches often remain there for half a century, they left the church once free to them and theirs, but now given up to the spoiler. They went out, many in tears, and all in grief. No word of disrespect or reproach escaped their lips. They went away in the strong conviction that their cause was with the most Powerful, and that with Him rested the redress of all their wrongs. Even those who sat in the pew—the only pew representing Intrusionism, were moved—they were awed. 'Will they all leave?' we heard some of them whispering. Yes, they all left, never to return."*

* Extracted from the "Aberdeen Banner," and from the able pen of its editor, Mr. Troup, whose admirable account of the Marnoch Intrusion was circulated widely over the country, and made a very deep impression.

When they left the church, the people of Marnoch assembled in a snowy hollow, at the foot of the hill on which the church was built, and having listened to a short address from Mr. Duncan, in which he strongly urged that everything should be done with order, unity, and peace, they separated, and, with a rare exercise of self-denial, retired to their different homes. The place left vacant by them in the church was immediately filled by a rush of strangers from without, and a disgraceful scene of riotous disorder ensued, which it required the presence of a magistrate to check. When peace had been restored, the act of ordination was completed. It was an ordination altogether unparalleled in the history of the Church, performed by a Presbytery of suspended clergymen, on a call by a single communicant, against the desire of the Patron, in face of the strenuous opposition of a united Christian congregation, in opposition to the express injunction of the General Assembly, at the sole bidding, and under the sole authority, of the Court of Session.

The conduct of the people, so decorous on the day of this ordination, was equally judicious and becoming afterwards. To provide for the existing emergency they resolved to erect a place of worship for themselves in a village three miles from the parish church, and where, whatever might be the issue, a church would be required. Many meetings were held over Scotland to express sympathy with them in their painful position, and to aid them in the erection of this church. It was matter of sincere regret to Dr. Chalmers that his state of health prevented his being present at the meeting which was held for this purpose in Edinburgh. In his letter of apology to the chairman, and contemplating the necessary effect of this ordination at Marnoch, he could not refrain from saying, "May Heaven at length open the eyes of those infatuated men who are now doing so much to hasten on a crisis which they will be the first to deplore, and we most certainly shall do nothing to prevent if at the expense of that adherence which we owe to our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, for whose supremacy in the Church we are willing to suffer all, casting the burden of our whole cares upon Him, and confident that out of these tribulations, He, in His own good time, will usher in the peace and the purity of better days." The same cause which detained Dr. Chalmers from this meeting prevented his coming forward publicly on behalf of the Church till the meeting of the General Assembly in May

1841, and but for the Strathbogie case he would not even have ventured to take any part in its proceedings. He restricted himself, however, to two appearances. The extreme difficulty which had been experienced in effecting any legal harmony between the claims of the patrons and the privileges of the people had gradually reconciled him to a public movement for the total abolition of lay patronage in the Church; and in the debate, which took place on Tuesday the 25th May, he gave expression to his somewhat altered sentiments on this subject. He retired from the Assembly as soon as he had spoken, reserving his strength for Thursday the 27th, the day on which the case of the suspended ministers was to come before the Court. These clergymen occupied that day in St. Andrew's Church a position very different from that which they had occupied in the church of Marnoch. The churches were equally crowded, but below, in place of the inhabitants of a quiet rural parish, the whole area was occupied by ministers and elders of the Church, while eager rows of students and citizens of the metropolis were seen piled up in the galleries, packing the space up to the very walls. Instead of calling others to their own bar, the suspended clergymen now stood at the bar of the General Assembly. It was a most distressing office which the Assembly had to discharge, and a sense of the momentous issues which hung suspended upon the execution of it inspired an unwonted solemnity. Dr. Chalmers was well aware that the act about to be performed would meet with the loudest condemnation from mere secular politicians, from all who could find no room in the commonwealth, no room even in the Church, for the supremacy of any other law than that which the civil tribunals of the country were instituted to interpret and enforce. He desired, therefore, not only to take his full share of the responsibility, but to place himself here in the front of the battle; and solemn prayer having been offered up for guidance from on high, he moved that the Assembly should, in the first instance, find that these clergymen had committed offences involving deposition. "We are told," he said, "by the friends of these gentlemen, that in all they have done they have been actuated by a sense of duty, or by the impulse of a conscience stirring within them, and which they found to be irresistible. We will not deny this, and we have no interest in denying it; but I would ask, when we deposed Mr. Irving the other year for an alleged heresy, did we make our decision turn upon his conscience? or did we take

evidence on the consciences of Mr. Maclean and Mr. Dow, when we took his license from the one, and his parochial charge from the other? or were we arrested by the conscience or the conscientiousness of that holy and excellent person, Mr. Campbell of Row, when we ejected him from his status as a minister of the Church of Scotland? Sir, I know not what the inward principle of the ministers of Strathbogie may have been, nor will I attempt any conjecture on this subject; but I do know, that when forbidden by their ecclesiastical superiors to proceed any further with Mr. Edwards, they took him upon trials; and when suspended from the functions of the sacred ministry by a Commission of the General Assembly, they continued to preach and to dispense the Sacraments—that they called in the aid of the civil power to back them in the exclusion from their respective parishes of clergymen appointed by the only competent Court to fulfil the office which they were no longer competent to discharge; and lastly, as if to crown and consummate this whole disobedience—as if to place the topstone on the Babel of their proud and rebellious defiance, I know that, to the scandal and astonishment of all Scotland, and with a daring which I believe themselves would have shrunk from at the outset of their headlong career, they put forth their unlicensed hands on the dread work of ordination; and as if in solemn mockery of the Church's most venerable forms, asked of the unhappy man who knelt before them if he promised 'to submit himself humbly and willingly, in the spirit of meekness, unto the admonitions of the brethren of the Presbytery, and to be subject to them and all other Presbyteries and superior judicatories of this Church;' and got back from him an affirmative response, along with the declaration that 'zeal for the honour of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls, were his great motives and chief inducements to enter into the functions of the holy ministry, and not worldly designs and interests.'* Sir, I repeat I am not able to go into the depth and the mysteries of men's consciences; but this I am able to perceive, that if in heresy this plea were sustained, the Church would be left without a creed; and that if in contumacy this plea were sustained, the Church would be left without a government, both doctrine and discipline would be given to the winds, and our National Church were bereft of all her virtue to uphold the Christianity

* From the questions put preparatory to ordination, the answers to which constitute the ordination vows.

of the nation, when thus helpless and degraded, she was alike unable to correct the errors, however deadly, or to control the waywardness, however pernicious and perverse, of her own children.

"The Church of Scotland can never give way, and will sooner give up her existence as a national establishment, than give up her power as a self-acting and self-regulating body, to do what in her judgment is best for the honour of the Redeemer and the interest of His kingdom upon earth. We can see no other alternative. If these men do not humble themselves, their deposition is inevitable. The Church of Scotland cannot tolerate, and what is more, it could not survive the scandal of quietly putting up with a delinquency so enormous as that into which these brethren have fallen. If the vindication of her outraged authority is indeed to be the precursor of her dissolution as a National Church—if, in the recent language of an offended nobleman within these walls—if this is to be the last knell of the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, only let the Legislature say so: and then let it be seen whether or not the Church of our fathers be prepared to abjure her connexion with the State, rather than, bereft of all her respect, and so of all her usefulness, she will submit to be vilified into a thing of nought."

Dr. Cook moved, in opposition, that all proceedings instituted against these clergymen should be set aside as incompetent, and that they should be declared to be in the same situation in all respects as if no such proceedings had ever taken place. The debate, which commenced early in the forenoon, was, after a brief adjournment, resumed in the evening, and lasted for nearly twelve hours. At its close, Dr. Chalmers's motion was carried by a majority of 97, in a house of 347 members. Immediately after the vote was taken, one of the suspended clergymen, on the part of himself and his brethren, read a statement to the House, in which they said—"We acknowledge that we owe all duty, and we are ready to yield all obedience, to the Church in all things lawful; but we cannot consent to violate the rights of others, or to assist in violating the law, or to abandon the duty which we owe to the State, merely because a majority of office-bearers in the Church have arbitrarily resolved to require it. . . . . We are here, then, to justify ourselves in the acts that are set forth in the libel." . . . Having read a lengthened justification of their conduct, they retired from the House. It was now long past midnight, and nothing remained but that the

solemn act of deposition should be performed. The Rev. Dr. Macfarlan of Greenock rose and said—"In the absence of my respected friend Dr. Chalmers"—it was known that Dr. Chalmers had retired immediately after he had spoken in the forenoon, and it was not imagined that at so late an hour he would be in the House. He had returned, however, and was sitting at this time in a remote part of the Church, unnoticed by those who were around the Moderator's chair. At the mention of his name, numerous intimations were made of his presence, and Dr. Macfarlan immediately gave way. Advancing to the table, amid the profound silence of the vast assemblage, Dr. Chalmers said—"I am sorry to find, from the resolute and unyielding appearance of the gentlemen at the bar, that there is now no alternative but to submit the following motion:—That the General Assembly, in respect of each of the said offences of which the said parties have respectively been found guilty as aforesaid, as each by itself involving deposition, do depose the said Messrs. John Cruickshank, William Cowie, William Allardyce, William Masson, James Walker, James Thomson, and James Alexander Cruickshank, from the office of the holy ministry." The motion passed without a vote; but before the sentence of deposition was pronounced, Dr. Cook read a protest in which, for himself and for as many as would join with him, it was declared—"We regard it as binding upon every member of a Church as established by law to be subject to the civil power in all matters declared by the supreme civil authorities of the country to affect temporal rights, and that for conscience' sake; and firmly convinced as we are that the said ministers have acted in conformity to this obligation, and that they have done nothing which is not sanctioned both by ecclesiastical and civil law, we cannot, without violating what we owe to the Church and State, cease to regard these men as still ministers, just as if the proceedings against them had never been instituted." Such a rush was made to sign this paper, that for a time the order of the House was broken, and its proceedings stopped. When quiet was restored, the Moderator, Dr. Gordon, called on the Rev. Dr. Brown of Glasgow to engage in prayer, after which he pronounced from the chair the solemn sentence of deposition. It was about three o'clock in the morning when the Assembly adjourned, the House remaining crowded to the last moment.

On assembling the following day, it was felt that the decla-

ration which had been laid on the table the night before, and which so many of the Moderate party had exhibited such eagerness to sign, was such, that if carried out in action, an immediate and total breach between the two parties was inevitable. Without pressing the matter as far as the character of the document appeared to demand, Mr. Dunlop moved that the Assembly should simply refuse to receive it. Dr. Cook intimated that he and his friends "had no desire to push the matter farther at present; they had no desire to take steps at present to follow out their opinions, and therefore he would not oppose the motion of his learned friend, that the protest be not received." The impending danger thus seemed to be postponed. On the evening, however, of the following day a new alarm was sounded, and the House was thrown into a state of extreme excitement. While a debate on the eldership was quietly proceeding, the Moderator interrupted the speaker to inform the Assembly that he had just received an intimation that a messenger-at-arms was waiting at the door to serve upon the Assembly an interdict against their proceeding to carry the sentence of deposition into effect. For a few minutes the deep silence of amazement and uncertainty prevailed. It was suggested by Mr. Dunlop that as Her Majesty's Commissioner was not present, a deputation should proceed forthwith to his Grace to inform him of the circumstance. Till the result of this movement was known, the debate was recommenced. It had not been long resumed when the Commissioner arrived, and having received formal intimation through the Moderator of what had occurred, he said,—"I am at all times happy to be present with you. It is my duty; and in the exercise of that duty I trust I shall not be found wanting, whether it be to uphold the rights of the Assembly or to support and maintain the prerogative of the Crown, from whatever quarter they may be assailed." The messenger-at-arms had in the meantime left the interdict with the Assembly's officer at the door and withdrawn. The document was laid upon the table, and the House adjourned. On Monday a series of resolutions, carefully reciting all the circumstances as they occurred, and declaring the attempt thus made to be a flagrant breach of the privileges of the National Church, were passed, and ordered to be transmitted to Her Majesty the Queen in Council; and without further notice of the interference, the business of the Assembly was resumed.

The Parliamentary session of 1841 had opened on the 26th

January, and on the 28th, in answer to a question by Lord Haddington, the Premier intimated that it was not the intention of the Government to bring in any measure for altering the Law of Patronage in Scotland; that in the meantime the authority of the existing law should be enforced, and effectual means taken for protecting those who were determined to obey it. Lord Melbourne did not specify what particular methods of enforcement or protection were to be employed. A somewhat singular illustration, however, of the equivocal conduct of the Government was ere long supplied. Having resolved to institute a new Chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, they had selected the Rev. Dr. Candlish as an individual pre-eminently qualified to fill it. No sooner did their intention become known, than Lord Aberdeen brought the matter before the House of Lords, vehemently condemning such an appointment, on the ground that Dr. Candlish had recently broken an interdict of the Court of Session by preaching in Strathbogie. The Government yielded, and at the last moment the appointment was quashed, Lord Normanby remarking, "that in consequence of many recommendations in his favour, Her Majesty's Government had been disposed to give Dr. Candlish the appointment, but the moment they heard that he had placed himself in opposition to the law, they at once put an end to all further proceedings upon the subject." It was notorious that Dr. Candlish had acted under the sanction of the Assembly, and had done nothing more than had been done by almost all the leading ministers of the Evangelical party. If he and they were guilty of such acts as disqualified them for being the objects of Government patronage —if they had actually placed themselves in opposition to the law, some other and more stringent procedure against them was imperatively demanded; but so long as the constitutional question, whether their acts were acts of rebellion or not, remained unsettled, and so long as the Government itself declined legislatively to determine that question, it seemed unfair to single out an individual, and to inflict upon him such a penalty. It gave the Church, however, distinctly to understand, that while neither of the two great political parties in the State were disposed to interfere for her extrication, they both agreed in regarding it as imperative upon her to give such obedience to the law as the Court of Session was requiring at her hands. There was neither the candour to concede her claims, nor the boldness to repudiate them. Had the law officers of the Crown received instructions

to proceed in ordinary course to vindicate the authority of the law; had complaints against any or all of those clergymen who had preached in Strathbogie been lodged in Court, and the common compulsitors of law — fine or imprisonment — been put into operation; had the Church even authoritatively been told by the Government, that she must either retrace her steps, undo what she had done, and submit to all the adverse sentences of the Court of Session, or be visited with all the common penalties which an infraction of law incurred, she would have known better what to do. As it was, her position was so painful that it occurred to some ministers in Greenock and its vicinity, that instead of waiting till interminable litigation from without, and a wider anarchy from within, rendered it impossible for her to carry on her government, she should go forward to the Legislature, and insist either that her spiritual independence should be recognised and secured, or that the connexion between her and the State should be dissolved. This proposal was communicated by the Rev. Mr. Smith of Greenock to a few of the leading friends of the Church in Edinburgh. It seemed more premature to others than it did to Dr. Chalmers, who replied as follows:—

"Edinburgh, *March* 24, 1841.

"My dear Sir,—I am quite in love with your proposition, insomuch that if sure of an instant majority in its favour, I would have it tabled instantly. My fear is that many of our truest friends, while they might admire the step as ultimately the very best for our Church, yet would view it still as a measure in reserve, or that the time for its being carried into effect had not just yet arrived. You must agree with myself in thinking, that, if because of the influence of such a feeling we were left in a minority should it be proposed now, it were better that we waited a little longer the progress of events—the leadings and indications of Providence, ere we come to the final resolution which you and your friends now overture; and which I most cordially feel with yourselves to be by far the most graceful and dignified method on our part of terminating the contest.

"Meanwhile every effort should be made, not only to ascertain the sentiments of the clergy on this proposal, but to recommend it, as being in fact the best acquittal which the Church could make of the part which belongs to her—so soon as circumstances shall at length announce the fit and suitable period for such a crisis. I fear it were still premature to confer with

Presbyteries on the subject; and more especially as they would have greatly too little time for making up their minds previous to the election of their this year's representatives; but when the Assembly meets, one could better ascertain the dispositions and views of the brethren. Were a decided majority prepared for such a step, I should rejoice in the immediate adoption of it; and, at all events, I hope a declaration will be so framed, as shall commit us to the very measure which you have suggested, by the next Assembly thereafter, should no redress by that time be had from the Legislature, for our now increasing and aggravated wrongs.

"I shall be most happy to hear farther from you on this important matter. You point at a noble outgoing, which I hope, if matters come to the worst, we shall be enabled to realize.—I ever am, my dear Sir, yours most cordially,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"THE REV. JAMES SMITH."

Another gleam of light was hovering on the dark horizon. A few days before this letter was written, the Duke of Argyll had given notice in the House of Lords of his intention to bring in a Bill for the settlement of the Scotch Church question. The Duke's measure was introduced on the 5th May. It differed from the Veto Law only by extending the right of dissent to all male communicants, instead of restricting it to the male heads of families, and by making specific provision for the Veto being set aside, whenever it could be proved to have sprung from factious motives or causeless prejudices. At its first reading, it met with strenuous opposition from Lords Aberdeen, Haddington, and Dunfermline. Its farther consideration was postponed till after the meeting of the General Assembly. The discussion of its merits within that venerable Court was signalized by the remarkable effect of an appeal made by Dr. Candlish to the Moderate party. So sincere, so affectionate, so solemn, and so forcible was that appeal, that for a moment it seemed as if Dr. Cook and his friends would withdraw their opposition to a measure, under which it was admitted that they could act without any violence done to conscience; and had it gone up to Parliament with the seal upon it of an unopposed approval on the part of the Church, this might have gone far to recommend its adoption to the Legislature. The hope was but momentary. While reciprocating the brotherly spirit in which they had been

addressed, the Moderate party could not see it to be consistent with the duty which they owed to the Church and country to withhold their opposition. Nevertheless by a majority of more than two to one—the largest majority which had occurred in the course of these divisions, the House declared its approval of the measure. So marked an expression of the Church's feeling must have had some weight at the second reading of the Bill. But before the time for that second reading arrived, Sir Robert Peel had obtained his majority on the vote of want of confidence in the Ministry. Parliament was immediately dissolved. The elections sealed the fate of the Melbourne Administration, and on the 30th August, Sir Robert Peel was at the head of the strongest Government the country had known for years. Meanwhile in Scotland, untoward movements on the part of the Church's adversaries were hurrying things onward to the fatal catastrophe. A deputation from the minority in the General Assembly, which had opposed the deposition of the Strathbogie ministers, had gone to London early in June, and laid before the Government an elaborate statement on behalf of the deposed clergymen, and the minority by whom they were supported. This statement was signed by Principal Macfarlan, Dr. Hill, Dr. Bryce, Mr. Grant of Leith, and Mr. Robertson of Ellon. It contained the following ominous declarations:—"The minority and those that adhere to them, cannot in conscience submit to this decision—[the act of deposition]—they cannot, in conscience, whatever may be the consequences, fail to act in opposition to it." . . . "If Government will only intimate its resolute purpose of upholding the present law, until the final findings of this law in regard to the cases which have actually arisen shall have been ascertained and complied with, the temporary excitement that now prevails on the subject will soon in great measure pass away. It is, they are fully persuaded, because sufficient care has not been taken to guard against the cherishing of delusive and unconstitutional expectations, that matters have reached in Scotland the fearful crisis to which they have now attained." . . . "If the responsible advisers of the Crown shall be prepared to instruct their law-officers to maintain in the Civil Courts the cause of the ministers of Strathbogie, and of others who may be placed in similar circumstances, and *to prosecute for breach of interdict*, &c., those who may, in opposition to interdicts granted by the competent Courts, invade the rights of such parties, the minority of the last General Assembly, and the large

body of office-bearers of the Church of Scotland who hold views in common with that minority, *will have much reason to be satisfied.*" . . . "If her Majesty's Government shall be of opinion that less stringent measures may be effectual for the accomplishment of the object in view, they are not only willing but most anxious that such measures should have in the first instance a fair trial." Worse than the open declaration that they would voluntarily act in opposition to a decision of their Church, and worse even than the expression of satisfaction at the prosecution and punishment of the most eminent ministers of the Establishment, was the assurance given here to the Government, that nothing but a slight exercise of coercion was needed to remove that temporary agitation which false hopes had stirred. The majority had solemnly declared that the law as now interpreted was one which they could not conscientiously obey. The minority came forward to affirm that this was not so; and that if force were but firmly applied, the consciences of their brethren would give way. It was that incredulity as to the religious integrity of the evangelical ministers; it was this false witnessing to Government by those who, being clergymen themselves, were supposed to be best able to take the true gauge and measure of the clerical conscience, which lay at the root of the Disruption.

Before the meeting of the Commission on the 11th August, one part of the London statement had been made good. Mr. Grant, Mr. Robertson, and others, had held ministerial communion with the deposed clergymen, and assisted them in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. This act of gratuitous insubordination was reported to the Commission, which, prosecuting its clear but painful course of duty, instructed the Presbyteries to which the offending ministers belonged, to take such steps as were necessary for vindicating the authority of the Church, and proposed that a "solemn remonstrance and warning" should be prepared and addressed to them. When the resolution to this effect was carried, Dr. Cook gave in reasons of dissent, the second of which was as follows:—"Because the resolution now sanctioned, puts an end to all hope of devising any measure by which the members of the Church might be united, and imposes upon us, and upon all who agree with us in the opinion which we have repeatedly expressed as to our present distressing condition, to take such steps as may appear most effectual for ascertaining from competent authority, whether we who now dissent, and they who concur with us, or they who

continue to set at nought the law of the land, and the decisions of the Civil Courts in what we esteem a matter of civil right, are to be held by the Legislature of the country as constituting the Established Church, and as entitled to the privileges and endowments conferred by Statute upon the ministers of that Church." Instead of the question coming before the Legislature as one between the Church and the Civil Courts, Dr. Cook desired to present it as one between two parties in the Church who could not longer remain united, one or other of which must be repudiated by the Legislature. If actually entertained in that form by the Administration of Sir Robert Peel, there could be no doubt of the decision being in favour of that party to which Dr. Cook was attached. The prospect of so speedy a settlement demanded the most prompt and vigorous measures; and a special meeting of the Commission was summoned to meet on the 25th August. Dr. Chalmers, who had not been at the previous meeting, resolved to be present upon this occasion, that he might sound the key-note of preparation for that event which he now believed to be almost, if not altogether inevitable. "As to the war of argument," he said, "that is now over; seeing the time has come when the strife of words must give place to the strife of opposing deeds and opposing purposes. In this, the ministers of the other side have set us the example. They have begun with deeds which we must disallow; and they now tell us that they mean to call on the Legislature for their declaration, which of the two parties is henceforth to be the Established Church of Scotland. It is but justice both to the public and to the Government, that they should know how it is that we stand affected by such an intimation. There has, I fear, been a strange incredulity all along, in regard to the strength of our principles, or at what hazard, and to what extent of sacrifice, we have resolved to maintain them. The necessity is now laid upon us, that we should make a distinct and articulate reply to this question, and my fondest prayer, even as for the salvation both of the country and of the Church, is for the response of an unshrinking and undiminished majority that the principles on which they have hitherto acted they are resolved to abide by, whatever be the hazard, and whatever be the sacrifice. . . . It is our solemn duty to do all we can for the averting of such a catastrophe (the breaking up of the Establishment), and Heaven forbid that it should be hastened on by any indiscretion, still less by any disrespect, or any deed

of violence on our part. . . . I will proceed no further, and for this single reason, lest the language of determination should be interpreted into the language of defiance. Most assuredly I have no desire that the breach should be any further widened; and yet it is of the utmost importance—of the utmost practical importance for the right settlement of this question—that the state of matters should be plainly understood, for nothing can exceed the misconception, cherished especially by the higher classes, both in this country and in London. Be it known unto all men then, that we have no wish for a disruption, but neither stand we in the overwhelming dread of it. We have no ambition, as has pleasantly been said of us, for martyrdoms of any sort, but neither will we shrink from the hour or the day of trial. In short, let it be distinctly known, both over the country at large, and more especially in the camp of our adversaries, that, whatever the misgivings might be in other quarters, among us there are no falterings, no fears. Should what has been termed the crisis arrive, we know of a clear, and an honourable, and withal a Christian outgoing; confident in the smile of an approving Heaven from above, and that confidence not abated when we look around on the goodly spectacle of our friends and fellow-Christians—the best and worthiest of Scotland's sons—in readiness to hail and to harbour the men who are willing to give up all for the sake of conscience and of Christian liberty. The God whom they serve will not leave them without help or without a home."

To be prepared for the worst, the Commission appointed a large Committee, with instructions to bring "the principles and privileges of the Church, as well as the dangers that may threaten us, before the Government, the Legislature, and the country at large, by deputations, public statements, meetings, and such other means as may appear expedient." The first public meeting held in fulfilment of this resolution took place in the church of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, on the evening of the day on which the Commission met. That church exhibited on this occasion an extraordinary spectacle. Fourteen hundred ministers and elders were crowded together in the lower part of the building, while from the double tiers of galleries as many spectators as could force their way into the edifice were gazing down upon the scene. The Rev. Dr. Gordon occupied the chair, and a resolution to adhere at all hazards to the principles upon which the Church had taken her stand was unanimously

adopted by the vast assemblage. The alternative of separation from the Establishment, to which so many ministers might speedily be forced, was steadily contemplated, and the first hint thrown out of that peculiar method of sustaining them in their new positions which Dr. Chalmers had already designed. He was the first to give up all hope of a satisfactory Parliamentary adjustment; he was the first also to busy himself both with the design and the execution of the practical measures required by the approaching Disruption. This meeting in Edinburgh was followed up by similar meetings all over the country, in which a spirit of equal energy and resolution was manifested. This general attitude of determination and preparedness had its temporary effect. The threatened appeal to the Legislature was not persisted in, and the Government made a friendly instead of a hostile movement towards the Church. Taking the earliest opportunity of addressing the new Administration, Commissioners, appointed by the Church, had waited on Sir Robert Peel, and presented a Memorial* to the Government. Almost immediately thereafter a proposal was made by Sir George Sinclair to the Non-Intrusion Committee for effecting a final adjustment of the question, by adding a clause which he had drawn up to the Bill of Lord Aberdeen. Understanding that this clause recognised the right of the Church Courts to give effect to the objections of the people, if found to be insuperable, in every case in which they considered it to be their duty to do so, the Committee, while carefully guarding themselves against a positive approval of such a settlement, stated that it was one to which they could conscientiously submit. The

* Another and counter Memorial was presented to the Government by the Committee of the Moderate party, in which the following statements occur:—"To the principle of Non-Intrusion, holding that term to be synonymous with a right of arbitrary dissent or rejection by congregations or Presbyteries, the Memorialists entertain the strongest objections, in whatever form or by whatever means it may be proposed to bring that principle into practical operation . . . But, much as the Memorialists deprecate the adoption of this 'Non-Intrusion' principle, in any form or to any effect, they must add the expression of their humble but very decided opinion, that of all the modes yet proposed for giving effect to the principle, the most impolitic and the most mischievous is that which concedes to the Church the exercise of what is called *liberum arbitrium*—a discretionary and irresponsible power to determine, not judicially, nor according to any ascertained rule, but arbitrarily in every case, as to the amount and character of the popular feeling existing against a presentee, and the weight that is to be given to it. Such a measure appears to the Memorialists to be *dangerous alike to civil and religious liberty*. . . . The 'spiritual independence' which has been claimed on the part of the Church is essentially inconsistent with the first principles of social order. . . . New cases were daily arising; and no man could tell how soon it might become his own personal duty to choose between the obedience which he had vowed to law and constituted authority and submission to a *new, fanciful, anomalous principle, which the Church has chosen to dignify with the name of 'Spiritual Independence.'*"—See "Memorial by the Constitutional Committee," pp. 5, 25, 40, 41.

negotiation originated by Sir George Sinclair had an official character bestowed upon it, when Mr. Bruce of Kennet, on the suggestion of Sir James Graham, formally submitted the following queries to the Committee :—" In the event of a proposal coming from Her Majesty's Government, based on the clause transmitted by Sir George Sinclair, and sent by the Dean of Faculty to Lord Aberdeen, will the Non-Intrusion Committee appointed by the Assembly (though they should prefer another mode) accept it as a final settlement of the Non-Intrusion question?" Retaining their first idea of the meaning and effect of the clause, the Committee gave the same answer to Mr. Bruce which they had given to Sir George Sinclair. It was understood that unless the proposed settlement was carried through in the session of Parliament then sitting, both parties would be relieved from their obligations—the Government from any obligation to propose, the Committee from any obligation to accept. The shortness of that session precluded any Government action in the matter, and before the Parliament assembled again in November, a correspondence between the Dean of Faculty and Dr. Candlish had disclosed a most serious disagreement as to the real significance of Sir George's clause. According to the Dean's interpretation, which mature reflection convinced the Committee was the true one, the Church Courts would have no liberty in any case to give effect to the dissent of the congregation simply as such. Neither Lord Aberdeen nor the Dean of Faculty looked upon the clause as affecting any change in this respect upon the Bill as it stood originally. It was its denial of such liberty that led to its rejection in its earlier, and the same denial led to its rejection in its amended form. A lengthened explanation of the misunderstanding which had thus occurred was addressed by the Committee to Sir James Graham, who, in his reply, stated, " I have no hesitation in stating, that had it been explained at the time that the words suggested by Sir George Sinclair were intended to bear the construction placed upon them in your letter, the proposed measure would, on that ground, also have been considered equally inadmissible." Upon the negotiation which this letter closed, we cannot now look back without admiring the generous and devoted zeal of Sir George Sinclair, who gave his days and nights to bring it to a successful issue; and whatever blindness the Committee may in the first instance have displayed (and it was a blindness in which they had good reason to believe that both the Dean

himself and Lord Aberdeen participated),* it almost atones for that error, that we can now point to it as a proof how anxious the Church was to obtain a settlement, and how willing she would have been to accede to any arrangement under which, in any form, the principle of Non-Intrusion could have been preserved. Dr. Chalmers took no part in these negotiations which led to so unhappy an issue. The following extracts from letters addressed during this period to Sir George Sinclair, of whose unwearied and disinterested services he entertained the warmest admiration, will indicate not only how hopeless he was of any satisfactory result arising out of them, but how engaged his thoughts were with ulterior prospects already opening to his view.

"BURNTISLAND, *August* 16, 1841.

"DEAR SIR GEORGE,—What you propose is substantially an acquiescence in Lord Aberdeen's Bill.

"Be assured that it was in perfect good faith I told his Lordship, more than twelve months ago, that we could not conscientiously minister in a Church placed under the fetters and provisions of such a legislation as he had prepared for us. Nothing has occurred since to alter this feeling, but everything to strengthen and confirm it. Not the outrage at Marnoch—not the harassing interference of the Civil Courts, and not, most certainly, the hostile declarations of public and Parliamentary men, backed though they now are by a majority, which seems to have given fresh confidence to our adversaries, and emboldened them to brandish over our heads the menace and terror of our approaching overthrow. This last experiment will be as fruitless as any of the former ones. On this question we are now unchanged, and I hope unchangeable. We stand on the ground of principle; nor can I image a greater infatuation than the incredulity of those who will not believe that from that ground we shall never recede, whatever be the damages or the deprivations which they might purpose to lay upon us.

"I can well understand that the Church of Scotland is dear

* "I remember Sir George Sinclair reporting to us Mr. Hope's admission that the Bill, as amended, would enable Church Courts 'to enforce the Veto in any particular instance if they chose;' although I am inclined to believe, from what will afterwards be stated, that this admission must have been made in a very limited and qualified acceptation of that phrase, or that Sir George had misapprehended Mr. Hope. It appears that Mr. Hope's representation was successful in persuading Lord Aberdeen to change his mind. His Lordship consented to the introduction of Sir George Sinclair's clause, of which he had previously said that it would '*make the appeal of the Veto Law illusory.*'"—"Narrative relating to certain recent Negotiations," &c., by Dr. Candlish, pp. 9, 10.

to many whose views are opposite to our own in the present controversy. It might well be dear to them, as the only palladium of true Conservatism in the land, and the only antagonist force to the Chartism and the Socialism and the lawless spirit of insubordination, against which, when once they have come to a head, all the Parliamentary majorities, which now give so delusive a confidence to the upper classes of society, will prove but a feeble and unavailing defence in the hour of trial. The Church is dear to us for these reasons also, but infinitely dearer as an instrument of Christian good to the people, and still more as the instrument put into our hands with directions how to use it, by the great Author and Finisher of our faith. By these directions we mean to abide; nor will we consent to be the ministers of a Church subject to any power on earth which shall intermeddle with the functions of that distinct ecclesiastical government which is placed by Him who is the head of all authority and power in the hands of distinct office-bearers.

"I conclude with an earnest wish that your friends might have their eyes opened at length to the true wisdom of this question. I can see no other way of its pacific settlement than by passing the Duke of Argyll's Bill, and leaving us to deal with our own refractory ministers according to the usages which, since the last Revolution in this country, have never been invaded. Never, I will venture to say, was a fairer prospect of usefulness overcast than that which lay before the Church of Scotland at the time that the civil authorities so cruelly and unconstitutionally interfered with her.—I ever am, dear Sir George, yours most respectfully and truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"BURNTISLAND, *September* 27, 1841.

"MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—You know that I have retired from all further public or practical management of the question. The truth is, that I reserve myself for one emergency. Should there be a disruption of the Church I shall feel it my duty to help forward the operations of a great home mission, which I have no doubt could take full possession of the country in a very few months. And looking to the Christian interests of Scotland, I believe that more good could be done by such an instrumentality than by an Established Church exposed to such interferences as those of the Court of Session for the last few

years. It is not only of their intromissions with the appointment of ministers that I complain. Their decisions respecting the collections of the new churches and the *quoad sacra* parishes are both most intolerable fetters on the energies of a Church acting with a view to the spread of Christian education among all classes of the people. I do not give up my views on the mighty good of a religious Establishment, but it is a good more than neutralized should the Establishment be so hampered and restricted as many would wish it to be, who have really never studied the question of what the best method is for spreading abroad that education of principle which will prove the only counteractive not to irreligion only, but to vice and anarchy and socialism, and the whole tribe of those moral and political disorders which are now in busy fermentation all over the land.

"Heaven grant that the eyes of Sir Robert may be opened to see that there is a country as well as a House of Commons. —I am, dear Sir George, yours most gratefully, and with great regard, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, BART."

"EDINBURGH, *November* 20, 1841.

"MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—Suffer me to express my fears that you are deceived in supposing it to be the purpose of those who have adopted your formula to give us an unshackled *liberum arbitrium*. They lay a most important exception on the *liberum arbitrium*, nay, the very exception that runs the most counter of any to an oft-repeated and great constitutional principle of the Church of Scotland.

"You seem not aware that I am not a member of the Non-Intrusion Committee. It is indispensable to my preservation that I should retire from all public business; nor do I mean to mix with it, unless on the event of a disruption, which, should an entire *liberum arbitrium* be denied to us, it is my firm conviction will and ought to take place. I have been studying a good deal the economy of our Non-Erastian Church when severed from the State and its endowments—an event which I would do much to avert—but which, if inevitable, we ought to be prepared for. I do not participate in your fears of an extinction even for our most remote parishes. And the noble resolution of the town ministers, to share *equally* with their country brethren, from a common fund raised for the general behoof of the ejected mini-

sters, has greatly brightened my anticipation of a great and glorious result, should the Government cast us off. There are thousands in the middle ranks who will let down their establishments rather than that our Church should go to wreck from the want of endowments; and an extensive organization for the small weekly offerings of our people, which I should feel it my duty to promote to the uttermost, will, I fondly hope, enable us not only to maintain the services of all our ejected ministers, but over and above to extend and multiply our exertions, so as to meet the necessities of all our families.—I have the honour to be, dear Sir George, yours most respectfully,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"EDINBURGH, *December* 4, 1841.

"MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—. . . I conclude with noticing as briefly as possible your remarks on my consistency:—1. You speak of my former avowed preference for a National Establishment, reminding me of what you call my own theory. Now, in my London Lectures, in my Church Extension Addresses, in all my controversies with the Voluntaries, in my numerous writings for twenty years back, the spiritual independence of the Church has been ever brought prominently forward as an indispensable part of that theory, and I have uniformly stated, that the least violation of that independence in return for a State Endowment was enough to convert a Church Establishment into a moral nuisance. It is a little too much, that after the Conservatives had accepted with thankfulness my defence of National Establishments they should now propose to take away from me the benefit of their main vindication; or think that an advocacy given to a National Church, solely for the sake of its religious and moral benefits to the population, should still be continued, after they shall have converted it from an engine of Christian usefulness into a mere congeries of offices, by which to uphold the influence of patrons and subserve the politics or the views of a worthless partisanship.

"But (2.) you tell me of my views on the impotency of Voluntaryism. May I beg your perusal of my Third London Lecture on the Distinction between Voluntaryism *ab intra* and Voluntaryism *ab extra*. There is a perfect identity of principle between the latter and a National Establishment. I shall ever regret the necessity of a seperation from the State. But if driven to it by principle, it is a sacrifice which must and ought

to be made. I say so, not in the spirit of menace, or for the purpose of terrifying bull-headed Toryism out of any of its inveteracies, but simply to let you know that I for one shall feel it my duty to draw both on the middle and lower ranks, indefinitely, in order to repair, and confidently hope to overpass, the mischief, which I fear that our enemies, in the obstinacy of their miserable blindness, are preparing for our land.—Ever believe me, my dear Sir George, yours with great esteem and regard, THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE OUTER AND INNER HISTORY—PRIVATE JOURNALS OF 1840-41—HORÆ BIBLICÆ QUOTIDIANÆ—HORÆ BIBLICÆ SABBATICÆ.

THE events in which Dr. Chalmers mingled, and which he helped so much to mould, were far from engrossing his thoughts. The part he took in them was in fact the product of those deeper convictions which rested upon the unseen and enduring objects of faith. Behind the outer history of his life there lay that inner spiritual history which made the other what it was. His correspondence, his speeches, his published writings, and his public acts, which furnish such ample materials for unfolding the one history, are absolutely barren as to the other. We know of no other individual of the same force and breadth of Christian character, who, in all his converse, public and private, with his fellow-men, spoke so little of himself or afforded such slender means of information as to his own spiritual condition and progress, and yet it would be difficult to name another of whose deeper religious experience we have so full and so trustworthy a record. We owe this to the openness and perfect truthfulness of his private Journal. The strict reserve which he observed in his communications with others he entirely laid aside when communing with his own heart, the fulness of the one disclosure more than atoning for the stintedness of the other. The very breaks and gaps, the compressed or expanded condition of his private Journal, when studied in connexion with his external occupations during different periods, are themselves instructive. Judged of in this way, the year 1840 formed a marked epoch in his spiritual life, as exhibiting the commencement of that softening, refining, elevating process which, ripening to perfection, threw such a pure and mellow light of piety around his closing years—a light whose chastened lustre was perceived and felt even by those who saw not into the place of its birth. We date the beginning of this process from the close of Dr. Chalmers's correspondence with Lord Aberdeen, from the time when his hope failed him of any peaceful settlement of the Church conflict. Being

constrained to face painful and unexpected emergencies, he threw himself for guidance and support upon the great principles of the Christian faith. It was thus that the darker the prospect became, the singler became his eye—the greater the danger, the stronger his faith—the weaker his trust in men, the firmer his reliance upon God. We should not, perhaps, be pardoned by general readers did we interrupt our narrative by exhibiting in full the evidence of this striking fact, but we would violate our own convictions did we not present a few extracts from the Journals of 1840 and 1841.

"*March* 17, 1840.—Entered the seventh decade of my life. I have looked long at this birthday as a great moral and spiritual epoch. My God, enable me by prayer and performance to make it good. Quite sure that the acceptance of Christ, with a full reliance on Him and the confident appropriation of His righteousness, is the transition step to a life of happy and prosperous obedience. O my God, give me to hold this fast, and to realize by it a present salvation—the light and liberty and enlargement of one of Thine own children. O that my heart were a fountain of gracious things, which might flow out with gracious influence on the hearts of my acquaintances, and more particularly of the members of my family.

"*March* 28.—Sadly exercised with adverse tidings from London anent the Church; and all that is heavenly takes flight by giving way to other themes.

"*April* 1.—To-day there is the opening of a great hope in Church matters. I long for my own deliverance from the turmoils of public life. I feel somewhat the advantage which a sally of my own has given to a hostile multitude against me, and yet I am supported in a way that is marvellous under every visitation. O do Thou, the very God of peace, sanctify me wholly, and enable me to cut off the right hand or pluck out the right eye. Deliver me from the wo of those by whom offences come; save me from the sin that doth most easily beset me, and, above all, from the guilt of hurting the souls of others. Keep my heart in the love of Thyself, and enable me to keep it with all diligence. Enable me to bid away all thoughts of evil and vanity, and to keep myself holy in soul and spirit and body, which are the Lord's.—Amen, and amen.

"*April* 2.—An utter prostration of spirit from the speech of Lord Aberdeen.

"*April* 3.—Recovered my spirits, but not my spirituality.

"*April* 4.—Came over to Burntisland.—O my God, let a quiet withdrawment from Edinburgh recall to this earthly soul its departed godliness.

"*April* 13.—Useless expenditure of thought and feeling in anticipations not afterwards realized. Events are God's. Relieved by Lord Aberdeen taking an independent and irresponsible charge.

"*April* 15.—O for quiet! Great need of repose. Gleams, too, of right and religious feeling. Think of my creatureship, but not habitually, not closely enough. What a revolution would it be if I had just an adequate and practical sense of the God who made me! The very sense of being made by another, how it should annihilate the sovereignty of self—how it should subordinate and keep in check the waywardness of one's own will. What hast thou, O man, that thou didst not receive?

"*April* 16.—A glorious day, and had great enjoyment on the coast with my children. O that I could associate God with all that is visible and created. Began a sermon on Rom. x. 6-9. Should begin every new thing with prayer.

"*April* 17.—Growing distaste for the burdens of public business. Pray for wisdom amid the manifold difficulties of my position. Visit me, O God, with light and love from thy sanctuary.

"*April* 18.—More of study than usual; but I am not making the strenuous and decided efforts to be spiritual which I wished and anticipated, and I neglect certain means of spirituality, such as the avoidance of certains thoughts that stir up affections opposite to the love of the Father. Might make a vast deal more, too, of my solitary walks; and to remove a great practical barrier in the way of religious contemplation, let me assume my personal interest in the promises of the Gospel, and hold fast my confidence therein. I feel sure that I would recur all the more hopefully, and therefore all the more fondly and frequently, to the great things of faith, if I but knew the things which are freely given to us of God. It is the imagination of an impracticable gulf betwixt us which keeps me at a distance from Him—a distance that would be overcome if I could but habitually and believingly look at the open highway of communication along which there is perfect liberty of access for the guiltiest of us all. Called at Rose-End Castle; and how little is the sense of the immortality of others present with me

when in converse with the partakers of my own imperishable nature.

"*Sunday*, 19*th*.—Much weighted with public difficulties. A great infusion of religious thought and feeling, too.

"*April* 20.—Began my first waking minutes with a confident hold on Christ as my Saviour. A day of great quietness.

"*April* 21.—Let the laying hold of Christ as my propitiation be the unvarying initial act of every morning. Very quiet all this day; yet not in a particularly religious frame. I fancy a swimming in my head, and am certain that my execution is greatly short of my conception and my aim in the composition of the sermon now on hand. This occasions a perpetual strain. Let me devolve this and all other things on God. Enable me to render the doctrine of a free salvation clearly and impressively. But, O how true that the faith of others is given not through the wisdom of words, but by the power of God.

"*April* 24.—Much exercised by the conflicting Church politics around me, and feel the earthliness of these engrossments. O that I exercised myself more unto godliness, and could maintain a godly frame all the day long.

"*April* 29.—A general want of godliness, and a weight upon my spirit in the prospect of approaching controversies. I pray for light and direction from on high. Assembly preparations.

"*April* 30.—Occasional heaviness; yet well upon the whole. A most enjoyable day, and delighted myself with two solitary rounds. Have the feelings and aspirations of piety, but must be more confident and cheerful in Christ—rejoice in the Lord alway.

"*May* 1.—What a sad general want of realization as to the things of faith and eternity! Can luxuriate among the beauties of creation. O Creator of all, manifest Thy glory to my dark and dormant faculties, possess me with a sense of Thyself, forgive the waywardness of my thoughts and inclinations, and give me to feel the controlling influence of Thy presence and will all the day long.

"*Sunday*, *May* 3.—Delighted with Treffry on the 'Sonship of Christ.' Luxuriate here in Sabbath quiet. O my God, purify, refine, and exalt me more and more. Hear imperfectly in church, and my attention wanders among the engrossing topics of the present time. I most earnestly pray for a wisdom and a spirit adapted to the exigencies of the present time.

"*May* 4.—Much weighed with Church matters, and the report from London of Lord Aberdeen's vacillations.

"*May* 6.—Sadly agitated about Church matters, and things looking very doubtful. But saddest of all is the distress and decay of religious feeling, and the want of a system of practical self-discipline.—O my God, enable me to wait upon Thee without distraction; and I pray for wisdom to clear my way through the difficulties by which I am encompassed. My retrospects of the day that is past are exceedingly dim; and the work of self-examination therefore, in that proportion, unsatisfactory. Search me and try me, O God.

"*May* 8.—Carried by news from London, reports from Edinburgh, &c. Teach me the lesson, O Heavenly Father, to be still, and know that Thou art God. Things are thickening.

"*Sunday, June* 7.—My eternity is at stake, and the great adversary is plying me with a fresh and formidable temptation. Another approaching controversy, too, which may require all wisdom. O for holiness and charity. Take pity on me, O God, a miserable offender.

"*June* 8.—Sadly engrossed with the Dean of Faculty's charge against me.* There are, besides, fiery darts from the adversary. My God, uphold me!

"*June* 16.—A dreary interval, throughout which the influences of God's Word have been choked and overborne by the thorns of care and controversy. Let me now resume the moral and spiritual culture which has been so wofully interrupted.

"*Sunday, June* 21.—Have not yet recovered the shock of Lord Aberdeen's foul attack on me in the House of Lords. May I live henceforth in the perpetual sunshine of God's reconciled countenance. May I experience the sanctifying power of such a habit. Save me, save me, O God, from the untoward imaginations which disquiet and inflame me, warring against my soul, and engrossing my thoughts, to the utter exclusion of the things which make for holiness and peace.

"*June* 24.—O my God, direct me now to Thyself. Transfer my thoughts to the things that are above. Give me wisdom among the trials and difficulties which surround me. Hide me under the covert of Thy wings, and let the menaces which overhang the country and the Church pass away from them both.

"*Sunday, July* 5.—A letter yesternight from Dr. Gordon,

* See *ante*, p. 508.

enclosing one from Lord Aberdeen, which will require a strenuous exercise both of wisdom and charity.* My God, guide and govern all my movements. It is high time now to be seeking the pearl of great price, and for this let there be an intent looking unto Jesus—a strong and simple faith in Him—the love that cleaves to Him—the friendship for Him that will do whatsoever He commandeth. I pray for the fruits of the Spirit—for the mortification of the flesh, and altogether for the establishment of my understanding in the doctrine of salvation, and of my feet in the way of new obedience. Give me, O Lord, to be spiritually-minded, and then shall I have life and peace. May I know what it is to exercise myself unto godliness. Is it not wrong to countenance by the slightest semblance of an approximation the Sabbath liberties that are taken in this neighbourhood? May I hope from this time forward to have materials for a more full and regular spiritual history than I have kept hitherto.

"*July* 6.—Began the day with a distinct act of confidence; but should renew it through the day, and see, on the constant repetition and habit of it, whether a blessing will not follow, so as that Christ may see in me of the travail of His soul.

"*July* 7.—Began again with an act of confidence; but why not a perennial confidence in the Saviour? And every human creature I meet with supplies an object and occasion for the second law. Give me, O Lord, as fruits of Thy Spirit, love and long-suffering.

"*July* 8.—I have recurred more frequently to the actings of faith in Christ, and I can have no doubt of this being the habit that is to bring me right. Let me realize Him as a person who knows my thoughts, and from whom I may ask for all that is needful to a life of godliness. O give me to experience the blessed effect of thus abiding in Him. Give me tokens for good. Make me sensible of real answers to actual requests, as the evidences of an interchange between myself on earth and my Saviour in heaven.

"*July* 9.—Going on leisurely, I think feebly, with, I hope, my last controversial pamphlet on the Church question. Have much to learn, and desire to grow in the practical and experimental knowledge of Christ.

"*July* 10.—O my God, elevate and inspire me. Give me to feel the operation of the first law in my heart, raising my

* See *ante*, p. 510.

affections to Thyself, and of the second law diffusing the regards of kindness on all around me. What a selfish and ungodly creature I naturally am! Refine and exalt my aims and my purposes, O God, and let me realize the experience of a practical Christianity.

"*July* 11.—Why at any time the heaviness of *ennui?* Should God be a weariness or a wilderness to His own creatures?

"*July* 13.—Luxuriated over the beauties of the landscape.

"*July* 15.—Hurt by a report in the 'Witness' of Lord Aberdeen's saying in the House, that after having brought the Church into jeopardy, I had left them to find their way out of it as they could. Recovered from this. Desire to roll over all upon God.

"*Sunday*, 26*th*.—Give me, O Lord, the power of application to spiritual subjects. Give me a firm and tangible hold of spiritual things. Let me know what it is to realize experimental religion. O may it be my daily task, my hourly exercise, my *perennial enjoyment.*

"*Sunday*, *August* 30.—My engrossments now are with Pauperism and the British Association. I have had miserably little experience of prayer being the aliment of the divine life, but I think that now and previously I have experienced its efficacy in shielding me from temptation. Thou knowest, O God, how frail I am. O give me the ἐπίγνωσις as well as the γνῶσις—that knowledge of the Father and the Son which amounts to fellowship with both.

"*October* 19.—A dreary interval; British Association; Greenock lectureship. My God, strengthen, stablish, settle me. Let me resume my journal.

"*Nov.* 9.—Yesterday being Sabbath, I employed in part, as usual, in the perusal of difficult theology, when I was visited by a sense of the injunction—'Thou shalt not do *any* WORK.' On that day let me rest, and let it be a day not of study, but of sentiment, and of sentiment allied with repose, such as resting in God, having peace and joy in believing, waiting on God, rejoicing in hope, patient under injuries or in any sort of tribulation.—O grant that by a right use of the weekly Sabbath my old age may be mellowed into the Sabbath of my life; and let me experience that in the quietness and confidence of the seventh day there is a recruiting of strength for the duties and the exercises of the other six.

"*Sunday, Nov.* 15.—My Sabbatical meditations to-day have achieved for me an exemption from evil thoughts. I desire to watch as well as pray. Assist me, O God, in the work of holding communion with Thyself. Save me from my besetting sins. Set me on a real work of preparation. I feel the advantage of a holy rest—the good and wisdom of the Sabbath hour. I pray for the faith of immortality. Felt to-day the advantage of a simple faith in the simple statements of God's Word.

"*Sunday*, 22*d.*—Suffered myself to be annoyed by the perversities to which I am exposed on the subject of Pauperism. Let me rise to the more serene and elevated panorama of religion.—O my God, let me be clothed with humility, and experience the consequent grace which Thou hast promised to bestow.

"*Sunday, Jan.* 10, 1841.—Give me a constant sense of danger, and along with this of entire diffidence in myself, and so of perpetual dependence on Thee. Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I. I would renounce the devil, the world, and the flesh; and to make this good, I would live a life of faith in Thine own Son. O may His power rest upon me; and agreeably to what I heard this day, may I look on all my sins as proceeding from myself, while nought but the grace which dispenses all good and perfect gifts cometh down from the sanctuary that is above. Let me not say, then, that I am tempted of God, when the enticement is felt of my own hurtful and foolish lusts. Let me make escape from this by fleeing from myself, and fleeing for refuge not merely to the hope, but to the strength and life which are laid up for me with Christ in God. I pray for the crucifixion of the flesh—for the mortification of the body through the Spirit—for the death of the old man—for the peace and grace of a spiritual resurrection. O for the Spirit of glory and of God, that with the new-born energies of the divine, I might be enabled to trample those vile affections of my own worthless nature into dust.

"*Sunday*, 17*th.*—Have practised total abstinence since the beginning of the year. My God, may I experience the life of Thee in my soul.

"*Jan.* 20.—O my God, give me the language and lofty spirit of him who realizes eternity, and has enthroned Thyself in his heart.

"*Jan.* 26.—The Church question drawing to a crisis; and I desire to cast all on God, with simple faith in His mes-

sage of reconciliation.—Give wisdom and grace, O Heavenly Father, and cause good to come out of these thickening events to our beloved land.

"*Sunday*, 31*st*.—Sir George Sinclair called; and the strong probability is, that I may yet be implicated more than I like with the Church question.

"*Sunday*, *Feb.* 7.—Annoyed with the utter inertness and want of agency for the Marnoch subscription.

"*Feb.* 9.—Gloomy accounts from London; and I pray God to strengthen and uphold the mind of our Church.

"*Sunday*, 14*th*.—On Thursday met Mr. Wood, and suggested a clerical prayer-meeting on the affairs of the Church.

"*Sunday*, *March* 14.—The affairs of the Church thickening; and I sadly exercised by the urgencies that I should again mingle in the fray, to the hazard of my health and serious injury of my literary undertakings. I pray for the Church, O God. Make clear the path of duty.

"*Sunday*, *May* 16.—Was heavy when I awoke this morning; but did experience relief and elevation by the effort of a simple faith. Have adopted a new system of Sunday readings, confining myself to a prayerful reading of Scripture. Last Sunday began with John i., and to-day John ii. Have had two pleasant, and, let me hope, two spiritual Sabbaths, to some degree, in consequence. Was much delighted by my ordinary Bible passage this morning in 1 Sam. ii.—Hannah's prayer, 'For by strength shall no man prevail.' Still very deficient in my attention as a hearer at church, though to-day better than usual. Feel now that to be spiritually-minded is life and peace—at least of this very certain, that I shall have no peace without it; and let me hope that this experience will shut me more up to a life of religion. Find that sermons from the pulpit or chapters in the Bible which would fail to interest me were I only bestowing a cursory attention upon them, become interesting when I make an effort to realize the objects of which they treat. Familiarize me, O God, more and more with the things of faith and eternity.

"*May* 17.—Cannot but remark how I gravitate to ungodliness. Why are my thoughts, when alone and not studying, so little occupied with God? And O that in company I could appear more for His glory! Assist me to do this in my family, and let me watch my opportunites for doing Christian good. O that I could realize this blessed sequence—'I have believed,

therefore have I spoken.' Let me carry about with me a distinct confidence in forgiveness through the blood of Christ; and with earnest desire of showing forth His praise and learning His doctrine, let me try how this confidence will work in me. The fruits of righteousness so produced will arise from the sense of my own nothingness, and have Christ alone as their origin.

"*May* 19.—Let me guard my spirit from the impatience of petty annoyances; and ever remember, in the language of the Port-Royal Memoirs, that religion consists not in the doing of extraordinary things, but in the doing of common things extraordinarily well.

"*May* 20.—A day of peace; but a wide interval must be filled up ere I can record a day of positive religion. Why do I not go forth both as a forgiven and vested creature—forgiven all my trespasses, vested with the righteousness of Christ? It is only by living up to our privileges that we can live up to the full measure of Christian perfection. There is one temptation that I pray for grace to overcome. I am most sensitively alive to the disgust of certain peculiarities in the manners of people for whom I have no taste, and with whom I feel no congenial sympathy. My God, I would press forward to the triumph of charity in such a case as this. Enable me to honour all men, to bear them all the regard which I owe to immortals, to please not myself, but to take up my cross, and make a daily and hourly sacrifice of all my antipathies for their sake. O for the long-suffering of the Gospel and the endurance of all things! Solemnized by the thought that this is the first day of the Assembly, and pray for God's special guidance and favour to the Church of Scotland. And I furthermore pray for direction and the spirit of wisdom to myself, O God.

"*Sunday*, 23*d*.—Had my Sabbath Bible exercise, and mean to persevere in it. The chapter of the day was John iii. My chief thought was on the efficacy of faith as apart from conception, and faith too in the naked word, either with or without a lively manifestation of the archetype: our safety and spiritual health hanging on the first; our sensible comfort mainly depending, I should imagine, on the second. Let me here record my prayer to God for sustenance and succour and guidance through the fatigues and difficulties of the coming week (General Assembly); and O that He would lead me back to this retreat in safety, and enable me to write of His gracious answer to the voice of my supplications. Hide me in Thy pavilion, O God, from

the strife of tongues. Give me the preparation of the heart and answer of the mouth. Cause my way to please Thee, that enemies might be at peace. And, O defend the Church, and bring her out of all her perils into a haven of security and quietness. Let me be without carefulness, rolling the whole burden of my anxieties upon God.

"*Sunday*, 30*th*.—On Monday crossed to Edinburgh. Spoke in the Assembly on Patronage on Tuesday; away from the Assembly all Wednesday. Spoke in the Assembly, and moved the deposition of the Strathbogie ministers. Mrs. Chalmers came over, and found me at my siesta in the Royal Hotel. She went off to Castlebank after tea, and I returned to bed, where I was raised about twelve for the vote, but was shut out. Present, however, at the deposition, and disquieted by a protest of the Moderates, which was, however, withdrawn next day. Have had abundant evidences of my native carnality and frailty during last week.—My God, if it be Thy blessed will, let me spend the remainder of my days in quiet study and retirement, with every aim terminating in Thee and Thy glory, and so in the furtherance, as Thou mayest enable me, of the Christian good of all within my sphere, and more especially in the effectual preparation of myself and my family for heaven. I have to record God's gracious answer to the prayer of last Sabbath. He has mercifully granted me another Eben-ezer; and at the same time convinced me, through the medium of my consciousness and of its experimental findings, that I am no longer fit for the fatigues and the turmoils of public life. Yet I would commit this thought of my heart, and for its establishment, to God, trusting in Him, and leaning not to my own understanding. And oh! if it be His blessed will, may I spend my remaining days in the retirement which I love; and let it be a retirement of peace and piety, and withal of profit to the souls of men.

"*May* 31.—Rode to Colinswell. There learned of the interdict on the Assembly, indicating a new stage of the Church's troubles.

June 1.—Comforted by the Assembly's resolutions on the interdict.

"*Sunday*, *June* 6.—This a strenuous Sabbath of Bible reading, mixed with prayer—a day of faith rather than manifestation, that is to say, of resolute confidence in the tangibilities, which is surely better than to walk in sparks of our own kindling. Let me keep by God's Word and by the doing of His

Divine will. The chapter of this day was John v., which I read in connexion with a very great amount of parallel Scripture. The leading sentiment is the security of being in the hands of Christ, viewed as supreme in judgment and power, yet the Saviour. The first chapter of Acts, in my ordinary reading, suggested some pregnant thoughts. The Apostles were told that they should not depart from Jerusalem till they were endowed with power from on high; and neither should we depart from the Bible, but give earnest heed thereto, till the day dawn and the day-star arise in our hearts.

"*June* 7.—Arrested by a sense of my ungodliness while riding. Prayed for living water, that I might thirst no more; and certainly realized a sense of my obligation to do nothing and enjoy nothing apart from Christ, which adhered to me, and made me feel how, by an influence *ab extra*, such enlargements and enhancements of spiritual manifestation might come upon me as I have never yet experienced. Let me pray and watch for the Holy Ghost; and meanwhile, in the absence of vivid conception, let me maintain a resolute belief in God's Word, and yield myself to the felt obligation of every plain and practical duty. (John xiv. 21.)

"*June* 12.—Had a luminous visitation at the shore. Why do I not walk at all times in the light and liberty of the Gospel? —I pray, O God, for a fruitful Sabbath on the morrow; a quiet, and let me hope a profitable Sabbath. The chapter was the sixth of John; and the most powerful of its topics was the atonement, set forth in terms of the flesh and blood of Christ, the bread that came down from heaven. The transition from death to life, on the appropriation of the sacrifice, is the great turning point of a sinner's salvation. My God, bring me thereto, and let the great Propitiation of the Cross be the very food and aliment of my soul.

"*June* 18.—Fatal information from Mr. Dunlop anent Sir Robert Peel. The Church prospect dark; but let us hope in God.

"*June* 19.—Had gleams of the Gospel freeness; sure that on no other footing I can prosper or be right. My family in feeble health, and the prospects of the Church very dark. Bear me up, O God, under the weight of every visitation. Be Thyself my portion. To attain the maximum of a right physical state I would perhaps require to be a shade more temperate. I mean by its maximum right state that in which the physical

gives the least impediment to the spiritual, and is most consistent with, if not subservient to, the duties and exercises and enjoyments of the life of faith.

"*June* 21.—Very quiet day. Surely I might live in greater spirituality did I cherish always the sense of God as a reconciling and reconciled Father. Let me have faith and feeling up to the offered privileges of the Gospel. God has been pleased to make this a day of peace, and rather of bright anticipation in regard to the Church, even though its connexion with the State should be dissolved. But recurring to the topic of a large confidence and belief in the promises of the Gospel, let me act on the injunction, 'Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it.'

"*June* 23.—I have got into an embarrassment here, as the prudence of my building a house will be affected by the uncertainty of the Church prospect. We are taught to make our requests unto God in everything. Help and guide me, O Lord, in this matter also.

"*June* 29.—Have begun my fourth volume on the Romans.—O my God, enable me to take my own lesson and lay hold of the righteousness of Christ as my righteousness.

"*Sunday, July* 4.—A pleasurable day. My chapter was John ix.; but it was my ordinary reading, in Romans i., that furnished the leading thought of this Sabbath—'Christ the power and wisdom of God unto salvation.' Never am I in a better frame than when dwelling in simple faith on Christ's offered righteousness, and making it the object of my acceptation.—O Lord, I pray for more and more of the clearness and enlargement of this view; and grant me the spirit of adoption. O that I could attain the experience of him who says, 'I have believed, therefore have I spoken.' Let my light in particular shine before my family.

"*July* 5.—In peace; but I should like to be more assured of its being a religious peace—peace in believing, the peace of those who love God's law.

"*July* 8.—A growing taste for the simplicity of the faith, and conviction of its efficacy.

"*July* 9.—My first chemical lecture at Craigholm. My God, may the joy of Thee be my strength. A glorious day; but O that there were more of faith and heaven in my soul.

"*July* 10.—Mrs. C. tells me of a complaint under which poor J. labours that might well make me serious. Am I not too light-hearted and too luxurious, and altogether too self-indulgent?

Certain it is that in and of myself I am altogether vile and worthless, and would need in dependence on grace alone to have more of watchfulness unto prayer, more of self-denial, and a far more tender sense of the evil of ungodliness, than habitually and practically belong to me.—My God, give me wisdom and principle, and the life of faith, in reference to our visitors from England.

"*July* 11.—Felt the importance of the first verses in John x., as evincing, 1. that ministers might be appointed for congregations *ab extra;* but, 2. that there is such a sympathy between a minister called and qualified by the Spirit, and all real Christians, as to afford a criterion by which the rightness of the appointment might be tested. Other parts of this chapter very precious.—Give me, O Lord, with all freedom to go out and in, and find pasture for my soul.

"*July* 13.—A most unsavoury letter from ——, of which I could only relieve myself by replying to it. Feel a most degrading subjection to circumstances. O for that love of God which nothing can disquiet or offend!

"*July* 14.—Wrote Lord Galloway. Medically better, and morally in less discomfort, but have to complain of my extreme sensibility to the opinions of men. Why do I not look upon God? Make me what Thou wouldst have me. Let me be still and know that Thou art God.

"*July* 15.—Mean to build at Morningside; but let me not forget the end of the world and the coming of Christ—the catastrophe that comes as a thief in the night. Among the other mercies of this day I have to record a most agreeable letter from Dr. Gordon.

"*July* 17.—Find it essential to a religious frame that there should be more of devotional thinking and prayer. The Church crisis looks nearer.

"*July* 18.—At home all day; seeking after a simple faith. The more simple and child-like the better. Gleams of comfort under its occasional visitations. Heavenly Father! establish me therein more and more; so shall my bands be loosed, and I will serve Thee henceforth in the spirit of adoption.

"*July* 23.—Have great need of the life of faith. I have sad infirmities of temper. My God, help me to overcome all the obstructions which lie in the way of my perfect observance of the second law. How miserably deficient in the grace of endurance. Help me, O God!

"*July* 29.—Not satisfied with my composition on the Romans, and fear that I strain too much after effect. Guide and invigorate me, O Lord, in the prosecution of this work; but keep me, above all, stedfast in the faith of Christ, and let it dwell habitually within me.

"*August* 1, *Sunday*.—My chapter was John xiii., and I certainly had great satisfaction in my Sabbath exercise thereupon. What a blessed and high achievement to realize the charity of the Gospel as described in 1 Cor. xiii., which was in my ordinary reading to-day.—O God, let this be my distinct aim, that so the same mind may be in me that was in Christ Jesus.

"*August* 5.—Much, very much, to change ere I am as I ought to be in the element of religion.

"*August* 7.—The Church matters seem fast hastening to a crisis, and a disruption seems inevitable. I pray for counsel and fortitude, and all the proper virtues of such an emergency from on high.

"*August* 8.—My chapter to-day John xiv. I find it easier, and surely it is safer, to take up my topics of meditation from the Bible rather than to fetch them up by a gratuitous effort, or wait for them in reveries of my own. My God! bless and establish every good impression which the successive topics of that passage made upon me at the time. Let me but delight in Thy law, O God, and count it my great business to be occupied therewith, and then nothing shall offend me.

"*August* 12.—Heard to-day of the Commission. Guide and fortify, O Lord, Thy Church in the approaching crisis.

"*August* 13.—The times are hastening to a crisis. We must all be preparing for great changes. My God, give grace and guidance for the emergency that now hangs over us.

"*August* 15.—The chapter of this day was John xv.—very precious. O let me abide in Christ, and in Him have nourishment and strength. Quicken me, O Lord, and let me so keep Thy words as to have the love of the Father and the Son. The Church question begins to engross me.

"*August* 18.—My Saviour, why art Thou so little in my thoughts? Revive and regenerate me, O God! Brief preparation for the Commission.

"*August* 19.—How humbled I ought to feel at my exceeding distance from the test of loving God, that great is my peace, and that nothing shall offend me.

"*August* 27.—Opened the Commission in the High Church,

but adjourned to St. Luke's with Dr. Makellar. Went off to Cramond with Mr. M., where we met for prayer, and dined and spent the night. A number of the brethren—Dr. Gordon, Messrs. Cunningham, Candlish, Buchanan, and Horne.

"*September* 5.—Had nearer approach to God in Christ than usual, but have still much to aspire after. Much delighted with the first chapter of Colossians. The peculiar Sabbath chapter was John xviii.—O my God, let the mind of Mrs. C. be established, strengthened, and settled in the faith. May the eternity which is so fast approaching be full in our eye; and let us walk together as heirs of the grace of life.

"*September* 9.—Strike off these fetters of false orthodoxy which stand in the way of my new obedience; and while I retain entire dependence on Christ's righteousness and grace, let me, at the same time, have the comfort of knowing that my labour, my own personal labour, is not in vain in the Lord.

"*September* 14.—Let me keep by the work of self-discipline amid all defects and discouragements.

"*September* 27.—Began this day my Institutes of Theology. I pray for God's blessing upon the work, and that faith and His glory may be the single aim of my heart. I have great comfort in quiet and leisurely and thorough study.

"*October* 1.—My last lecture on chemistry. Some failures and breakages, but altogether a splendid and satisfactory conclusion.

"*October* 2.—Let me do all I can for others; but remember that whatever I do beyond the point of doing it cheerfully is not an acceptable sacrifice to God.

"*October* 3.—Began my regular biblical devotions this day—I trust with good to my soul. The result so far has been a feeling of comfort and satisfaction. Prosper this enterprise, Almighty Father! and bless it to my eternal welfare."

The biblical compositions referred to in the last extracts, commenced at this period, were continued by Dr. Chalmers with unbroken regularity till the day of his decease. Go where he might, however he might be employed, each week-day had its few verses read, thought over, written upon, giving what he denominated his "Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ;"* each Sabbath-day had its two chapters, one in the Old, the other in the New Testament, with the two trains of meditative devotion recorded

* See Posthumous Works, vols. i. ii. iii.

to which they respectively gave birth—forming what he denominated his "Horæ Biblicæ Sabbaticæ."* In preparing the "Horæ Quotidianæ," he had beside him for use and reference the Concordance, Kitto's Pictorial Bible, Poole's Synopsis, Henry's Commentary, and Robinson's Researches in Palestine. These constituted what he called his "Biblical Library." "There," said he to a friend, pointing to the volumes as they lay upon the table of his library, "there are the books I use—all that is biblical is there. I have to do with nothing besides in my biblical study." It would have defeated his primary object had he used the many other helps which were at hand, had he been led away by their employment into any lengthened critical, historical, or doctrinal investigations. These daily writings were not intended to be vehicles of learned research. They were not intended to constitute an elaborate exposition. He had no intention of drawing up for the use of others a regular commentary on the Holy Scriptures. He used the pen for his own private benefit alone. His great desire was to take off from the sacred page as quick, fresh, vivid, and complete an impression as he could, and in using his pen to aid in this, his object was far more to secure a faithful transcript of that impression than either to examine or describe the mould that made it. His own description of the "Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ" was, that they consisted of his first and readiest thoughts, clothed in the first and readiest words which occurred to him. They are not the less valuable on this account. "We want," says Lord Bacon, "short, sound, and judicious notes upon Scripture, without running into commonplaces, pursuing controversies, or reducing those notes to artificial method, but leaving them quite loose and native. For, certainly, as those wines which flow from the first treading of the grape are sweeter and better than those forced out by the press, which gives them the roughness of the husk and the stone, so are those doctrines best and sweetest which flow from a gentle crush of the Scriptures, and are not wrung into controversies and commonplaces."† The wise hand was needed as well as the gentle crush, and in the "Horæ Quotidianæ," the fruit of both, we have the want complained of by Bacon supplied.

The "Horæ Sabbaticæ" differ both in form and substance from the "Horæ Quotidianæ." Written amid the quiet of the

* See Posthumous Works, vols. iv. v.
† See "Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper," Nov. 27, 1847.

day of rest, they rise to a high region, and they breathe a holier air. Contemplative and devotional throughout, they pass generally into direct addresses to the Deity. Such references are continually occurring to passing incidents, that they might fitly be described, if the expression were allowable, as the Sabbath diary of the last six years of Dr. Chalmers's life. His impressions as to the events are given here in a manner so free and unrestrained as to impart to them a peculiar interest. But the chief value of the "Sabbaticæ," and that which makes us rank them as among the most precious of all Dr. Chalmers's writings, lies in the spirit of rational and scriptural, yet lofty and ethereal devotion which they breathe. The innermost movements of his spirit are here spread out to us as he himself spread them out before that eye which seeth in secret: we see him as he bowed in simple, sincere, profound humility when alone in the presence of God—we hear him as, in tones often so low and deep, yet often also so heavenly and sublime, he poured his confessions and desires and aspirations into the ear of the Holy One.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PATRONAGE ABOLISHED BY THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT—THE ACT OF SECURITY AND TREATY OF UNION—PATRONAGE RESTORED BY THE ACT OF QUEEN ANNE—DR. CHALMERS TAKES PART IN THE ANTI-PATRONAGE MOVEMENT—VINDICATION OF THE STEP IN HIS LETTER TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL—NARRATIVE OF THE SETTLEMENT AT CULSALMOND—THE INTERDICTS OF THE COURT OF SESSION—CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT—THE NEW PARTY IN THE CHURCH—DR. CHALMERS'S LETTER TO THE REV. MR. BRUCE—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1842—MOTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF PATRONAGE—THE CLAIM OF RIGHTS.

By the Revolution Settlement in 1699, the Royal supremacy in spiritual affairs and lay patronage in the Church of Scotland were abolished. When, a few years afterwards, a motion for the union of the two kingdoms was brought forward, the people and Parliament of Scotland were so alive to the perils to which their Church would be exposed under the predominating influence of Anglican institutions, and so determined that "the worship, discipline, and government of their Church should be effectually and unalterably secured," that not only did they forbid their Commissioners to treat "of or concerning any alteration" in their Church, but they passed an Act, entitled "The Act of Security," by which they did "for ever confirm the 5th Act of the 1st Parliament of King William and Queen Mary, entituled, 'Act Ratifying the Confession of Faith and Settling Presbyterian Church Government,' and the whole other Acts of Parliament relating thereto;" and did "establish and confirm the said Protestant and Presbyterian Church government to continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations." It was also especially enacted, that this Act "should be held and observed in all time coming as a fundamental and essential condition of any treaty or union to be concluded betwixt the two kingdoms, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort for ever." This Act was accepted and ratified by the English Parliament, and embodied entire in the Treaty of Union. In violation of these manifold and most sacred securities, when Bolingbroke was

plotting the overthrow of the other Protestant institutions of the empire, and was secretly preparing the way for the return of the Stuarts to the throne, he introduced an Act for the restoration of Patronage in Scotland, and hurried it with indecent haste through Parliament. The Church had barely time to let her voice of remonstrance against such a flagrant breach of the Treaty of Union, be heard in the House of Lords. It was heard, however, only to be disregarded; and by the 10th of Queen Anne, passed on the 22d May 1711, Patronage was once more established. So strong was the general conviction of the impolicy and unrighteousness of this Act, that for many years it was not acted on in Scotland, the patrons not claiming the right which it bestowed, or the Church, without challenge, disallowing it. It came gradually, however, into operation, and at last, under the reign of Moderatism, was universally acted upon. The course of events once more directed to it the attention of the Church. It obviously lay at the root of all the evils by which the Church was visited; and the failure of recent negotiations led an increasing number to demand its abolition as the best and surest method of deliverance. At an important meeting of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, held on the 26th January 1842, the Rev. Dr. Gordon moved a series of resolutions, affirming "the propriety of seeking the abolition of the Law of Patronage, as, especially in the construction now attempted to be put upon it, involving a violation of the constitution of the Church and kingdom secured at the Revolution, and unalterably ratified by the Act of Security and Treaty of Union."

In seconding this motion, Dr. Chalmers said—"When the Church and the patrons harmonize, and are alike bent on the Christian good of the people, the matter proceeds rightly and prosperously. The times have been when they harmonized for evil, and the people were sacrificed; but the times are now when the Church is on the side of the people, and very many of the patrons are against them. I see nothing that can extricate the difficulty but that the people be called in and restored to the place which they held in the first ages of the Christian Church, and in the best and most flourishing periods of the Church of Scotland. If the two can be made to stand together —if Patronage and the rights of the popular conscience can in any way be amalgamated—the object of the motion were fulfilled, without the last resort, which, on the failure of all previous expedients, is thus opened up to us. But I confess I have my

doubts, nay more, I have my fears—nay more, after the weary experience of so many years, I begin to despair of a reconciliation between these jarring elements, which, after all our attempts to conjoin them, like water and oil, are found to be immiscible. There is one comfort in the midst of all these discomfitures, that if one or other of these adverse elements is to be sacrificed I feel no perplexity on the question which of the two ought to give way. Between absolute and unmitigated Patronage on the one hand, and popular election on the other, I do not hesitate a moment to say which is the likelier constitution of the two for a laborious, a faithful, and a well appointed ministry in the Church of Scotland. With a Church prepared on the one hand to fix and to regulate and to raise indefinitely if she so choose the learning and the qualifications of the eligible—and, on the other, by her high demands both for character and knowledge at the admission of communicants to the table of the Lord, to raise indefinitely the character of her electors, I confess that, with the blessing of God, I should look, under the working of a system like this, for the triumphant progress of a so renewed and regenerated Church among the people of these lands. And should the interloper, Patronage, come in betwixt, and ask for her function and her place of occupancy in the midst of us—should this corrupter in other days of the purity of our Church, this disturber, and never more than now, of the peace of our Israel, lift her unabashed visage, and with all her sins upon her forehead, tell us of her claims, and ask how she is to be disposed of, let her be made to know that we have no demand whatever for her services, and that the power which refuses to be regulated ought forthwith to be destroyed.

"I conclude with expressing it as my earnest prayer that these controversies might soon pass away; and still more that, however terminated, the Church may be found from first to last to have acquitted herself with perfect honour, and so as to come forth with unimpaired moral weight in the eyes of the country. Circumstances have brought her into contact and busy converse with the politicians of this world. It is her part to maintain the most perfect simplicity and godly sincerity in all her transactions with them; and I sit down with the most perfect confidence that if her ways please God, He will make even her deadliest enemies to be at peace with her."

At the opening of the Non-Intrusion controversy, Dr. Chalmers had not only kept himself aloof from the Anti-patronage

movement, but had strenuously resisted it, as throwing an obstacle between the Church and the politicians in the pending negotiations. The part now taken by him and others in fostering a movement which they had previously condemned marks a new stage in the progress of the controversy, and receives its justification from the altered position of affairs. It lay open, however, to grave charges, which were unscrupulously adduced. It was represented as stamping dishonesty on all the previous procedure of the Church, as if she had been cherishing a design which she had carefully concealed. She now, it was alleged, dropped the mask, and revealed the democratic spirit by which her whole conduct had been animated. Nor were enemies the only parties who condemned this movement. By some of the best friends of the Church it was regarded as a needless shifting of her ground, unjustifiable in itself, and unworthy of the Church's dignity. Among many remonstrances against its impolicy, there was one which, coming from the Duke of Argyll, who had already proved his attachment to the Church, and was waiting only for the favourable moment for pressing his measure on the Legislature, was entitled to the weightiest regard. Dr. Chalmers replied to it as follows :—

"Edinburgh, *February* 9, 1842.

"My Lord Duke,—I understand that the enemies of our cause represent the motion carried the other day in the Presbytery of Edinburgh as an onward movement on the part of the majority in the Church, which they had all along contemplated, but kept secret till now, thereby laying themselves open to the charge of a double and disingenuous policy, as if, while negotiating for a small, they were all the while intent on a larger measure, which they meant, when a fitting opportunity came round, to speed onward by one step after another in a career of indefinite and unknown changes.

"I will not speak of those negotiations wherewith I myself have not had personally to do, though I believe them capable of entire vindication. But your Grace will permit me to say, that in all my correspondence, and on every occasion when I have taken part in the deliberations of the Church Courts, I have studied the most perfect simplicity and openness in all my avowals, and have never shrunk from the most frank and explicit and unreserved declaration of my views.

"Two years ago, when I corresponded with Lord Aberdeen,

my immediate object was to obtain the *liberum arbitrium;* but I never ceased to express my desire for a much larger concession than this to the wishes of the people, and assured him on various occasions that the more nearly he approached to a popular constitution, the more surely would he provide both for the prosperity of the Church and the peace of the country.

"But on this very principle I infinitely preferred your Grace's Bill to the measure I attempted to press on Lord Aberdeen; and surely was quite at liberty to become its advocate when that measure was denied to me. I accordingly did advocate it most strenuously at the last General Assembly, not as absolutely the best, but as the best that we had any likelihood of getting. My opinion as to the *optimum maximum*, however, remained unchanged, and having nothing to disguise, I proclaimed it openly, which was, that the best constitution for a Church I deemed to be that where the ministers were paid by the State and chosen by the people.

"This brings me down to the present time. The *liberum arbitrium* was refused to us by Lord Aberdeen, and we took to your Grace's Bill. The *liberum arbitrium* has been again refused to us by Sir James Graham, and your Grace has represented the carrying of your Bill as all but hopeless. What then remains for us to do? We now feel as if it were a vain endeavour to enlist the understanding of the English Parliament on the side of any of our ecclesiastical peculiarities. It was perhaps wrong to expect that they should judge aright on the merits of a Presbyterian Church law; but we may have a better chance of finding access to the Parliamentary mind of England if we speak to them of the merits and character of one of their own acts, and appeal to their sense of justice on the flagrant iniquity done to Scotland, when, by a breach of the Articles of Union, that Act of Queen Anne was passed which has brought evils on our Church, that, after the failure of our repeated trials, we may well conclude, should your Grace not succeed in carrying your Bill, to be wholly irremediable. Nothing more natural, nothing more justifiable, than that after these defeats and disappointments we should try to get rid of an act which is the real source of all our difficulties, so as to be thrown back on the state we held between 1690 and 1711, one of the most flourishing periods in the history of our Church. And it is not we who spontaneously, and of our own wantonness, are making changes from one proposal to another: we are

compelled to it by those on the other side who reject our first proposals, and force us to take refuge in succeeding ones. It is by a confusion of ideas that people say of us, Nothing will content them; if they get one reform, they will be after another presently. Truly all our apparent changes proceed from this, that, instead of getting anything, we are refused everything; and we have been shut up to our present position, not by any wayward fluctuations of our own, but by the unyielding obstinacy of those who are opposed to us.

"It may very naturally be asked, Why, if you thought it better to have a large than a small measure, why did you seek the small, and not lift at once your demand for the large, and which you profess to regard, too, as intrinsically preferable to the other? We have perhaps done wrong in this; but we wanted to obtain redress in the most practicable and pacific way, and with the least possible amount of change or innovation. We were willing to be put into a state that was at all tolerable in the most cautious, and, if I may so term it, in the most conservative way possible; and all we have got in return is the misinterpretation of our proceedings, as if with the insatiable spirit of anarchs and revolutionists we had entered on a desperate course of transitions from one stage to another, till we had precipitated the Church into some gulf, the nature of which I do not well understand, but which I have no doubt is sufficiently frightful in the scared imaginations of our adversaries.

"It is exceedingly to be regretted, that, in this heated warfare of party, so much injustice should be going; but I have all confidence in your Grace's calm and enlightened patriotism, and am sure that you will bear with me, if, in the few remaining lines, I attempt to lay before you what I hold for any practical object is most material to be known.

"1*st*, The Church may acquiesce in, she never will approve of, a mere *liberum arbitrium;* and it will have little or no effect in laying an arrest on the Anti-patronage movement.

"2*d*, The Church, in my opinion, would accept of your Grace's Bill, and that not as a step to ulterior changes, but for the purpose of working it honestly and faithfully, with the view to an efficient ministration of the Gospel in Scotland. Many of us, and myself in particular, do not think that it comes up to the *beau-idéal* of a best possible constitution for the appointment of clergymen. But we shall be content to wait for this being realized by a gradual and pacific march of improvement,

and have no sympathy with those who talk of instalments, and would keep the Church and the country in a state of incessant turmoil and agitation.

"But, 3*d*, and most important of all, the Church, I fondly hope and pray, will never consent to be cast down by any power on earth beneath the *liberum arbitrium*. If the right of the patron, on the one hand, is to carry it over the judgment of the ecclesiastical courts that it is not for the Christian good of the families in a parish that his presentee, unacceptable to them, shall be admitted their minister; the Church, on the other hand, never will submit to the mandate of any court under the sun calling on them to ordain and admit that man. On this head I trust that our majority will present an unbroken phalanx of resistance to the violence that would offer such an invasion upon our liberties; and should the further violence be perpetrated of driving us, because of this, from our own rightful patrimony, we shall in hundreds, I trust, quit the endowments of a Church thus Erastianized, and, under God, cast the support of our righteous cause on the people of Scotland.

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL."

Meanwhile, in the race of ecclesiastical insubordination the Presbytery of Strathbogie had found a vigorous rival in its next neighbour, the Presbytery of Garioch. The Rev. Mr. Middleton, who had acted for some years as assistant to the minister of Culsalmond, obtained at last a presentation to that parish. The Presbytery of Garioch met on the 28th October 1841, to moderate in the call. A majority of the communicants on the roll dissented from the appointment. According to the recent regulations of the Church, the Presbytery was not bound to give immediate effect to that dissent by rejecting the presentee, but was required only to stay procedure and report to the next General Assembly. The Presbytery resolved, however, to proceed immediately to the ordination. A minority of the Court appealed to the superior judicatories, but this appeal was set aside. The people then came forward with special objections to the presentee, but the Presbytery refused to consider them. The parishioners and the minority in the Presbytery protested separately against this resolution, and appealed to the Synod. There is a standing order of the Church that no Presbytery shall ordain in face of an appeal. Trampling upon this order,

and setting all the common forms of procedure at defiance, the Presbytery resolved to meet again at Culsalmond on the 11th November, for the purpose of completing the settlement. It was another bleak, wintry, snowy day, such as that which occurred about a year before in the neighbouring parish of Marnoch, and another such crowd assembled. But the same wise counsels did not prevail, nor was the same spirit manifested by the people. The rapid and imperious movement of the Presbytery had created the feeling that they were stealing a march upon the people, and trying to do the deed before legal check of any kind could be imposed. Rashly and most unwisely the people took the check into their own hands. When the doors were opened, a motley crowd, principally composed of strangers from a distance, rushed in, and took such complete possession of the building, that it was with extreme difficulty, and by the help only of the officers of justice, that the Presbytery could find their way into the Church. It was to no purpose that they found an entrance; for no sooner was the attempt made to commence the proper business of the Court than loud discordant clamours, rising from all quarters, drowned their voices, and effectually prevented all further progress. They waited for an hour or more—again and again making the effort to proceed, but making it in vain. They retired at last to the manse, and there, in a private room, and within locked doors, this unhappy ordination was consummated. The parishioners complained to the Commission of the arbitrary and irregular conduct of the Presbytery, and that Court, which met on the 17th November, cited the parties conplained of to appear before the ensuing General Assembly, and in the meantime, until the protests and appeals which had been made were judicially disposed of, prohibited Mr. Middleton from officiating in the parish of Culsalmond, and instructed the minority of the Presbytery of Garioch to provide for the administration of sacred ordinances in that parish. The sentence of the Commission was purely and exclusively spiritual: it touched no civil right—it carried with it no civil consequence. It had grounds to rest on disconnected with any question about the legality of the Veto Law. Mr. Middleton, however, and the majority of the Presbytery, applied to the Court of Session to suspend it, and to prohibit its intimation and execution. Lord Ivory, to whom, as Lord Ordinary, their petition was in the first instance directed, refused to grant its prayer, on the grounds "that there was no question now

before the Court as to the legality of the Veto Law; that the civil rights, whether of the patron or presentee, would stand perfectly unscathed, notwithstanding all that had yet been done by the Commission; and that the only question here was, Shall this Court interfere with the proceedings of a proper Church Court, when that Court, acting within its own province, is dealing with a proper ecclesiastical cause, and this, too, while that cause is still actually depending before them?" The case went before the First Division of the Court, and the majority of the Judges reversed the decision of the Lord Ordinary. On the 10th March 1842, the Suspension and Interdict were granted as craved. In delivering his opinion, the Lord President declared that it was quite sufficient to bring this matter within the jurisdiction of the Court—"that a gross stigma had been fixed on Mr. Middleton's sacred character as a minister of the Gospel," by his being forbidden for a time to officiate; and that the majority of the Presbytery had been "degraded from their status and functions as Established ministers, and their general usefulness and respectability affected" by their being overlooked, and the minority appointed to supply all the ministerial services which the parish of Culsalmond required. At the beginning of this controversy, it was alleged in defence of the Court of Session, that it had interfered only when such civil rights as are properly the subjects of civil action were immediately involved. As broader and deeper invasions of the Church's territory were made, the defence was widened by its being affirmed that the Civil Court was warranted to interfere in all cases where civil rights were directly or indirectly affected. But now the Court of Session, speaking through its President, had given it broadly to be understood, that if any one conceived that by the sentence of an ecclesiastical court, any injury had been done to his reputation, or respectability, or usefulness, that was in itself enough to justify the Court in reviewing, and if it saw reason, in reversing the sentence of which he complained. No act of discipline could the Church perform; no spiritual censure or sentence of condemnation could she pronounce, which, upon this ground, did not lie open to revisal or reversal by the Court of Session. By assuming this prerogative, that Court constituted itself as the court of last appeal in all such cases; and the Church lay stripped of any supreme or exclusive jurisdiction.

A broad and patent way to the Court of Session had been opened, and where Presbyteries had gone before them, individual

ministers could find no difficulty of approach. The minister of Stranraer had been accused of various acts of fraud, and his Presbytery were proceeding in his trial, when he applied to the Civil Court "to suspend the whole proceedings of the Presbytery;" and "further to prohibit, interdict, and discharge the said Presbytery from taking cognisance of the pretended libel." The minister of Cambusnethan had been found guilty of four separate acts of theft, and the Presbytery were about to depose him, when he raised an action of reduction in the Court of Session, and obtained an interdict against their proceeding. Mr. Clark, the presentee to Lethendy, who was living in the manse of which he had taken possession, was accused of repeated acts of drunkenness, and the Presbytery of Dunkeld had entered upon the investigation of these charges, with a view to deprive him of his licence. But he too had recourse to the great Protector, and an interdict against the Presbytery had been issued.

While actions and interdicts were multiplying—each new encumbrance thrown before the Church, making it more difficult for her to proceed—the Government refused to interfere. At the commencement of the Parliamentary session of 1842, Sir Robert Peel informed the House that he had no legislative measure in contemplation. Two months afterwards, the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, repeated the announcement, adding to it the declaration, that the Government was resolved "to stand by the law of the land as laid down by the civil tribunals of the country." The member for Argyllshire, Mr. Campbell of Monzie, moved the appointment of a select committee of inquiry; but his motion was negatived by a large majority, the Government lending all its weight to oppose his motion. Early in May, the determination to do nothing, but to leave the Church to continue the conflict as she best could, appeared suddenly to have been relinquished. This was due to a most untoward event which now occurred, an event fraught with incalculable evil. When the negotiations springing out of Sir George Sinclair's proposal terminated, there was a deep and very general conviction that all hope of any adjustment, based upon Lord Aberdeen's measure, was worse than nugatory. There were one or two members, however, of the Non-Intrusion Committee who thought otherwise, and by whom an active clerical canvas was commenced, with the view of forming a new party, drawn from the evangelical ranks. Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton, and Dr. Leishman of Govan, were the leaders of this disastrous movement. At the meeting of

the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, which took place in April, the latter of these two clergymen declared, that already, within the bounds of that Synod, there were forty prepared to accept of that settlement which the Committee had repudiated. This party had not confined their operations to Scotland; if they had, their movement had been comparatively harmless. They had opened private negotiations with men in power, the bitter fruits of which immediately appeared. Mr. Campbell of Monzie had undertaken to introduce the Duke of Argyll's Bill into the House of Commons, and the 4th May was the day fixed for its second reading. At the last hour—no time for consultation given—the honourable member was informed that the Government had it in contemplation to introduce a measure themselves, which they believed would be satisfactory, and he was requested to withdraw his Bill. He consented to do so, cherishing the natural belief that with the knowledge so abundantly possessed by the Government of what alone would satisfy, its measure would at least be one in which the Church could acquiesce. But when Sir James Graham informed the House that it was in consequence of recent communications from Scotland that the Government had been induced to interfere, and still more, when he presented to the House a general outline of the measure, it was apparent that nothing beyond Lord Aberdeen's Bill, with the added clause, was contemplated; and that the hope of success entertained by the Government originated in the belief that the evangelical party was at last breaking up, and that so many would join "the forty" as to make it both safe and desirable for Government to interfere. So soon as this appeared, Mr. Maule, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Patrick M. Stewart, and other tried Parliamentary friends of the cause, resisted the proposal of postponement, and urged most strenuously that the debate should go on. They pressed the matter to a division, and were left in a minority of 43 to 131.

The General Assembly was now at hand, and Government waited to note its proceedings, as an index for guiding its own course. It was destined to be the last Assembly of the United Church of Scotland. Beset and beleaguered on every side, the evangelical majority held fast its ground, and showed still an unbroken front. But the difficulties which it had to encounter had now greatly increased—the legal entanglements had become at once more numerous and more embarrassing—the open anarchy which had broken out was rapidly spreading—and now, last of all, and worst of all, there were dark rumours of internal disunion

and defection. In the judgment of the wisest and best of its leaders, the period had arrived for a final declaration of principles and purpose, to be followed by some decisive course of action. The approaching meeting of the General Assembly would supply the fit occasion for making this Declaration; but for some weeks previously, it was matter of grave and anxious consultation in what form it should be couched, and to what special objects it should be directed. Dr. Chalmers, who was not in Edinburgh at this time, embodied his own views in the following letter to the Rev. Mr. Bruce:—

"*April* 10, 1842.

"My dear Sir,—In the present state of our Church controversy, the first and nearest concern is the integrity of our jurisdiction.

"After the treatment we have received both from Government and Parliament, as well as the Court below, the time seems now to be fully come when we should put forth a Claim of Rights, with a statement of what we hold to be our duty, along with our determination to adhere to it.

"I hold it a great advantage, that in the preparation of such a document, we can set ourselves forth in the light of a suffering and aggrieved party—not as claimants, but as complainers; that is, not as seeking for ourselves any new powers, but as protesting against an invasion made upon our old liberties, and which have been ours in undisturbed possession for many generations. One great benefit of such an attitude is, that whereas to meet the allegation of seeking power for ourselves, we felt compelled to say, in reply and vindication, that it was but the power of giving effect to the dissents of the people—we do not need thus to mix up one question with another, but may confine ourselves simply to a demand for justice against the aggressions of the Civil Courts on the part which belongs to the Church and to the Church exclusively, in the collation of the ministerial office.

"I have all along been impressed with the deadly mischief that has arisen from the complication of our question—between the Church's power to regulate in this matter, and the propriety of our specific regulation. In every conference or negotiation with our civil rulers, I would keep exclusively by the former of these topics; and unless forced upon us by them, would keep out the other, as an irrelevancy, that was not only unnecessary but uncalled for; but more than this, because it operated as a

hurtful distraction, and served to obscure and mystify a question which, if looked to with singleness of eye, might by this time have been so lighted up, as to have made its whole subject-matter transparent to all. When we asked the Parliament to establish and endow Presbyterianism, we did not ask them to become Presbyterians. When we ask them to protect our spiritual independence from the invasion of the courts below, so as that we shall be suffered to give effect to our own principle of Non-Intrusion, I would ask no recognition of this principle from them, or that they should become Non-Intrusionists.

"I should therefore rejoice, if, in preparing a Claim of Rights, it could be so managed, that Non-Intrusion were not once mentioned in it. There might be a necessity for adverting to it in the historical part of the Memorial, but there is both a high principle and a high policy in its not being named—save in the general as a principle held by us to be essential to Presbytery, and which the Church, therefore, is resolved never to abandon.

"To satisfy you that this is no crotchet, let me state the grounds on which my view rests, in what appears to me the following grave and substantial considerations :—

"1*st*, To set the Parliamentary mind agoing on two points instead of one, is to foreclose all hope of its ever attaining a clear view of our question. One idea at a time is enough for any corporate body to discuss or to decide upon; and the agitation of two in that assembly of several hundreds, will give rise to a labyrinth of confusion that must turn out to be quite inextricable. Lord Lorne's pamphlet owes all its clearness and power to his having kept by the single topic of the Church's rightful jurisdiction; and what is the alone subject of his letter to the Peers, should be the alone subject of our manifesto, both to Peers and Commoners.

"2*d*, It is the proper topic addressed to the proper quarter. It is not for Parliament to take up the ecclesiastical merits of the principle of Non-Intrusion; nor would I ask from them any opinion on a question which is ours not theirs. It is an internal question wherewith we alone have to do. The other is a boundary question—the only proper one between the two parties—the line of demarcation between the civil and the ecclesiastical. I would not ask their approval to ordain a certain amount of education in Hebrew; but should an inferior court resist this our ordination, I would ask their protection from the molestation thus given to us. As little would I ask their approval ere I

ordained a certain amount of acceptableness as essential to the pastoral relation. But I ask protection from the Court that steps beyond its own domain, and has made invasion upon ours, for the purpose of compelling us to form the pastoral relation on other terms than we ourselves have determined.

"*3d*, I feel it a sort of injustice to the cause of our spiritual independence—or which is tantamount to this, to the sacred cause of the headship of Christ, to be condescending on the specific question of Non-Intrusion—when so high a matter is at issue as the great generic and comprehensive privilege which is inherent with every true Church of deciding this and all other purely ecclesiastical questions for themselves. To speak of the enactment, when the thing in jeopardy is the enacting power, is bringing this power into greater jeopardy still. It is almost like the submission of the enactment to the tribunal of civil authority. On this ground I would never ask from the Legislature a recognition of the principle of Non-Intrusion. It is a far greater thing which is at stake—the right of giving effect to this and every other principle of a purely spiritual nature which seemeth to us a sound one. We do not ask the bestowal of even this right at their hands. We only ask their recognition of it as a right which both originally and constitutionally belongs to us: or rather we stand before them as an aggrieved party (which, as I have already said, were an immense advantage), and ask their protection from an invasion on that sacred prerogative, which both in the nature of things and by law belongs to us. This is our high ground, and we should keep by it.

"*4th*, There is still another ground on which I should like our struggle with the civil power to be for the genus rather than for the species. It is not merely that if the one were secured the other would follow; but that the one, as being altogether of a more catholic and comprehensive character, commands for itself a larger sympathy and respect, not in England only but throughout the whole of reformed Christendom. It is that great Erastian controversy, in which all States and all Churches have a common interest. The other question has more, certainly, of a local character. It is a Scottish peculiarity, which not even our near friends and neighbours, the Methodists of England, can altogether go along with; and I do confess that I have often felt when Non-Intrusion was spoken of out of Scotland, that it was the inopportune presentation of such a topic as gave a certain cast of provincial littleness to a cause which

might be so stated as to create a responsive and deep-felt interest in every land where national establishments of Christianity were known.

"*5th*, I have not exhausted these considerations, and could state other and distinct ones; but in addition to these, which might be called the proprieties of the case in itself, let me give my own impression of what might be termed the policy of the question—though I by no means hinge our determination as to the right method of treating it on a matter so uncertain as the likelihoods of success. But I do feel it to be a grievous deviation from all sound tact and management, to be unnecessarily arousing the antipathies of the English Parliament, by dunning into their ears our ecclesiastical topic of Non-Intrusion, when we have other such congenial and intelligible topics on which to address them, as co-ordinate jurisdiction, Articles of Union, the faith of national treaties, the contents and enactments of their own statute-book, the relations and other generalities which pertain to the connexion between Church and State. What makes me all the less able to comprehend this constant and inveterate tendency to the specific rather than to the general question, and that both in and out of season, is, that after all the general is our vital question, and the particular constitution of our Patronage is not so. It seems to me a further aggravation of this impolicy—as serving to make the breach between the Church and the State all the more hopeless—that our vital is not their vital question; and therefore did we but confine ourselves to the former, we may carry it our own way—whereas, if we insist on the latter, which is not our vital question, but may be theirs, it might lead to a misunderstanding quite irreparable. There are many, I believe, in the Senate-house who would sooner see the Establishment destroyed than give a vote, which in their own name should expressly recognise the principle of Non-Intrusion; and who yet, rather than venture on the sacrifice of a great national institute, would consent that the power of the patron, and of the civil courts, should cease from the moment that the presentee should be handed over to the Church Courts. Let us keep, therefore, on the right track of negotiation; and we may not only all the more effectually secure the attention of the Legislature to our cause, but may get infinitely better terms by it. In any protest, or remonstrance, or claim of rights, that we intend for the ears of the Legislature, let us address them as statesmen, by speaking of the constitu-

tional standing and relations between the two bodies; and not as theologians or ecclesiastics by speaking of Non-Intrusion.

"But, it may be said, is not this casting Non-Intrusion overboard? No, it is only providing each topic with its right theatre, and so taking the best method for bringing each to a right issue. England, and more especially its Parliament, is the arena on which the battle for the Church's jurisdiction is to be fought. Scotland, and more especially its General Assembly, is the arena on which to plead and carry the cause of Non-Intrusion. But, indeed, it is most true that in one sense I am ready to cast Non-Intrusion overboard; and that to make room for it in its best form, which is the abolition of Patronage. Still it is in Scotland where this cause has, in the first instance, to be launched and set afloat; and that both in the General Assembly, where the ancient protest against it ought to be renewed, and throughout the country at large, whence petitions might be made to ascend from one end of the land to the other. It is not until backed by these that the question should come within the walls of Parliament. When the General Assembly, the supreme governing power of the Church, makes appearance there, it should be in defence of her own invaded privileges—her own violated jurisdiction. When the abolition of Patronage is the question, then let the whole Church make appearance—the governors with their protest, but that in conjunction with the governed, that is, the people with their complaints and remonstrances from every part of the Scottish territory.

"I am sickened to despair with the argument that we must foist in Non-Intrusion upon every occasion, and before whatever party, lest we should lose our hold of the people of Scotland. Have we no access to the people but *via* London? They are at our own door; and might not we in daily and immediate converse with them make it as clear as day that it is for their cause the Church is now perilling all which belongs to her in the world? Within the limits of our own territory, let us take our full swing of Non-Intrusion and Anti-patronage, and above all let the people be made to see, that, in defence of their Christian liberties, the ministers are putting to hazard if not their lives at least their livelihoods. They may perhaps not see this effectually, till these livelihoods shall have been actually wrested from us. This may be or not. But certain it is, that between a resolved clergy and a confiding, attached people, we have the materials for a body of strength, which with the blessing of God

will turn out to be irresistible. And therefore it is that I am so desirous of an engagement, entered into by as many hundreds as will have vigour of principle, and, let me add, the truly wise as well as magnanimous policy of putting down their names to it—that, rather than give up the final jurisdiction of the Church in things ecclesiastical, they are willing, if the hand of power shall offer to inflict such a violence, to be stripped of all the rights and advantages which belong to them as the ministers of a National and Established Church.

"It is thus that we might fix ourselves on our best vantage ground for a bold and righteous administration of our present affairs; more especially, in the exercise of discipline against all offenders, all delicacy and hesitation of every sort ought to be given to the winds. Nothing will serve but an open, courageous, and rectilineal policy. Whatever be the persons, or whatever the Presbyteries who have defied the authority of the Supreme Court, they should, if not immediately deposed, be immediately proceeded against in the way that if they will not return to obedience must infallibly issue in the wholesale deposition of them all. On this matter there must be no shrinkings, nor do I know aught of more imperious obligation, both in respect of wisdom and principle, than that the Church, in dealing with the refractory and the Erastian members of her own body, should proceed against them with a firm and unfaltering hand. I know they are boasting of their numbers, and triumphantly ask if we can depose sixty. What a noble reply should we be prepared to make, if we can say yes, or you must drive off six hundred. Let the Government take their choice. Let all who have a patriotic regard for the country's peace and welfare, set the alternative before them. Let every man who values the blessings of an efficient Church decide the question for himself—Whether it were better that so many tens or twenties of our disorderly members shall have an arrest laid upon them, and that by an appliance of the right censures and penalties, even to expulsion from the Establishment if called for; or, that as many hundreds shall be ejected from their present holdings, and, thrust beyond the pale of the Establishment, shall on the fields of Non-conformity to which they are driven, join themselves with all that is good and wholesome among the Dissenters, and, on the strength of their numerous congregations and followers amongst an approving people, take possession of the land? Heaven grant, *first*, that the clear and full exhibition

of this as the inevitable result of their infatuation, be made before the enemies of our Church; and, *second*, that seeing the infatuation of their ruinous policy they may be led to abandon it.—I ever am, my dear Sir, yours most cordially,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

This letter was circulated among the leading friends of the Church in Edinburgh, and in returning it to Mr. Bruce, Dr. Gordon wrote as follows:—

"42, ST. CUTHBERT STREET, *Thursday Evening.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have read with great delight the letter which I now return, and since reading it I have hurriedly run over the proof of our Claim and Declaration. I am sure Dr. Chalmers will be delighted with the latter. It is purely a jurisdiction claim. If 500 would sign it we are safe—I mean humanly speaking. God may be pleased to save us by a smaller number, lest we should boast and say, 'By my hand I have done it.'

"If I might venture a remark on the Doctor's letter, I would say, that his sharp language on the prominence given to the Non-Intrusion principle is more applicable to the Government than to the Church. The only ground on which the former ever condescended to look at our case, was the notion that they could despoil us of our jurisdiction by *seeming* to give us large powers on that one point; and I fear they will continue to attempt ensnaring us in the same miserable and pettifogging way. They will meet our higher and larger claim with the old cry, the *Supreme* Court has interpreted against you all the statutes on which you found. This, therefore, must be the meaning of the statutes, and consequently the real terms of the connexion between Church and State for the last 130 years, and we see no reason to alter these terms. I am convinced that this is the point to which they will bring us. Well; be it so. Let us follow the course so plainly and powerfully laid out for us by our venerable and beloved father. If it come to this, I trust that his setting sun will exhibit him to Christendom in a brighter blaze than in all his other works—leading his brethren in one of the noblest testimonies that have ever been borne to the glorious headship of our adorable Redeemer.—Ever, my dear Sir, most affectionately yours, ROBERT GORDON.

"THE REV. JOHN BRUCE."

The framing of that most important document, in which the Church was to embody a final statement of her principles and her claims, her wrongs and her resolution, was intrusted to Mr. Dunlop, who, in transmitting a proof of it to Dr. Chalmers, says :—

"EDINBURGH, *May* 4, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I now send you a proof of our proposed manifesto, which I have endeavoured to draw up as much as possible in accordance with the views set forth in your letter to Mr. Bruce.

"I agree with you in the propriety of putting the great question as to our jurisdiction in the forefront of the battle—or, indeed, making it the battle; although my experience leads me to an opposite conclusion from you, as to the resistance to be given it. So far as I have been able to judge of the sentiments and feelings of statesmen, I think their hostility to the Church's independence is far more intense and inveterate than their hostility to the people having a voice, and most of them would willingly barter the latter for the former—*i.e.*, acknowledge it if *we* would give up the other. This at my last interview I was satisfied was the predominant feeling on the part of Sir Robert Peel, who, you will remember, in alluding to Lord Aberdeen's Bill, on a discussion upon the Assembly Hall grant, said, that we *might* get more power to the *people*, but we would never again get so much to the *Church*. Still, though my views as to this are directly opposed to yours, they lead me to the same conclusion. I would put this matter the more forward, because I am convinced that about it the real fight will be; and make that part of our fortifications the stronger, because there the most violent attacks will be made.—Believe me to be, yours very faithfully, A. DUNLOP.

"REV. DR. CHALMERS."

The General Assembly was summoned to convene on Thursday the 19th May,* and on the forenoon of that day, the

* "Our Assembly begins to sit to-morrow fortnight. The appointment of the Marquess of Bute to be our Commissioner is variously interpreted. That the object of this arrangement is a special one there can be no doubt, as in usual times the office is conferred on a poor nobleman, whereas Lord Bute is possessed of great influence and great wealth; and withal had earned the gratitude of our Church by his munificence in the cause of Church Extension. Some are apprehensive that the object is to conciliate so many as might convert the minority into a majority on the side of Lord Aberdeen's Bill, with some plausible modification. Let me hope, on the other hand, that our majority will remain firm and unbroken; and should such be the result of their experiment, let me further hope that

Marquess of Bute, as Lord High Commissioner, held his first levee in the Throne-Room of the Palace of Holyrood, in which his Grace had taken up his residence. Never before did so numerous or so brilliant a circle gather round Her Majesty's representative. The levee over, a long array of splendid carriages, flanked by cavalry on either side, wheeled out of the Palace-Court. The ring of martial music filled the ear, and the flash of glittering sabres struck the eye of the assembled multitude, as the gorgeous cavalcade swept round the base of the Calton-Hill on its way to the ancient church of St. Giles. After sermon by Dr. Gordon, the Assembly adjourned to St. Andrew's Church. The Court having been constituted, proceeded to make up the Roll of members. From the Presbytery of Strathbogie there was a double return, the deposed ministers having elected and deputed their own representatives to the Assembly. When it was moved by Mr. Dunlop that their return should be altogether disregarded, the motion was warmly opposed by Dr. Cook, who strenuously asserted that the Assembly should not hold these seven ministers as having been deposed. Dr. Chalmers scarcely ever took part in the minor business of the Assembly, but this startling proposition excited him for once to do so. "Moderator," he said, "this is the first time in my life that I ever heard it asserted, that the dissent of a minority superseded the sentence of a court passed by an overwhelming majority. The proposition is in substance, that those deposed by the General Assembly of 1841, shall, nevertheless, be allowed to sit as members in the General Assembly of 1842. Why, sir, the proposition is so very monstrous, and so fully comes in conflict—so palpably and immediately comes in conflict—with a first principle, that I cannot hold it to be a case for argument at all. But that such a proposition

the Government will be wise enough to conclude that ours is a position from which we are not to be driven, and that they will desist from their attempts to force or to carry it.

"The Conservatives have used us very ill; but I have reason to believe are now somewhat staggered at the resolute and unbending front of the majority in the Church. They flattered themselves that we would give in rather than lose our endowments; and they find it a more difficult problem than they had first counted on, now that they are opening to the conviction of such a disruption in the event of their persevering in their present policy, as will lead to the separation from the National Church of so many hundreds of her best clergy, as could, on the strength of their respectability and influence, carry the great bulk of the population along with them, and resolving themselves into a Home Mission, would take possession of the land.

"We are now beginning to organize the country into defensive associations; if necessary to relinquish our present incomes, which of course would be left in possession of a Church then Erastianized, we may from their contributions obtain such support as might be raised for the Non-Erastian Church of Scotland."—Letter from Dr. Chalmers to J. Lennox, Esq., of New York, dated 4th May 1842.

should be made, that such a proposition should ever be thought of, is a very instructive fact. It discovers to what a fearful extent of anarchy and disorder the enemy within—whether by the instigation and encouragement of the enemy without, I cannot say—are resolved to plunge the Church of Scotland; how they are resolved to strip her of the last vestige of that authority which belongs to every distinct body, governed by distinct office-bearers. Never, sir, would I say, has the character of the outrage inflicted upon the Church come out in such bold relief as at the present moment, when we have just met under the countenance of Her Majesty; when we have been ushered to our places with the form and circumstance of a great national Institute; and when we are now holding our deliberations in the presence and hearing of Royalty, represented by one of the most respected of our noblemen. We are now congregated in this our first meeting of the present Assembly, by the authority and appointment of the last meeting of the last General Assembly. And, sir, in these circumstances, what is the first thing we are called upon to do? Why, to pluck from our archives the most solemn deed of that most solemn convocation, and to trample it down under our feet as a thing of insignificance or a thing of nought. It is under the authority of last General Assembly that we now hold our places, and are now met as a deliberative body; and I must say that if there is anything more than another which could unsettle all men's notions of order and authority, it would be the success of the present proposition. It would truly be an egregious travesty, it would make a farce of the proceedings of our General Assembly, a complete laughing-stock of our Church, were there left her no authority to enforce obedience from her own sons. It would present a strange contrast between the impotence of our doings, and the pageantry of our forms—between the absolute nothingness of the Assembly, and the mighty notes of preparation—the imposing cavalcade which accompanied us—the pealing of the clarionets with which we were conducted into the House on the present occasion. I must say, there is not a heart that beats with more gratification, or feels more elevation, than my own, at the countenance given to our venerable Church at present by the high and honourable of the land; but ours will be the fault, if, untrue to ourselves, if, untrue to our privileges, we shall allow our Church to become a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal—a hissing and an astonishment to all passers by."

Mr. Dunlop's motion was carried by a majority which gave an earnest, good and sure, of the resolute spirit by which all the actings of this Assembly were characterized. On the first day of its meeting, the representatives from the only recognised Presbytery of Strathbogie, informed the House that interdicts from the Court of Session had been served upon them, prohibiting them from taking their seats as members of the Assembly. The Supreme Court vindicated her authority against this violation of her privileges, by entering the names of the interdicted members on the roll, and identifying herself with their act in sitting and voting as members of the Assembly, in such a way that the blow aimed at them was made to fall upon the Church collectively. The other interdicts of the Civil Court, by which the discipline of the Church was interfered with, were treated with the same silent and dignified disregard. The ministers of Cambusnethan and Stanraer were deposed from the sacred office. Mr. Clark was deprived of his license. The settlement of Mr. Middleton as minister of Culsalmond was rescinded, and those ministers who held communion with the deposed clergymen of Strathbogie, were suspended from the exercise of their judicial functions as members of Church Courts, till the March Commission of the following year. While the Assembly acquitted itself in this determined manner of its severer duties, it had other and more gracious offices to discharge. A most encouraging report was given in by Mr. Dunlop, of the progress made during the past year in all the varied fields of Christian and philanthropic enterprise. The recent strife and contention, it might have been imagined, would have quenched or absorbed the Church's Christian zeal. But it was signally the reverse. The gross revenue of the Church's schemes for ten months in 1841, exceeded by £8000 that for the whole of the preceding year; and looking back to the time when the evangelical interest became predominant, not only had three additional schemes of Christian usefulness been added to the two then existing, but the whole sum raised for religious purposes in 1842, was six times greater than that raised in 1834, each intervening year witnessing a growing increase. Coupling this general result with manifold local indications; with the greater prevalence of prayer-meetings over the country; with the remarkable awakenings at Kilsyth, Blairgowrie, and Dundee, we become convinced that these years of turbulence and strife had drawn, or driven, the Church nearer to the heavenly fountain of light and strength

—had deepened her faith—had purified and intensified her devotion. The two great discussions of the Assembly, and the only ones in which Dr. Chalmers took a part, were those relative to Patronage, and to the Church's Claim of Right. On Monday the 23d May, Dr. Cunningham moved a resolution to the effect that, as both in itself a grievance and as the main cause of the difficulties in which the Church had been involved, Patronage ought to be abolished. This motion, which was supported by Dr. Chalmers, was carried by a majority of 216 to 147. For more than half a century after the restoration of Patronage by the Act 1712, the General Assembly had annually renewed her protest against this grievance, and had given it as an instruction to the Commission to take all suitable opportunities for effecting its removal; and now once more, after the lapse of another half century, and on the last opportunity given for doing so, the ancient testimony against the yoke of Patronage was renewed.

On Tuesday the 24th, Dr. Chalmers moved the adoption of the "Claim of Rights." This remarkable document is the clearest and most consecutive, the most condensed and most comprehensive statement of the great principles which the Church asserted—of the Scriptural, constitutional, and legal grounds on which these principles rested—of the violence done to them by the Civil Court—of the wrongs which the Church had consequently sustained, and the claim for protection which she put forth. It closed with the solemn declaration that, subject to such civil coercion as was now attempted, the Church would not and could not carry on its government; and that at the hazard of losing all the secular benefits conferred by the State, and all the public benefits of an establishment, it would resist that coercion, and maintain to the last the inalienable liberties of a Church of Christ. In moving its adoption, Dr. Chalmers said:—"Moderator, I am glad that the putting forth of a Claim of Rights should be moved for in the General Assembly. I liked the proposal from the time I first heard of it, and more than ever are we now shut up to the necessity of such a measure. The Court of Session persists in, nay, is fast multiplying her encroachments. But the crowning necessity for a full and general representation of our case before the country at large, is, that we have been refused a hearing by Parliament. The disposition in high places, is to leave the Church altogether in the hands of the Court of Session, to proceed against her *ad libitum*, or to any extent that may seem unto them good, and this is

called leaving the law to take its course. They would abandon one Court to the entire mercy and discretion of another; and this they term being satisfied with the law as it stands. The question whether each Court might not have its own proper and certain limits prescribed by the Constitution, or whether these limits might not possibly, yea, have not actually been transgressed—this is a question which they have not looked at, and will not listen to. Thus given up, thus abandoned, it seems our last expedient to make the solemn appeal which we now meditate to the intelligence, and the conscience, and the good faith of all men; or, rather than our *last* expedient, Moderator, it is our second last: for, to the very last, we shall keep hold of those privileges which essentially belong to every Christian Church, and not resign them to the Erastianism which is now making head against us. To the very last, we shall assert a Government in the Church, distinct from that of the civil magistrate, and placed in the hands of distinct office-bearers, and shall continue to administer that government accordingly. To the very last shall we withstand the powers of this world, should they offer to intromit with, or attempt to overbear us in those things sacred and spiritual, which belong exclusively to the kingdom that is not of this world; and at the expense of every suffering, and of every trial, are we resolved to stand or fall with these inherent—or, as our rulers would find them, would they but examine their own Statute-book, these constitutional liberties of the Church of Scotland. . . .

"We are not dealing in threats, but in remonstrances. We are not making an experiment on English courage; that we know would be in vain. We are making an appeal to English justice; and that we hope will not be in vain. We are letting the capital of the empire know a case of gross, and grievous, and multiplied oppression, which is now going on in one of the provinces—an oppression which, if not remedied, will have the effect of trampling down the Church of Scotland into utter insignificance; will despoil her of all moral weight, or better greatly than this, though itself a great and sore calamity, will dissever her from the State altogether, and that, too, at a time when her services are most needed to reclaim a sadly degenerated community, and let me add, were never more promising, or, at any former period of our history, more likely to be effectual for the moral regeneration of our land. It has been asked, why not quit the Establishment, or why continue to eat the bread of the

State while unfaithful to her service, or refusing obedience to the authority, from which alone ours as a National Church derives all the temporalities which belong to her? There is some little mistake here, nay, a twofold mistake; for, in the first place, to dispute the mandate of a Court that is co-ordinate with ourselves, when they have exceeded their own territory, and made invasion upon ours—that we should not call disobedience to the State. Nor are we willing to receive our doom as an Establishment at the hand of any inferior judge or magistrate, seeing that by the understanding of our adversaries themselves, it is upon the supreme magistrate that we hold both for the origin of our National Church, and for her continuance. But, secondly, though we therefore wait the decision of the State, ere we quit our connexion with it, that decision will not be given against us but by an act of the greatest national injustice. Sir, we are not eating the bread of the State. When the State took us into connexion with itself, which it did at the time of the Union, it found us eating our own bread, and they solemnly pledged themselves to the guarantees or the conditions on which we should be permitted to eat their bread in all time coming. Since at the hands of the Court of Session we may be said to be now suffering one-half of a very great iniquity, we are not going to homologate this iniquity by doing the other half of it ourselves, by a voluntary resignation of the temporalities which we have done nothing rightfully to forfeit, although there be enough of strength in the civil power to force them out of our hands. If the Government be satisfied with the conduct of their own servants, let them consummate the deed which themselves approve of, and let the act of our deprivation appear in its true character, not as the spontaneous doing of so many simpletons among ourselves, but as a great national act of injustice, a flagrant breach of all national honour and good faith."

Dr. Chalmers's motion was carried by a majority of 241 to 110. The Lord High Commissioner was requested to transmit the document upon which this approving seal of the Church had been set, to Her Majesty, as the head of the State.—Her principles thus faithfully declared, her final purpose thus solemnly announced—the Church committed her ways to God and waited the evolutions of His will.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SUMMER RESIDENCE AT ROSSTREVOR—THE PREMIER'S DETERMINATION TO DO NOTHING—THE SECOND AUCHTERARDER DECISION—THE CONVOCATION.

THE months of July and August 1842, were spent by Dr. Chalmers in the north of Ireland. He was accompanied upon this occasion by his family, and fixed his head-quarters at Rosstrevor, a lovely village lying a few miles from Newry. The exquisite scenery of the Bay of Carlingford was new to him, and he felt its charm with a fresh and peculiar relish. He had not been prepared to find here so refined and Christian a society, and he responded all the more readily and gratefully to the many kind attentions which were lavished on him. His leisure hours were devoted to the completion of his Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans; but the "manifold calls, and invitations, and urgencies, wherewith he was continually beset," left him but little time for study. "I make my escape from this," he writes to Mrs. Morton,* "in a few days, leaving my family for a week or two. Whatever the lionizers may imagine, there is great discomfort often brought upon the lion, who has nothing for it but just to run off, in the hope that both his lioness and her cubs may be permitted the enjoyment of some comparative repose. And yet the kindness of the people here is truly of a most genuine and heartfelt description. What inspires me with this conviction is, that there is so much of real Christianity among them. Lady Lifford, a very excellent and devoted person, comes here occasionally for summer quarters. She is not here at present; but she has been a leaven for good in the neighbourhood, and the savour of her example seems to have told on the vicinity. I have not met with a greater number of families within the same compass, in any mere country place, more ready to entertain, and that with obviously congenial feeling, the best and highest of all topics." Writing again to one of his daughters, after his return to Edinburgh, he says:—

* In letter dated Rosstrevor, July 30, 1842

"All hearts here warm at the recollection of Rosstrevor, both place and people; and it was only the other day that Mrs. Chalmers came forth spontaneously with the utterance of our having had indeed a very happy summer, in which sentiment we all most feelingly concurred. The truth is, I must confess that it forms the sunniest recollection of my life."* There was but one shadow that rested on it—the pursuing anxiety as to the state and prospects of the Church. Sitting on a quiet summer evening in his lodgings at Rosstrevor, and ruminating on a proposal which had been made to him, that the Church of Scotland should ask to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons, and that he should undertake the statement and defence of her claims, we find him writing thus:—"Prepare me, O God, for the whole of Thy blessed will. If a period of darkness and disaster is indeed before me, may I know how to acquit myself in the midst of Thy coming visitation. If our Church is indeed to fall as an establishment, let her not be forsaken by the light of Thy countenance; and may the fruit of all her troubles be righteousness and peace. Thou knowest, O God, if in the further evolutions of the history of our Church, we shall be called before councils and governors of this world. And oh! my God, if ever called to examination and exposure before rulers and spectators, may I not give way to anxieties, against which our Saviour hath both warned and encouraged us, when He bids us not be careful what we should say, for that the Holy Spirit will teach us how to speak as we ought. Let me cherish more confidence than I have hitherto done in the promise of the Holy Spirit, for the ready and right suggestion of what ought to be said in the hour of controversy or examination."†

On the 11th June, when Mr. Campbell of Monzie was prepared to move the second reading of his Bill, an unforeseen and insuperable obstacle was thrown in his way. It was discovered that, as many livings in the Scotch Church were in the gift of Her Majesty, no Bill which proposed to make any alteration in the existing law of Patronage could be introduced without the express consent of the Crown. Mr. Maule urged the Premier to exercise the privilege, which it was understood that he possessed, of setting this obstruction aside, but he refused, and the Bill had accordingly to be withdrawn. A few days afterwards, Sir Robert

* Letter to Miss Chalmers, dated Edinburgh, September 12, 1842.
† See "Horæ Sabbaticæ," vol. i. pp. 70, 73, 74.

Peel informed the House, "that after a full consideration of the subject, Her Majesty's Government had abandoned all hope of settling the question in a satisfactory manner, or of effecting any good by introducing a measure relative to it." The General Assembly had stood firm—the evangelical majorities were as large as ever—the hope held out by Dr. Leishman and "the forty" had failed—and as they could not count upon the Church's acquiescence, the measure which a few months before had been announced as likely to be so satisfactory, was finally abandoned. Without interference on the part of Government, the conflict with the Civil Courts must take its own course—a course which ere long resulted in a most disastrous issue. Lord Kinnoul and Mr. Young had raised a second action against the Presbytery of Auchterarder, to recover damages, laid at £16,000, by way of compensation for the injury sustained by patron and presentee in consequence of Mr. Young's rejection. The Court of Session found this action relevant, and on the 9th August 1842, the House of Lords, sitting as a Court of Appeal, confirmed this judgment, and declared that damages were recoverable by the pursuers. The former decision of the Supreme Civil Court in the Auchterarder case had gone no further than to declare that in setting the presentee aside on the ground of the popular dissent, the Presbytery had acted illegally. Believing that the only legitimate effect of this decision would be to bring into operation the remedy specially provided by Statute for such a case, namely, the withholding the fruits of the benefice, the Church had relinquished all claim to them. By this second decision, however, of the House of Lords, it was distinctly declared that the obligation to "receive and admit," which still lay upon the Presbytery, was a *civil* obligation, the violation of which was to be regarded and punished as a civil offence, as a crime committed against the common law of the country. The four English Judges, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Cottenham, Lord Brougham, and Lord Campbell, were quite unanimous. It is true that in the opinions which they delivered, not one of them ever alluded to one of the Statutes referred to by the Church of Scotland as ratifying her exclusive spiritual jurisdiction, and shielding it from invasion. They regarded the case as exhibiting no peculiarity, presenting no difficulty, and finding its perfect parallel in that of any common civil corporation violating one of the Statutes upon which it was founded. In such an instance, if any individual could plead that by the act of the cor-

poration, his patrimonial interests had been injured, an action for damages was a fair and legal mode of obtaining redress. It was the same, in the judgment of these noble Lords, with the Church of Scotland. By putting the Church in such a category, and by subjecting her to such legal treatment, her title to any peculiar exclusive spiritual authority and jurisdiction was ignored,—was absolutely and entirely repudiated. It had been clear enough from the whole current of their recent judgments, that the Court of Session conceived itself to be entitled to review, and if it saw reason, to reverse any proceedings of the ecclesiastical Courts, by which a civil injury of any kind had been inflicted. Now, however, and for the first time, the determination of the Supreme Civil Court was given forth, that the judgments of the Court of Session imposed on the Church an obligation to obedience, which she could not disregard without subjecting herself to civil pains and penalties. This amounted not simply to a change, but to the entire overthrow and reversal of the constitution of the Scottish Establishment, so far as that constitution had guaranteed to the Church a sphere of action within which no secular power could control or coerce. The first Auchterarder decision put a new interpretation on the Law of Patronage, from the injurious results of which the Church might have been protected by a change effected by the Legislature in that single law. This second decision gave a new interpretation of the nature and conditions of that relationship in which the Church stood to the Civil Courts, and through them to the State itself, whose organs these Courts were. These conditions were such that the Church could not fulfil them consistently with her principles. A mere Non-Intrusion measure would no longer meet the difficulties of her position. Yet in that position, without some relief, it seemed impossible for her any longer to remain. The tidings of that decision which brought the conflict to its crisis reached Dr. Chalmers while still in Ireland, and writing to his son-in-law, Mr. Mackenzie, a few days after he had heard of it, he says:—

"BELFAST, *August* 22, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been thinking much in a general way of what the Church of Scotland should now do. I have no idea of an *instant* resignation, and should exceedingly regret if, under any feeling of this sort, we should be exposed to a piecemeal falling away of our friends from the Church

one by one. We must not go out in driblets, but in a compact and entire body; and one step clearly, in my view of it, remains to be done ere this great conjunct movement should take place.

"To go out now, would be receiving our doom as an Establishment from the Civil Court, or at the bidding of a mere fellow and co-ordinate with ourselves—for the House of Lords, in its judicial capacity, is nothing more. When we do go out, it must be at the bidding of that party in virtue of whose ordination it was that we became an Establishment, or from whose hands we receive our endowments; or rather, under whose protection it is that our right as a Church to these endowments is secured from all violation. In other words, we should not quit the Establishment till we have obtained from Parliament a deliverance, whether by an adverse proposition, or a refusal to entertain our cause.

"It is thus that I apprehend the final step should not be taken till next session of Parliament; but meanwhile, a manifesto, setting forth both our principles and our determination, should be put forth as soon as may be, and subscribed by all our friends in the Church, both as an exoneration of their consciences, and as an intimation to all concerned of what that really is which we mean to stand or fall by.

"There are subordinate matters of detail, respecting which I would need to be in Scotland ere I could make up my mind. The size of my new house will be of one service. We shall all nestle there together till some openings cast up for us under the new system. Let not Eliza be dismayed; but let us cast our confidence and care on that God who careth for us.—I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"THE REV. JOHN MACKENZIE."

While repudiating the idea of immediate and individual resignation, Dr. Chalmers contemplated the speedy withdrawal of the evangelical clergymen from the Establishment as inevitable, and waited only his return to Edinburgh to unite with others in taking instant measures to meet this emergency. As unity of counsel and action were so desirable, some special opportunity required to be created for bringing together all who held the principles for which the Church had been contending, in such circumstances that, after a free and full, unrestrained and confidential consultation, they might resolve upon the steps

which it became them immediately to take. Dr. Chalmers returned to Edinburgh in the beginning of September, and on the 19th of that month, he wrote again to Mr. Mackenzie:—

"EDINBURGH, *September* 19, 1842.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I think the present state of things eminently fitted to spiritualize our clergymen, by causing them to sit loose to all earthly dependence. I think I can perceive this effect on some of the brethren; and am informed that it tells sensibly on the pulpit ministrations of many. May He who can bring good out of evil, in His own good, however mysterious way, convert our present troubles into the means of a signal revival of Christianity in the towns and parishes of Scotland.

"Mr. Hanna suggested to me a general convocation of all the right-minded clergy on the subject; a suggestion which I am pushing amongst the brethren here, and with greater acceptance than I at first anticipated. I wish it to come in the shape at first of a requisition from some twelve or twenty of the most venerable of the senior clergy in all parts of Scotland, so as to divest it altogether of the aspect of Edinburgh leadership, and give it the appearance, as well as the reality, of a great, and general, and withal spontaneous remonstrance from the collective mind and conscience of the Church, against the Erastian invasion made by the recent decision of the House of Peers on the rights and liberties of the Church of Scotland.

"Tell Eliza to keep her mind staid upon God. If there is a break up in time I mean to call my house 'The Refuge.'—I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"REV. JOHN MACKENZIE."

Agreeably to the intention expressed in this letter, Dr. Chalmers addressed a private letter to a number of the most aged and influential ministers of the Church, inviting them to append their names to the general circular by which the Convocation was to be convened. "It is thought by many," said he, in this private communication, "that the critical and extraordinary position in which the Church is placed by the late decision of the House of Lords in the case of Auchterarder, should be met by extraordinary means; and of these the best and the likeliest were a General Convocation in Edinburgh, before the next meeting of Parliament, of all the ministers in the Church who are friendly to the great principles for which she is contending.

"It is true that in the General Assembly, and other ecclesiastical courts, we may be said to have regular and constituted channels for the expression and conveyance of our views. But our increasing majorities, and the slight influence of these on a Government who have been hitherto adverse to our claims, or stood aloof from the consideration of them, give abundant evidence that these ordinary methods have been tried and found ineffectual. The truth is, that every effort has been made to foster the delusion in the minds of our rulers, that the late proceedings of the Assembly are due to the factitious influence of a few leaders, which, when once broken up, will leave the Church in a condition to be moulded into a willing conformity with the reigning and Erastian policy of the times. There is nothing more fitted to dissipate this imagination than a spontaneous and free expression, the result of a conference, held for days together, by clergymen assembled in a great and general body from all parts of Scotland; and giving forth such a solemn and deliberate representation of their sentiments and views, as might convince all men that the determination to stand or fall with the spiritual independence of our Church, is both so strong and so general as not to be overcome but by a violent oppression of conscience, which, if attempted on the part of the civil authorities, will lead to the degradation and eventual overthrow of the best and greatest of our national institutes."

The response to this communication was that of a cordial and almost unanimous consent; and by a general circular, signed by thirty-two of the most venerable clergymen, the whole body of the evangelical ministers all over Scotland were invited to meet in Convocation at Edinburgh on the 17th November. In prospect of a meeting with whose proceedings such momentous issues were bound up, a proposal for united prayer was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. M'Cheyne of Dundee, and disseminated widely over the country. The petitions which Dr. Chalmers individually addressed to the Throne of Grace tell us with what profound anxiety he looked forward to this great occasion.—"Do Thou guide, O Lord, the deliberations and measures of that Convocation of ministers now on the eve of assembling; and save me, in particular, from all that is rash and unwarrantable, when engaged with the counsels or propositions that come before it. Let me not, O God, be an instrument in any way of disappointing or misleading my brethren. Let me not, in this crisis of our Church's history, urge a sacrifice upon others

which I would not most cheerfully share with them. I pray for a right and discerning spirit in this matter, O God. Let me struggle against my own diffidence of my own extemporaneous powers. Appear, O God, in the midst of us for the protection of Thy Church, and the vindication of Thine own glory."*

The Convocation was opened in St. George's Church on the forenoon of Thursday the 17th November, by devotional services conducted by the Rev. Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh, and a discourse by Dr. Chalmers. The text for this sermon was most felicitously chosen :—"Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness." "The great lesson of this text," said Dr. Chalmers in opening his discourse, "is the connexion which obtains between integrity of purpose and clearness of discernment, insomuch that a duteous conformity to what is right, is generally followed up by a ready and luminous discernment of what is true. It tells us that if we have but grace to do as we ought, we shall be made to see as we ought; or, in other words, that if right morally, we are in the highway of becoming right intellectually." After an illustration of this general truth, he closed by this special and appropriate application of it to the circumstances under which his brethren were then assembled :—

"And now, my venerable fathers and brethren of the Established Church of Scotland, I will not speak of it as a certainty that if you persevere in the high walk of uprightness on which you have entered, the secularities of that Establishment will be wrested from your hands. It would not be venturing far, however, to speak of it as a probability and a hazard, and surely, at the very least, not to speak of it as a possibility were downright affectation. In this, its lowest and least appalling form, you have been in the habit of regarding it for years, and even when a crisis was obviously drawing nearer, and the symptoms of some great and approaching overthrow looked more menacing than before, let the majorities of our Church attest whether they have been the calculations of worldly prudence or the high behests of principle which had the ascendant over you. And still I rejoice to believe that whatever be the shades or diversities of sentiments upon lesser questions, the tie of that great and common principle which hitherto has bound us together remains unbroken,—that I speak in the hearing of men firmly resolved as ever to lose all and to suffer all rather than surrender the

* "Horæ Sabbaticæ," vol. i. pp. 92 93 · vol. ii. pp. 87, 89.

birthright of those prerogatives which we inherit from our fathers, or compromise the sacred liberty wherewith Christ has made us free,—of men whose paramount question is, What is duty? that best stepping-stone to the solution of the other question, What is wisdom? For it is when in this spirit of uprightness, this blessed frame of simplicity and godly sincerity, that light is made to arise, and wisdom is justified of her children.

"This is not the place for attempting any specific delineation of the path which wisdom prescribes in our present eventful circumstances; nor will I utter one word that might indicate my opinion or even my leanings on the question of what, specifically and practically, the Church at present ought to do. But surely this is the place for urging both on myself and others the moral preparation which all experience demonstrates to have an enlightening effect upon the understanding, and all Scripture affirms to be of sovereign efficacy in bringing down the Spirit of wisdom from above. This has been the object of your prayers, and it is the identical object, however feeble in execution, of our preaching. The great lesson of our text is, that if we purpose aright we shall be made to see aright, and that the integrity of our will shall be followed up by light in the understanding. God will not abandon to darkness those who cast their care and their confidence upon Himself, and who can say with the Apostle, He is my helper, and I will not fear what man can do unto me. The man who can lift this honest and unfaltering prayer—'Search me, O God, and know my heart; try me and know my thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting;'—the man who can say this fearlessly has nothing else to fear. God will establish the just; for it is said, The righteous God trieth the hearts and reins. Commit, then, thy works to the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be established. In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths. It is He who, by the light of His Holy Spirit, makes good the connexion between singleness of purpose and wisdom of conduct, and thus I understand the text, that He maketh wise the simple and giveth understanding to the simple. Ye men of God, who make the Bible the directory of your hearts and consciences, you will not long be left in uncertainty. He will make your way clear and open before you. He shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day."

The Convocation assembled for business, at seven o'clock in

the evening, in a small chapel* in an obscure part of the Old Town. About 450 ministers were present—a larger number than had ever met in council in Scotland, many of them from the remotest parts of the country. Dr. Chalmers was invited to take the chair. In doing so, he briefly stated that the Convocation was met not for debate, but for deliberation. Its great object was to ascertain the mind and purpose of the Church in the present perilous emergency, and he noticed this at the outset to encourage all to come forward with their sentiments. To secure this object, the public were carefully excluded from this and all the other after conferences. The proposal that two eminent lawyers, elders of the Church, whose advice, it was imagined, might occasionally be serviceable, should be admitted, was met with an immediate and general negative. It was arranged that the ordinary formalities of debate should be dispensed with—that the discussion of each topic should be conducted as much as possible in a colloquial form—that after the more aged and eminent ministers had stated their opinions, the members should be invited, Synod by Synod, to express their views; and that no conclusion should be come to, no practical measure resolved upon, till as full an expression and interchange of opinion as possible had been elicited. It was arranged, also, that three times, at least, each day, the Convocation should engage in devotional exercises, accompanied by reading of the Scriptures and praise, and that through all the ordinary business prayer should be interspersed. After some preliminary consultation, the attention of the Convocation was concentrated upon the two following topics:—1*st*, The exact bearing and effect of the late decisions of the Civil Courts, and especially of the recent Auchterarder judgment, involving a consideration of what would be required in order to effect any right adjustment of the questions now at issue between the Church and the civil authorities; 2*d*, The duty and prospects of the Church in the event of no adequate remedy being provided. The Convocation was occupied with the first of these topics on Friday and Saturday. Considerable diversity of opinion was at first expressed, and strong apprehensions were entertained that no common ground for united action could be discovered. Some members of the Convocation, acting under the impression that none but the best remedy for the existing evil should be presented or entertained, were for putting the abolition of patronage on the

* Roxburgh Church.

foreground of any application which should be made to the Government or the Legislature. Gradually, however, it became apparent that to press this would be to frustrate the very object of the Convocation. "I have long felt," said Dr. Chalmers, when speaking on the forenoon of Saturday, "that our proper business is to express not what we hold to be most desirable, but what we hold to be indispensable. We are not to go to Parliament in the attitude of petitioners; for then we might break up into innumerable shades of diversity of opinion. Let us rather ascertain and enunicate the one principle upon which we can all unite—let us fix the point beneath which it is impossible for the Church to act; and let us put it so that we shall be able to say to our rulers—'Your destruction of the Establishment shall arise not from our asking anything which we have not by right already, but from your refusal to continue to us that which by right we already have.' Do those who would have us petition against patronage hold what they seek to be so essential that the refusal of it would oblige them to go out of the Church? If they do, then I say, that what I seek is such, that in the event of its refusal, I should hold it a disgrace to remain in. Will they, then, enfeeble the effort of our representation by declining to co-operate with us? or would these men actually remain in the Establishment if our proposition be not granted? Perhaps they might; for there is a great difference between extremeness of principle and strength of principle. But which is best?—that we fix a point and surrender all for it, though it be not the highest we could wish; or that we plant our demand at the highest point, but do not make all depend on its being refused. The Church is a vessel upon the billows on the very point of being submerged: is it time to speak of what will most improve the trim of the vessel, and not rather of what will keep us afloat and bring us to a safe haven? We would adjourn the consideration of the first question altogether till we are safely in the harbour."

In the course of the discussion a series of resolutions was drawn up by Dr. Candlish, in which, after reciting and characterizing some of the late decisions, it was declared—"That as the principle involved in these decisions, and particularly in the recent Auchterarder judgment, is that of the supremacy of the Civil Courts over those of the Established Church in the exercise of their spiritual functions, so the members of the Convocation declare that no measure can in conscience be submitted to which

does not effectually protect the Church against the exercise of such jurisdiction of the Civil Courts in time to come, and, in particular, fully prevent all future encroachments of the nature specified in the preceding resolutions." There was a right restriction here of the decision to the one indispensable element, without which no measure of relief could be accepted. Dr. Patrick Macfarlan, Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Candlish, and Dr. Chalmers all concurred in recommending that this restriction should be carefully observed; and such was the happy effect of two days' full and unfettered interchange of thought, that when at last the roll of members was called over in order to ascertain how many acquiesced in Dr. Candlish's resolutions, it was found that there were only seven who refused to concur.* "This morning," says Mr. Bonar, writing on the afternoon of Saturday, "Dr. Chalmers's coming in and delivering his address, which he did with great fervour and kindliness, tended more, perhaps, than anything to determine the result. His speech seemed to produce such an effect that from that moment the other motions which had been brought forward were obviously sunk or sinking out of sight, so that their movers at last withdrew them. The harmony was indeed wonderful, after all that we had feared. 'The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord.'"†

A good and sure groundwork having been laid, the Convocation proceeded to consider what would be their duty in the event of no adequate measure of relief being granted. One obvious alternative was, that the evangelical clergymen should withdraw from a Church whose government they could not conscientiously conduct without violating the State-imposed conditions on which they held their livings. For more than a year Dr. Chalmers had been contemplating this alternative as the one which they should ultimately be driven to adopt, and had been maturing a plan for providing such a support for all the outgoing ministers, that, carrying their principles, their Confession of Faith, and their ecclesiastical organization entire and unviolated along with them, with no loss but the loss of their temporalities, and with whatever gain of influence their tried fidelity might win for them, they might abide in honour and usefulness, seen and recognised as the true Church of their fathers. He asked and received permission from the Convoca-

* This series of resolutions, passed on Saturday the 19th November, was concurred in by 427 ministers.

† Notes of the Proceedings of the Convocation, taken at the time in short-hand each day by the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar of Collace.

tion to lay this plan, with all its details, before the Convocation at its meeting on the evening of Monday the 21st. The lengthened and most important address which he delivered on this occasion contained no bare unfinished outline, as from the time and circumstances in which it was presented any one might have been prepared to anticipate, but a complete and detailed account of that system of financial operation, which was adopted afterwards without a single alteration in any of its provisions, and carried out with such pre-eminent success by the Free Church. We search in vain for a parallel to it in the history of any other Christian or corporate society; for perhaps no other instance could be produced in which, so long before the crisis occurred for which it was incumbent to provide, a scheme of operations so comprehensive and complicated was laid down, not one of whose arrangements it was afterwards found necessary to set aside. It presents us with a very signal illustration of the foresight, the fertility of device, and the practical sagacity by which Dr. Chalmers's intellect was distinguished. But however judicious that scheme now looks, when viewed in the light of its accomplishment, it remains to be told that not ten out of the four hundred ministers to whom it originally was broached had much, if any, faith in its success, nor was there one, perhaps, whose decision upon the great question of duty then before them it served in any appreciable degree to sway. It was listened to with general incredulity, and the prospects held out by it were regarded as the visionary anticipations of a too sanguine imagination. Putting such a future as it depicted out of its thoughts, the Convocation returned to a discussion which hinged mainly upon the point whether, standing upon her constitutional rights, the Church should continue the conflict, though the supreme power in the State should refuse to interfere; or whether, if redress were refused, she should not retire from a conflict which she could not prosecute without loss of character and injury to the general interests of religion. Here, as before, the differences of opinion, brought fully out in the freedom of confidential intercourse, revealed the substantial agreement which prevailed. A second series of resolutions had been proposed by Dr. Macfarlan, concluding with the solemn declaration that as it was the duty, so, "in dependence on the grace of God, it was the determination of the brethren now assembled, if no measure such as they have declared to be indispensable be granted, to tender the resigna-

tion of their civil advantages, which they can no longer hold in consistency with the free and full exercise of their spiritual functions, and to cast themselves on such provision as God in His providence may afford; maintaining still uncompromised the principle of a right scriptural connexion between the Church and the State, and solemnly entering their protest against the judgments of which they complain, as in their decided opinion altogether contrary to what has ever hitherto been understood to be the law and constitution of this country." On Tuesday night, after prayer by Dr. M'Donald, the roll was called, and 270 voted that these resolutions should be adopted.* It was felt by all to be a vote not lightly to be given, and for a day or two many held back their names.

On Wednesday forenoon Dr. Chalmers asked how many names were now appended to the resolutions of the preceding evening. When told that already there were above 300, he broke forth with the exclamation—"Then we are more than Gideon's army—a most hopeful omen." As he proceeded to picture forth all the oppositions which this little army might encounter—all the victories it might win, the inward fire kindled into a perfect ecstasy of excitement. He stepped forth into the centre of the group, his whole frame quivering with emotion, and looking round upon that band of faithful men, upon whose constancy in the hour of trial he felt now that he could count, he exclaimed—"For throwing up our livings—for casting ourselves with such unequal odds into so great a conflict, men may call us enthusiasts; but enthusiasm is a noble virtue, rarely to be found in calm and unruffled times of prosperity: it flourishes in adversity—it kindles in the hour of danger. Persecution but serves to quicken the energy of its purposes. It swells in proud integrity, and, great in the purity of its cause, it can scatter defiance amid a host of enemies." It was the spirit of chivalry baptized with the fire from heaven.

The two sets of resolutions which had been adopted having been embodied in a Memorial addressed to Sir Robert Peel and the other members of Her Majesty's Government, the Convocation broke up on Thursday the 24th November. Its sittings lasted for six days—days never to pass from the memory of those privileged to be present; for when shall they be able to forget the solemn, subdued, and anxious feeling which at first

* This second series of resolutions was finally concurred in by 333 ministers.

prevailed—the fears which once and again arose that discord and disunion might ensue—the manner, often so strange and impressive, in which these fears were dissipated—the grace and wisdom given to those who chiefly guided the deliberations—the brotherly and confiding tone which, broken a little at the beginning, deepened at the close into one of pure and perfect harmony—the noble sentiments of heroic faith and devotedness, sometimes so simply, sometimes so eloquently expressed—the spirit of prayer which, breathing from the lips of Mr. M'Cheyne or Dr. M'Donald, conveyed a profounder sense of the Divine presence than we ever felt before or since in the most hallowed of our Christian assemblies.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

LETTER TO MR. LENNOX—FINAL ANSWER OF THE GOVERNMENT—LETTER FROM SIR JAMES GRAHAM—THE DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT—THE CLAIM OF RIGHTS REJECTED BY THE LEGISLATURE—THE DISRUPTION.

Writing to Mr. Lennox of New York, on the 31st December 1842, Dr. Chalmers says,—"You may perhaps have, by this time, heard of the proceedings of our Convocation in November last. Between four and five hundred of our best ministers have subscribed a Memorial to Government, by which they commit themselves to the relinquishment of the Church's temporalities, if they are not permitted to hold them but on the condition of being subjected to the Civil Courts in things spiritual, on the footing of the decision by the House of Lords in the case of Auchterarder. And, if the Parliament grant us no redress, I have no doubt that the decision of our Convocation in November will be the decision of our General Assembly in May. It lies therefore with our statesmen whether there shall not be an utter disruption of our Church in a few months. None of us are at all sanguine of a favourable measure at their hands, and we are therefore laying our account with the connexion being dissolved early in summer. The eyes of the country are opening to this fact as to a coming certainty, and I feel great confidence that, with the blessing of God, we shall be able to resolve ourselves into a great Home Mission, and take possession of the land. I do hope that henceforth our friends the Voluntaries will think more generously of us than they have done heretofore. Not that we renounce the principle of a National Establishment of Christianity, for we think it quite possible to harmonize this with the principle of spiritual independence. It will be the fault of our rulers if the two are not harmonized; and I do hope we shall get a little more credit at the hands of our adversaries when they find us giving up all the endowments of a National Church so soon as it is determined that we shall not be permitted to hold them but at the expense of our Christian liberties.

Should this take place, it will be of first-rate importance that we, the ejected ministers, and they, the evangelical dissenters, should act with a common and cordial understanding together, as there is now a most formidable enemy, rising every day into greater strength, in the Puseyism of England, and which threatens to bring back upon our fair island the intolerance and all the superstitions of Rome."

Having done what she could to clear away all ambiguity from her principles and position, the Church waited the final answer of the Government, which was conveyed in a letter from Sir James Graham, dated Whitehall, January 4, 1843. The Church felt that she had good reason to complain of this communication. When her integrity as one of the most valuable institutions of the country, and the status and livelihood of so many of her clergymen and their families were at stake, she had reason to expect that in rejecting a claim upon which so much was perilled, that claim would be correctly stated, and that the pleas urged in support of it would be fairly and broadly met. The Government was not ignorant that the abolition of patronage had never been put by the Church on the same footing with the protection of her spiritual jurisdiction. The very last document put into their hands—the Memorial from the Convocation—had told them what the one vital point was upon which the Church hinged her continued alliance with the State. Overlooking this Memorial altogether, and taking advantage of the fact that the General Assembly of 1842 had transmitted two addresses to the Crown—the one praying for the abolition of patronage, and the other that her spiritual independence should be secured, Sir James mixed the two together, giving one answer to both, to the inevitable and injurious confounding of topics which the Church had been at so much pains to keep distinct. It gave him no inconsiderable advantage to deal conjunctly with the two demands, and it helped to win a larger amount of popular concurrence with their refusal; but the Church had the impression that such a piece of dexterous policy was scarcely suited either to her sacred character or to the anxious circumstances in which so many of her ministers were placed. She felt still more aggrieved by the gross misstatement of her Claim of Rights of which Sir James was guilty when he represented her as demanding that all her "proceedings, whether legislative or judicial, should be beyond the cognizance of the courts of law,"—that these courts "should have no power to

determine whether matters brought before them were within the scope of their authority, if, in the opinion of the Church, these matters involved any spiritual consideration,"—and that "neither sentences of courts nor decrees of the House of Lords should be effectual if they interfered with the rights and privileges of the Church, of which interference and of which spiritual considerations the Church itself was to be the exclusive judge." This was to identify the Claim of Rights with the arrogant pretensions of the Church of Rome, and that in face of the notorious fact, that her peculiar connexion with the State had from the beginning been described and vindicated by the Scottish Establishment as lying midway between the two extremes—the extreme of Popery, which asserts the entire supremacy of the Church over the State, and claims for the former a total exemption from all species of civil control; and the extreme of Erastianism, which asserts the entire supremacy of the State over the Church, and denies to the latter any peculiar sphere of action free from the reach of secular authority and control. The painful feeling excited by this misrepresentation was aggravated when it was noticed that instead of dealing with the statutory and constitutional pleas advanced by the Church in support of her claims, these were summarily disposed of by the general allegation that to yield to them would "lead directly to despotic power;" the adverse judgment of the Government being based not upon a consideration of what rights the Church already possessed, but of what rights they conceived it safe for her to enjoy.

In vindication of the course followed by the Civil Courts, Sir James Graham traced all those encroachments which had been complained of to a previous aggression made by the Church on the vested rights of patrons. More than one instance has been already given in which the Court of Session assumed and attempted to exercise authority over the Church when no civil right was directly or indirectly affected. Had any doubt, however, upon this point remained, it must have been removed by a judgment of that Court delivered a few days after Sir James's letter reached Edinburgh. It has been already mentioned that one effect of the reforming measures adopted by the evangelical majority, was the return into the bosom of the Church of a body of dissenters bearing the name of the Associate Synod. The clergymen of this Synod were admitted as members of the respective Presbyteries, within whose bounds their charges were

situated, and these Presbyteries were proceeding to attach a territorial district to their churches. The Presbytery of Irvine had in this way received the Rev. Mr. Clelland, minister at Stewarton, into their court, and were engaged in allocating to him a special district for the purposes of pastoral superintendence and spiritual discipline, when an interdict was served upon them prohibiting them from receiving Mr. Clelland as a member of Presbytery, and from establishing an additional pastoral charge in the parish. The Church for a hundred years and more had been admitting additional ministers into her courts, and creating new parishes, *quoad spiritualia*, and the validity of her acts had been recognised by decisions of the Civil Court. Her title was now for the first time challenged, upon the ground that, as a State-created institution, she could have no authority and exercise no privilege which had not been expressly granted to her by statute. This case was so novel and important that it was brought before all the judges of the Court of Session. Their decision, delivered on the 20th January 1843, was to the effect, that the Church had acted illegally in receiving such ministers as Mr. Clelland, and in placing any part of an original parish under their spiritual care. This judgment was one of wide compass, applying as it did not only to the members of the Associate Synod, but to all the unendowed clergymen recently admitted into the Church. Its effect, if submitted to, would have been to extinguish about two hundred pastoral charges, and to annihilate as many kirk-sessions, by whose vigorous agency a considerable inroad had been already made upon the ignorance and irreligion of many of the most overgrown parishes. It is one of the simplest and most harmless privileges which any society can enjoy, that of adding to the number of its office-bearers, and of originating methods by which their labours on behalf of the great objects of the institution may be most effectively prosecuted. This privilege was now denied to the Scottish Establishment. Taken in conjunction with a previous decision of the Court of Session, that all the Sabbath collections at the doors of the new churches belonged to the heritors for the behoof of the poor, this judgment of that Court overturned the whole work of Church Extension as an attempt to break down the unmanageable masses which had accumulated in so many parishes, and threw them back upon the exclusive pastoral superintendence of a single clergyman. In other circumstances, the Church might have attempted, by appeal to the House of Lords, to obtain a

reversal of a sentence so fatal to her progress, so pregnant with injury to the highest interests of the country. As it was, she received it as a last token of the hopelessness of any recognition of her spiritual independence by the Court of Session, and she engrossed it as the last specimen of the injustice which had been done her in that petition which, at a meeting of Commission held on the 31st January, it was resolved should be presented to the British Legislature. In the letter of the Home Secretary a direct and emphatic negative had been put upon her Claims by the executive Government. If the voice of the Legislature re-echoed and confirmed that negative, she had declared that this would be regarded as a conclusive determination by the supreme power in the State that she held her temporalities on the condition of implicit submission to the decisions of the Civil Courts. As that condition was one which she could not conscientiously fulfil, she had announced it to be her purpose to relinquish the pecuniary advantages conferred by the State, and on the broad ground of British toleration throw herself upon the support of the country. Mr. Fox Maule brought the important petition under the notice of the House of Commons on 7th March—founding upon it a motion that the House should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the grievances of which the Church of Scotland complained. Mr. Maule, Mr. Campbell of Monzie, Sir George Grey, Mr. Rutherfurd, and Mr. P. M. Stewart stated the case for the Church so temperately, so judiciously, and so comprehensively, as left the Church nothing either to desire or to regret. Sir James Graham reiterated the sentiments embodied in his letter, and closed his speech by saying, that the sooner the House extinguished the expectation of the Church the better, "because he was satisfied that any such expectation never could be realized in any country in which law or equity or order or common sense prevailed." Lord John Russell, with many expressions of regret at a calamity which he feared was impending, could not withhold his consent from the opinions as to the Church's jurisdiction laid down by Sir James Graham. "My right honourable friend," said his Lordship, "the member for Leith, has said that the Church did not claim supreme power save over what was spiritual, and that she allowed of the civil authority in other matters, but I cannot conceive the connexion between Church and State carried on under such conditions." Sir Robert Peel took a broader view than any of the preceding speakers of the nature of the Church's

demands, and of the results which would flow from conceding them. "The right honourable gentleman opposite says, that these Courts—the Civil and Ecclesiastical—have a co-ordinate jurisdiction. Now, I think that it has been very clearly shown, that would amount to something very like a separation of Church and State. It is, in fact, impossible that the two Courts can co-exist. Why, take the case of the Roman Catholic religion or the Dissenters. The latter are, no doubt, quite entitled as a Voluntary Church, to decide with reference to their own affairs; but if a Church chooses to participate in the advantages appertaining to an Establishment, that Church, whether it be the Church of England, the Church of Rome, or the Church of Scotland, that Church must conform itself to the law. It would be an anomaly—it would be an absurdity, that a Church should possess the privilege, and enjoy the advantages of connexion with the State, and, nevertheless, claim exemption from the obligations which, wherever there is an authority, must of necessity exist; and this House and the country never could lay it down, that if a dispute should arise in respect of the statute law of the land, such dispute should be referred to a tribunal not subject to an appeal to the House of Lords. . . . I consider that a great principle is involved in this matter. If peace could be secured—if the rights of the subject could be maintained consistently with the demands of the Church, then, indeed, such is my opinion of the pressing evils of this protracted disputation, that I should almost be induced to make any concession in order to obtain tranquillity. But my belief is, that such claims, were you to concede them, would be unlimited in their extent. They could not be limited to the Church of Scotland. A principle, then, is involved, and if the principle be conceded by the House of Commons, why, the House of Commons must be prepared to carry it out. . . . My belief is, that there is abroad, both in this country, in Scotland, and in other countries, after a long series of religious contentions and neglect of the duties of religion, a spirit founded upon just views in connexion with the subject. But I hope, that in effecting this object, an attempt will not be made to establish a spiritual or ecclesiastical supremacy above the other tribunals of the country, and that in conjunction with increased attention to the duties of religion the laws of the country will be maintained. If the House of Commons is prepared to depart from those principles on which the Reformation was founded, and which principles are essential

to the maintenance of the civil and religious liberties of the country, nothing but evil would result, the greatest evil of which would be the establishment of religious domination, which would alike endanger the religion of the country and the civil rights of man."

The debate, which was conducted throughout in a temper and spirit befitting the importance of the subject, closed after the second evening's discussion, when seventy-six voted for Mr. Maule's motion and two hundred and forty-one against it. But while so large a majority of the whole House rejected the motion, the Scotch members, in the proportion of more than two to one, voted in its favour. The voice of Scotland, as expressed by her representatives, was overborne. A purely Scottish question, which touched to the quick the constitution of the Scottish Kirk, was decided by members of the Anglican Church, and upon principles applicable alike to all religious establishments. The idea of two co-ordinate authorities—the secular and the spiritual —"did appear" to Sir James Graham "unjust and unreasonable."* Lord John Russell could not conceive of its practical realization. Sir Robert Peel declared it to be anomalous, absurd, impossible. But it did not occur to any of these eminent politicians that the very kind of union which they repudiated had at a very early period been described by the Scottish Church, and that in terms almost identical with those employed in the Claim of Rights, as the only kind of union with the State into which the Church felt itself at liberty to enter—had been sanctioned by Scottish Parliaments, and had peacefully and prosperously been carried on for more than two hundred years. Even if the abstract and theoretical ground upon which this species of connexion between Church and State was disallowed, had been valid, the Scottish Establishment might reasonably enough have complained that the question was not restricted, as it ought to have been, to an inquiry, historical and statutory, into her original and actual constitution. That constitution should not have been violated even although its leading peculiarity—its refusal of the civil supremacy in spiritual affairs—was discordant with Anglican ideas. It seemed hard that a principle so dear to Scotland, and to which, through so many periods of persecution, that country had remained so faithful, should be sacrificed to a general theory formed by English politicians as to what the alliance between the Church and State ought to be. But the

* See *ante*, p. 393.

sense of injustice was quickened into wonder as the Church listened to the broad and sweeping terms in which that principle was characterized. The two great Tory leaders concurred in denouncing it as one, the concession of which would be dangerous alike to the civil and religious liberties of the country. It seemed strange to a Church which had done so much for freedom to have its most distinctive feature thus characterized. It had not appeared in such a light to the men to whom Scotland owed its deliverance from the grinding yoke of Popish bondage, nor to those by whom the tyranny of the Stuarts was so heroically resisted, and who upheld the cause of civil and religious liberty in these lands when no others were bold enough to take the field. Nor was it very easy to make out, when the matter was looked at in its abstract shape, what danger to civil liberty could arise from giving to a Church, when brought into connexion with the State, the same freedom which every Church out of that connexion enjoyed—how a liberty which it was admitted could be safely exercised without the pale of the Establishment, at once became so pernicious if exercised within that pale. The State might not choose to bestow its gifts without exacting an equivalent. It might not be willing to enter into alliance with any Church which would not barter away a part, at least, of its spiritual liberties in return for the temporal advantages bestowed. Statesmen, in dread of that religious fervour so apt to appear to them under the odious aspect of fanaticism, might regard it as a needful and salutary arrangement, that the religious community raised by favour of the State to the position of greatest eminence and influence, should constantly, and as to all its proceedings, be kept under State control. But the wisest and best friends of religious establishments could not but regard it as a fatal injury inflicted on that cause, when it was so broadly and authoritatively affirmed that no union between Church and State could legally exist, or safely be endured, save that which implied implicit subjection on the one side, and authoritative control on the other.

The decision of the Legislature, however, was so far satisfactory that it was free from all ambiguity. It put a distinct and conclusive negative upon the claims of the Church. It closed the perplexing negotiations of five fruitless years,—turning away from which, the Church set herself to a busy preparation for the new condition which awaited her. The clergymen who had signed the resolutions of the Convocation lost no time in explain-

ing to their congregations the important step which had been taken, and in inviting their adherence. Acting under the direction of a Committee appointed by the Convocation, the ablest of their number were deputed to itinerate over the country, holding meetings in every parish to which they could find access, announcing to the people their principles and final purposes, and obtaining a large and hopeful amount of popular concurrence. All this, however, did not satisfy Dr. Chalmers, whose grand device for meeting the coming crisis was the organization of local associations, upon the plan and for the purposes indicated in his address to the Convocation. Unable to persuade others to unite with him, he instituted of his own accord, immediately after the Convocation broke up, an association of this kind in the parish of Morningside, where he resided. Districts were laid down, collectors were appointed, donations for erecting the churches, and termly subscriptions for the support of the ministers of the Free Church were obtained, six months before that Church had a substantive existence in the country. The letter from Sir James Graham opened the eyes of many to the necessity of more instant and practical measures of preparation, and at last the Committee, appointed by the Convocation, united itself with another Committee, instituted at an influential meeting of the eldership, held at Edinburgh, on the 1st February. This most effective body, organized under the title of the Provisional Committee, held its first meeting on the following day, and to its labours the Free Church mainly owes that state of orderly preparation and absence of all division and confusion by which the days of the Disruption were so signally characterized. The Provisional Committee divided itself into three sections, the Financial, the Architectural, and the Statistical. Dr. Chalmers took his position at the head of the first of these sections. The task for which he had been so long reserving himself was now put into his hands; and with an energy scarcely paralleled in the busiest periods of his past history he set himself to its execution. A circular, inviting subscriptions and donations, was instantly drawn up by him, and sent in thousands over Scotland, bearing the mottoes, "Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed: I will not give sleep to mine eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids, until I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob."—"The God of heaven He will prosper us; therefore we his servants will arise and build." The acts which followed were in

good correspondence with these mottoes. As preliminary to those local and detailed operations, to which he attached such primary importance, Dr. Chalmers addressed a large and influential meeting, held at Edinburgh on the evening of the 16th February. "This meeting," he said, "is not for argument, but for action. I think that the reasoners upon this question have done their work. The time for argument is now over, and the time for action has come on. We have entered upon a new era, the era of deeds, which has followed the era of speeches, and arguments, and memorials, and manifestoes. . . . Some people are extremely fond of deliberative meetings. They have a greater taste and are more qualified for the field of deliberation than the field of action, in which former field they act as penmen, as spokesmen, as framers and movers of resolutions, and have withal a marvellous faculty of threading their way through a cumbrous and elaborate mechanism of committees and subcommittees, so interwoven with each other that the whole becomes a very complicated affair. And then they go on consulting and deliberating, and treading upon each other, and no one going forward; and all the while there are thousands of hearts burning with desire to support the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland if they only knew what they had to do. That method of saying much and doing little is not suited to the exigencies of this period. About ten days ago we began what might have been begun and broken loose upon ten weeks ago, and the result has been a meeting—a meeting of names, at least, if not of persons. Yes, and there have been resolutions too, and with all my antipathy to resolutions, the resolutions I hold in my hand are vastly to my taste. They are resolutions carried into effect without either a seconder, or a meeting, or any vote at all upon the subject. The first resolution is by a lady, and her resolution is, that she shall transmit for the support of the Free Presbyterian Church the sum of one thousand pounds sterling. The next resolution is by a person who calls himself a Dissenter, and his resolution is to give £500. . . . This brief circular was only sent forth a few days ago, and the amount of subscription, though we have yet merely broken ground, is £18,550. It has come in upon us like a set rain at the rate of £1000 a day." Having warned his audience against the delusive influence of these large subscriptions, all of which would be absorbed at once in the work of erecting their Church, Dr. Chalmers proceeded to point out the paramount importance of those smaller, more numerous, but

periodically sustained contributions, on which the support of a Christian ministry was to depend. Having described the apparatus by help of which he hoped not only to see a maintenance provided for all the outgoing clergymen, but the blessings of Christian instruction extended over the land,—"When we come to that," he said, "and I think it may be soon, I should feel myself in my old element,—as at my old work of Church Extension in Scotland. For Church Extension I knocked at the door of a Whig Ministry, and they refused to endow. I then knocked at the door of a Tory Ministry: they perhaps would have endowed, but they offered to enslave. I now therefore turn aside from both, and knock at the door of the general population. . . . To make Ireland what he wanted it to be, O'Connell gave forth his watchword—'Agitate, agitate, agitate;' and the consequence was, that Ireland for a few years was lord of the ascendant. To make England what he wanted it to be, and to shake the empire loose from the power of that agitation, Sir Robert Peel gave forth another watchword—'Register, register, register;' and the consequence is, that Toryism, with all its high church inveteracy, and all its old antipathies to evangelical religion, is now seated in absolute supremacy over the land. Scotland seeks no ascendency, and she neither hopes for, nor is ambitious of power. She seeks the Christian freedom of her Church and the Christian good of her people, and to make out this, let her watchword be—'Organize, organize, organize.' We know that without prayer no human effort, no human wisdom can be of any avail; and we confess our main dependence to be on the prayers of the Christian people of the land. But we also know that prayer does not supersede either effort or wisdom. Therefore I repeat—'Organize, organize, organize;' and without the objects of the demagogue on the one hand, or of the statesman on the other, let us not cease our endeavours till, by the blessing of God, the country in which we live becomes a sacred land of light and liberty—a portion of that greatest and best of empires, the empire of truth and righteousness." Having addressed a meeting in Glasgow held for a like object, Dr. Chalmers devoted himself to the forming and fostering into vigorous operation of Local Associations all over the country. Every hour that he could spare from the duties of the Theological Class was now consecrated to this work—every day he was to be found presiding at the meeting of Committee, and directing and stimulating his willing fellow-labourers.

The fruits of all this toil shall presently be laid before the reader. Meanwhile let us preserve one interesting notice of its progress. Writing to Mr. Lennox, on the 19th April 1843, Dr. Chalmers says:—"Our crisis is rapidly approaching. We are making every effort for the erection and sustentation of a Free Church, in the event of our disruption from the State, which will take place we expect in four weeks. I am glad to say that the great bulk and body of the common people, with a goodly proportion of the middle classes, are upon our side, though it bodes ill for the country that the higher classes are almost universally against us. Notwithstanding this, however, we are forming associations for weekly payments in rapid progression all over the country, and I am glad to say, that by this day's post they amount to four hundred and five. We expect that by the meeting of our General Assembly, the country will be half organized, and are looking for a great additional impulse from the Disruption, when it actually takes place. I am hopeful that ere the summer is ended, we may number about a thousand associations, or as many as there are parishes in Scotland, so that unless there be an attempt to crush us by persecution, I have no fear of our getting on. But the Lord reigneth, and He alone knoweth the end from the beginning. Let us look to His providence and grace, without which there can be no security from without, nor vital prosperity within. THOMAS CHALMERS."

The faith in one another, and the fervid activity in prospect of the Disruption, displayed by Dr. Chalmers and his associates, found a singular contrast in the apathy of the Government, and the infatuated incredulity of the public generally. When the difficulties in which the Moderate party should be placed, on the event of so many of their brethren being forced out of the Church, had been alluded to in the Presbytery of Edinburgh:—"It has been tauntingly asked," said the Rev. Dr. Grant, "how, even if we were successful, we could carry on the Church? I should like to know, before answering the question, how many of our opponents are to leave us?" Dr. Grant was more excusable in speaking so, as the Convocation had not then met, nor had he the resolution of that memorable Assembly before him. But we find the Rev. Dr. Cumming of London, after the Convocation, and with the full knowledge that the honour and good faith of more than four hundred Scottish clergymen were solemnly pledged to retire from the Establishment, publicly

affirming—"If Government is firm, I venture from pretty accurate information, to assert that less than one hundred will cover the whole secession. . . . The few manses and pulpits likely to be vacated, will be filled up with good and holy ministers. . . . The missionary schemes of the Church will not be overthrown; they will prosper more than they do now, by being released from party domination, and incessant quarrels and squabblings. . . . *But I am not satisfied that any will secede.*"* When a Presbyterian clergyman, himself a Scotchman, and claiming to be so well informed, made such public announcements as these, we are the less surprised at the incredulity of public and political men. It is now generally believed, that the testimony of such informants as Dr. Cumming had satisfied the Government that it would be only a few of the leaders, who had committed themselves too deeply to draw back, who would secede; and that resting in this conviction, the Government suffered matters to proceed, and did nothing to avert the catastrophe. In Scotland itself, with the busy notes of preparation ringing in their ears, there were multitudes, comprising almost the entire mass of the aristocracy, who could not to the very last be persuaded that more than twenty or thirty at the utmost would throw up their livings. It became a favourite subject of betting at their clubs; but even among those most friendly, few would peril anything upon the hazard that even so many as half of those who had pledged their word would keep it. And the capital, with all its means and opportunities of observation, was as incredulous as the country. "Mark my words," wrote one of the best informed and most sagacious citizens of Edinburgh, a day or two before the Disruption, "Mark my words—not forty of them will go out."

The day of trial at last arrived. For some days previously an unprecedented influx of strangers into Edinburgh foreshadowed the approach of some exciting event. Thursday, the 18th May, the day named for the meeting of the General Assembly, rose upon the city with a dull and heavy dawn. So early in the morning as between four and five o'clock, the doors of the church in which the Assembly was to convene† opened to admit those who hastened to take up the most favourable positions, in which they were content to remain for nine weary

* "Present State of the Church of Scotland." London, 1843; pp. 10-16.

† St. Andrew's Church, which had on this, as on a former occasion, been fitted up as the Assembly Hall.

hours. As the day wore on, it became evident that the ordinary business of the city had to a great extent been suspended, yet the crowds that gathered in the streets wore no gay or holiday appearance. As groups of acquaintances met and commingled, their conversation was obviously of a grave and earnest cast. Towards mid-day, the throne-room at Holyrood, in which the Marquess of Bute, as Lord High Commissioner, held his first levee, was filled with a numerous assemblage of noblemen, clergymen, military and naval officers, the city magistrates, and country gentlemen from all quarters of Scotland. A portrait of King William III. hung upon the wall of the room, opposite to the spot on which Her Majesty's Representative was standing. The throng of the levee was at its height, when, loosened somehow from its holdings, this portrait fell heavily upon the floor; and as it fell a voice was heard exclaiming, "There goes the Revolution Settlement." When the levee closed the customary procession formed itself. In his state-carriage, accompanied by a splendid *cortège*, and escorted by a troop of cavalry, the Commissioner proceeded to the High Church. The service was conducted by the Rev. Dr. Welsh, the Moderator of the preceding Assembly, whose discourse was made all the more impressive by the frequent allusions to the event by which it was so instantly to be followed. Elsewhere, within the Assembly Hall, as hour after hour passed by, the strained feeling of the multitude, by whom every inch of sitting and standing ground had for so long a time been occupied, was beginning occasionally to relax. At last, however, the rapid entrance of a large body of ministers into the space railed off below for members, told that the services at St. Giles was over. Every symptom of languor at once gave way, and expectation was at its utmost stretch. Dr. Welsh, the Moderator, entered and took the chair. Soon afterwards, His Grace the Lord High Commissioner was announced, and the whole assemblage rose and received him standing. Solemn prayer was then offered up. The members having resumed their seats, Dr. Welsh rose. By the eager pressure forward—the hush! hush! that burst from so many lips—the anxiety to hear threatened to defeat itself. The disturbance lasted but a moment. "Fathers and brethren," said Dr. Welsh, and now every syllable fell upon the ear amid the breathless stillness which prevailed, "according to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll. But, in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and

privileges, proceedings which have been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government, and by the Legislature of the country; and more especially, in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our Constitution, so that we could not now constitute this Court without a violation of the terms of the union between Church and State in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons that have led me to come to this conclusion, are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the House, I will now proceed to read." In this document, after the wrongs of the Church had been succinctly recited, the parties who signed it proceed at its close to say—"We protest, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other Commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps, along with all who adhere to us, maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and Standards of the Church of Scotland, for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment, and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace, and the aid of the Holy Spirit for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to His holy Word: and we now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of the Church and nation; but, at the same time, with assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in His Church." Having finished the reading of this Protest, Dr. Welsh laid it upon the table, turned and bowed respectfully to the Commissioner, left the chair and proceeded along the aisle to the door of the Church. Dr. Chalmers had been standing immediately on his left. He looked vacant and abstracted while the Protest was being read; but Dr. Welsh's movement awakened him from the reverie. Seizing eagerly upon his hat, he hurried after him with all the air of one impatient to be gone. Mr. Campbell of Monzie, Dr.

Gordon, Dr. Macdonald, Dr. Macfarlan, followed him. The effect upon the audience was overwhelming. At first a cheer burst from the galleries, but it was almost instantly and spontaneously restrained. It was felt by all to be an expression of feeling unsuited to the occasion; it was checked in many cases by an emotion too deep for any other utterance than the fall of sad and silent tears. The whole audience was now standing gazing in stillness upon the scene. Man after man, row after row, moved on along the aisle, till the benches on the left, lately so crowded, showed scarce an occupant. More than 400 ministers, and a still larger number of elders, had withdrawn.

A vast multitude of people stood congregated in George's Street, crowding in upon the church-doors. When the deed was done within, the intimation of it passed like lightning through the mass without, and when the forms of their most venerated clergymen were seen emerging from the church, a loud and irrepressible cheer burst from their lips, and echoed through the now half empty Assembly Hall. There was no design on the part of the clergymen to form into a procession, but they were forced to it by the narrowness of the lane opened for their egress through the heart of the crowd. Falling into line, and walking three abreast, they formed into a column which extended for a quarter of a mile and more. As they moved along to the new Hall prepared for their reception, very different feelings prevailed among the numberless spectators who lined the streets, and thronged each window, and door, and balcony, on either side. Some gazed in stupid wonder, the majority looked on in silent admiration. A few were seen to smile, as if in mockery; while here and there, as the child or wife of some outgoing minister caught sight of a husband's or a father's form accomplishing an act which was to leave his family homeless and unprovided, warm tear-drops formed, which, as if half ashamed of them, the hand of faith was in haste to wipe away. There were judges of the Court of Session there, who had placed themselves where they could be unseen observers of what took place, who must have felt perplexed, it may be saddened, when they saw realized before their eyes the fruits of their decisions. Elsewhere in the city, Lord Jeffrey was sitting reading in his quiet room, when one burst in upon him saying, "Well, what do you think of it?—more than four hundred of them are actually out." The book was flung aside, and springing to his feet, Lord Jeffrey exclaimed, "I'm proud

of my country; there is not another country upon earth where such a deed could have been done."

The large hall at Canonmills prepared for the new Assembly, and fitted up so as to receive 3000 auditors, had been filled in the part allotted to the public from an early hour in the morning. When the procession from St. Andrew's Church arrived, and the space marked off for ministers and elders was fully occupied, Dr. Welsh opened the proceedings with prayer, after which he rose and said (we quote now from a contemporary account): —"Reverend fathers and brethren, I presume our first duty, in the circumstances in which we are placed, unquestionably is to constitute ourselves by the choice of a Moderator; and I feel assured that the eyes of every individual in this Assembly—the eyes of the whole Church and country—the eyes of all Christendom are directed to one individual, whom to name is to pronounce his panegyric. In the exhausted state in which my duties have left me, it is scarce in my power to say more, but indeed I feel that more would be superfluous. The extent of his labours in connexion with our present position would justly entitle Dr. Chalmers—(the mention of Dr. Chalmers's name here, was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, the whole of the vast audience rising, cheering for some minutes with the utmost enthusiasm, and the house presenting a perfect forest of hats and handkerchiefs)—would justly entitle that great man to hold the first place in this our meeting. But surely it is a good omen, or I should say a token for good from the Great Disposer of all events, and the alone Head of the Church, that I can propose, to hold this office, an individual, who, by the efforts of his genius and his virtues, is destined to hold so conspicuous a place in the eyes of all posterity. But this I feel is taking but a low view of the subject. His genius has been devoted to the service of his Heavenly Master, and his is the high honour promised to those, who, having laboured successfully in their Master's cause, and turned many to righteousness, are to 'shine as the stars for ever and ever.'" In taking the chair, Dr. Chalmers proposed that the proceedings should be commenced by another act of prayer and praise. The psalm selected to be sung commenced with the verse—

> "O send thy light forth and thy truth;
> Let them be guides to me,
> And bring me to thine holy hill,
> Ev'n where thy dwellings be."

As the vast multitude stood up to sing these words, and as the

swell of 3000 voices rose up in melody to heaven, a sudden burst of sunlight filled the building, and there were some who thought of Dr. Chalmers's text, but six months before—"Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness." The Assembly being constituted proceeded to business; and on the following Tuesday the act of the Disruption day was formally and legally completed by the subscription of the "Act of Separation and Deed of Demission," by which 470 ministers did "separate from and abandon the present subsisting ecclesiastical Establishment in Scotland, and renounce all rights and emoluments pertaining to them in virtue thereof." A revenue of more than one hundred thousand pounds a year was thus voluntarily relinquished for the keeping of a good conscience and on behalf of the liberties of the Church. Five years had passed since the first decision on the Auchterarder Case, and the fruit of the conflict which then commenced was this rending in twain of the Scottish Establishment. When that conflict began there were none on any side who contemplated the possibility of such an issue, and perhaps none who, had it been pre-announced to them, would not willingly have laboured to prevent it. It was an event not only beyond all human foresight, but done without human concert, in great measure against human will. Step by step the Church was involuntarily led on from the lower and less essential to the larger and vital question upon which her very existence as an establishment came finally to be staked. Guided by a way that she knew not, her path was hedged up on the right hand and on the left till no opening but one seemed left for preserving her principles and keeping her honour pure and clean. It lightened amazingly the sacrifice which so many of her ministers were called at last to make, that not a shadow of uncertainty hung over the closing act, and that amid all the bitterness of regret felt by them in separating from an Establishment which they had so loved and venerated, there mingled no feeling of hesitation as to the propriety of their final step. It was an act forced on them by the moral necessities of their position, from the weighty responsibilities of which they felt as if providentially relieved. Those statesmen who constrained them to this alternative might with more show of reason have denied the spiritual independence which they craved to a Church which shuts out the laity from all part and influence in her affairs, and holds high notions of the priestly office and the spiritual powers which accompany it; but can they be forgiven for denying this liberty, and that

on the ground of an alarm about clerical domination, to a Church which opened every court to an equal, in some instances to a predominating lay influence, and which utterly repudiated the whole doctrine of priestly authority and power? Can the British Government be forgiven for breaking up the venerable fabric of the Scotch Church upon a plea so groundless, and for putting so mournful a close to that career of Christian usefulness upon which that Church had so vigorously and so hopefully embarked? That an Establishment manned principally by such devoted ministers as were now driven beyond its pale, and guided in its advancing movements by such men as Dr. Chalmers and his associates, would have proved an instrument of greater power for penetrating and evangelizing the masses than any which we now see existing, we cannot doubt; and as the picture of what might have been rises before our eye—the picture of the Church of Scotland, aided by the countenance and liberality of the aristocracy—strong in the growing attachment of the great bulk of the middle classes—numbering among her adherents more than two-thirds of the whole population of the land—advancing year by year in numbers and in strength—reclaiming larger and larger portions of the waste places of the wilderness, and turning them into the garden of the Lord—we sigh in heartfelt sorrow over an event which has put the fulfilment of such a prospect for ever out of sight. We cannot doubt that for a calamity so great, Divine Providence has some compensating benefits in store, which as yet we do not see; and with a hopeful faith we look for it, that in some great and beneficent issue, as unlike to any which our sagacity or foresight can now foreshadow as was the Disruption of 1843 to the anticipations of 1834, when the future shall have unfolded and illustrated them, the purposes of that wise and gracious Providence which watches over the Church of Christ will receive their ample vindication.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE TWO GENERAL ASSEMBLIES—PROGRESS OF THE FREE CHURCH—CHARACTERISTICS OF ITS FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY—LABOURS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE SUMMER OF 1843—DR. CHALMERS'S SUSTENTATION TOUR.

THE Church was rent asunder, and, for the first time in Scottish history, two General Assemblies convened together at Edinburgh. What had divided them? It was no difference as to any of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity; for the Creed and Confession of both were identical. It was no difference as to Church order or government; for the form of worship and methods of rule and discipline were in each instance the same. Nor did the division spring from any peculiarity of Presbyterianism; for had the Established Church of Scotland been Episcopalian or Independent, the same kind of separation might have taken place. The Disruption sprang solely and directly from the terms and conditions of connexion imposed by the State upon the Church. The State demanded an unlimited submission to certain sentences of the Civil Courts, upon the broad and general ground that such submission formed an essential element in the bond of union between it and the Church. The evangelical clergymen looked upon this demand as repugnant to the whole spirit, and contrary to the very letter of the ancient constitution of their Church—as one with which it would be both unlawful and inexpedient to comply; and, conscientiously unable to render the required submission, they withdrew from the Establishment. But what they could not do—what they rather chose to resign their livings than be guilty of—was done without scruple or difficulty by those whom they left behind. The Assembly of the Establishment at once decided that the seven clergymen of Strathbogie were in full possession of all the privileges of their order, and without any reversal by the Ecclesiastical Court of the sentence which had been so solemnly pronounced, those whom the Assembly of 1841 had deposed, the Assembly of 1843 treated as if no judgment

against them had ever passed. The Veto Law—the proceedings of previous Assemblies relative to the settlements at Marnoch, Culsalmond, and Lethendy—the Acts of 1833, 1834, and 1839, by which the ministers of the Associate Synod and of the Parliamentary and Extension Churches had been admitted, were all subjected to the same simple and summary treatment. It was not thought necessary to go through the form of repealing or rescinding them; but *ipso facto*, and because simply of the edict of the Civil Courts, they were counted as null and void, and ordered to be erased from the records. Mr. Clark had his license restored to him, and the settlements of Mr. Edwards at Marnoch and of Mr. Middleton at Culsalmond, were recognised and confirmed. In acts like these, so hurtful to the Church's honour, and so prejudicial to the spiritual interests of the people, the evangelical clergymen could take no part; and having struggled in vain within the Establishment to be released from the obligation to perform them—an obligation unrighteously, as they conceived, and unconstitutionally imposed—they retired, to prosecute under all the disadvantages of a disestablished state, the labours of a Christian Church.

Their position, as they assembled for the first time in the plain but spacious building prepared in haste for their reception, was without a parallel. Four hundred and seventy clergymen left without incomes for themselves, or homes for their families, or churches for their flocks—meeting in a condition of complete ecclesiastical organization, undertaking all the duties of a most arduous ministry at home, as well as the support of extensive operations abroad—and doing this as quietly and resolutely as if no shock or dislocation had occurred—no difficulties or uncertainties lay before them. The feeling which at first and most strongly prevailed in that singular assembly, was one of intense relief and satisfaction. So confidently and vividly was this feeling anticipated by Dr. Chalmers, that, in penning beforehand his introductory address, he inserted the following sentences:—

"Reverend fathers and brethren, it is well that you should have been strengthened by your Master in Heaven to make the surrender you have done, of everything that is dear to nature; casting aside all your earthly dependence rather than offend conscience, or incur the guilt of sinful compliance by thwarting your own sense of duty, and running counter to the Bible, our Great Church Directory and Statute-Book. It is well that you have made, for the present, a clean escape from this condemna-

tion—and that in the issue of the contest between a sacrifice of principle and a sacrifice of your worldly possessions, you have resolved upon the latter; and while to the eye of sense you are without a provision and a home, embarked upon a wide ocean of uncertainty, save that great and generous certainty which is apprehended by the eye of faith—that God reigneth, and that He will not forsake the families of the faithful. We read in the Scriptures, and I believe it will be often found true in the history and experience of God's people, that there is a certain light, and joyfulness, and elevation of spirit, consequent upon a moral achievement such as this. There is a certain felt triumph, like that of victory after a conflict, attending upon a practical vindication which conscience has made of her own supremacy, when she has been plied by many and strong temptations to degrade or to dethrone her. Apart from Christianity altogether, there has been realized a joyfulness of heart, a proud swelling of conscious integrity, when a conquest has been effected by the higher over the inferior powers of our nature; and so among Christians too there is a legitimate glorying, as when the disciples of old gloried in the midst of their tribulations, and when the spirit of glory and of God rested on them, they were made partakers of the Divine nature, and escaped the corruption that is in the world; or as when the Apostle Paul rejoiced in the testimony of his conscience.* But let us not forget in the midst of this rejoicing the deep humility that pervaded their songs of exultation; the trembling which these holy men mixed with their mirth—trembling arising from a sense of their own weakness; and then courage inspired by the thought of that aid and strength which was to be obtained out of His fulness, who formed all their boasting and all their defence. Never in the history of our Church were such feelings and such acknowledgments more called for than now; and in the transition we are making, it becomes us to reflect on such sentiments as these: "Not I, but the grace of God in me;" and, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

In closing the address from which these sentences are extracted, and after referring to the danger, not unlikely to arise

* "You would have been struck with the contrast presented by our outgoing clergy, between their anxious and wo-begone aspect before they had taken their decision, and their perfect relief and light-heartedness after it. Never was there a happier Assembly, with a happier collection of faces, than in our Free Church—with consciences disburdened, and casting themselves without care, and with all the confidence of children, on the providence of that God who never forsakes the families of the faithful."—Letter from Dr. Chalmers to his sister, Mrs. Morton, dated 16th June 1843.

under the new condition of things upon which the Free Church was acting, of exchanging one kind of subjection or dependence for another, Dr. Chalmers added,—

"To be more plain, let me be more particular. The Voluntaries mistake us, if they conceive us to be Voluntaries. We hold by the duty of Government to give of their resources and their means for the maintenance of a Gospel ministry in the land; and we pray that their eyes may be opened, so that they may learn how to acquit themselves as the protectors of the Church, and not as its corrupters or its tyrants. We pray that the sin of Uzziah, into which they have fallen, may be forgiven them, and that those days of light and blessedness may speedily arrive, when 'kings shall be the nursing-fathers, and queens the nursing-mothers' of our Zion. In a word, we hold that every part and every function of a commonwealth should be leavened with Christianity, and that every functionary, from the highest to the lowest, should, in their respective spheres, do all that in them lies to countenance and uphold it. That is to say, though we quit the Establishment, we go out on the Establishment principle; we quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one. To express it otherwise—we are the advocates for a national recognition and national support of religion—and we are not Voluntaries.

"Again, if we thus openly proclaim our differences with men who, under the guise of principle—and of this principle we question not the honesty—refuse in the affairs of the Church to have any participation with the Government, still more resolutely do we disclaim all fellowship with men who, under the guise of direct and declared opposition, lift a menacing front against 'the powers that be;' or disdaining government, and impatient of restraint, manifest a spirit of contention and defiance. . . . If on the flag of your truly free and constitutional Church you are willing to inscribe that you are no Voluntaries, then still more there will be an utter absence of sympathy on your part with the demagogue and agitator of the day — so that in golden characters may be seen and read of all men this other inscription, that you are no anarchists."

His duties as Moderator interfered with Dr. Chalmers's taking any large share in the public business of the Assembly. As Convener, however, of the Financial Committee, he gave in the report relative to the Sustentation Fund. Had no such central fund for upholding the ministries of all the outgoing clergymen

in their former spheres of labour been devised, had each minister been thrown upon the support of such of his parishioners as adhered to him, in more than two hundred instances that support had been so utterly insufficient that their positions must have been abandoned, and the Free Church narrowed by more than a third part in her original dimensions. It was, moreover, the existence of such a fund which alone enabled the Free Church to make and keep her promise of supplying with Christian ordinances all who should adhere to her communion; and looking to the large increase in her ministry and membership which consequently occurred, we may confidently affirm that for more than one half of her existing numerical strength the Free Church stands indebted to that single device of Dr. Chalmers. His report as to the progress made in its establishment was in the highest degree encouraging. Six hundred and eighty-seven associations had been organized. Two hundred and thirty-nine of them were in full operation, and had already transmitted to the general treasury upwards of £17,000. The average yielded by each of these associations was £73 per annum,—a sum much lower than what might confidently be calculated on when the impulse of the Disruption began to operate; but, even as it then stood, if the same rate of liberality were extended over all the existing associations, and sustained throughout the year, there was the promise of an annual revenue of £74,080. "Had the goodly result," said Dr. Chalmers, in giving in this Report, "which I have to-day presented to you, been a few months ago spoken of as either possible or probable, the anticipation would have been regarded, as in fact my expressed conviction at that time generally was regarded, as a vision of Utopia. We know not what the feelings of such are when, instead of presenting the matter to the eyes of their understanding, we now place it before the eye of their senses. Sure we are, it was far easier practically to do the thing, than to convince the people that the thing was practicable. The difficulty lay not in the doing of the work when begun, but wholly in getting it begun —not in the execution of the process after its commencement, but in overcoming the incredulity which stood as a barrier in the way of its commencement. . . . I doubt not, there are a good many here who heard me predict such a result as that which I have to-day laid before you; and I trust you will forgive me for stating, though I am not a professor of physiognomy, that when I chanced to lift my eyes off the paper to the counte-

nances of those who were before me, I observed in them a good-natured leer of incredulity, mixed up, no doubt, with a benignant complacency, which they cast on the statements and high coloured representations of a very sanguine Utopian. In order to overcome this incredulity in my own little sphere, and in a parish where eight-ninths of the aristocracy of the soil are against us, I did begin a little Association—I mean the parish of Morningside. But we remained for six whole weeks in a state of single blessedness—we had not a single companion, but stood as a spectacle to be gazed at with a sort of gaping wonder, till we actually felt our situation painful, felt as if we stood on a pillory; but now that we have been followed by no less than 687 Associations, our singularity, we begin to feel, sits rather gracefully upon us. At the hazard of being regarded as a Utopian this second time, and at this new stage of our advance, I will make as confident an avowal now as I made then, that if we only make a proper use of the summer that is before us, in stirring up, I do not say the people of Scotland, but that portion of them who are the friends of our Protesting Church—if we do what we might, and what we ought, we will not only be able to repair the whole Disruption, but will get landed in the great and glorious work of Church Extension. For you will recollect, that though the application of the first portion of the funds goes towards, I will not say the support of the ejected ministers, but towards the upholding of the continuance of their services; yet after that is secured, and after the *maximum* has been attained, the over and above sums contributed will go, not to the augmentation of ministerial income, but to the augmentation of ministerial services—not to the increase of the salaries of the ministers, but to the increase of their numbers; and we shall not stop short, I trust, in our great and glorious enterprise, till, in the language you have already heard, 'the light of the Gospel be carried to every cottage-door within the limits of the Scottish territory.' This will open a boundless field for the liberality of our Christian brethren—a bright and beautiful ulterior, to which every eye should be directed, that each may have in full view the great and glorious achievement of a Church commensurate with the land in which we dwell, and every heart be elevated by the magnificent aim to cover with the requisite number of churches, and, with God's blessing on the means, Christianity to educate, and, in return for our performance and prayers, to Christianize the whole of Scotland."

The Report relative to the Building Fund, also given in by Dr. Chalmers, was not less encouraging. In one week, by means of the local associations, £16,578 had been collected in smaller sums, which, added to the more munificent donations made during the few months preceding the Disruption, presented no less a sum than £104,776 already available for the erection of churches. And the day of the Disruption sprang a new mine of charity in the hearts of thousands. Their ministers having led the way, and given to the world a clear and convincing testimony to the reality and power of religious principle, in the pecuniary sacrifices which they made, many a noble-hearted layman was in haste to follow and to rival their example. First among those Christian and generous men who have furnished a new standard of individual liberality, stood Mr. William Campbell of Glasgow, whose benefactions to the Church of Scotland during the progress of her extension had already amounted to about £15,000, beginning a new career of still wider liberality, by a donation of £2000 to the Building Fund of the Free Church. The Marchioness of Breadalbane, Mr. Ewing of Levenside, Mr. Nisbet of London, and Mr. Brown Douglas of Edinburgh, were mentioned also by Dr. Chalmers as the donors of sums equally munificent; and we regret only that the delicacy of a genuine humility forbids our naming one, the overflowings of whose altogether princely generosity crossed the Atlantic, and of which Dr. Chalmers felt himself to be honoured in being chosen as the channel. These were the offerings of the rich, but greater and more precious in the eyes of Him who still sits over against the Church's Treasury, were the offerings—approaching far more to the character of pecuniary sacrifices—made at this time by thousands in the humblest walks of life. "The liberalities," said Dr. Chalmers, "which have been poured forth on our great enterprise even by the humblest of our artisans and labourers, and the grateful responses which these have called back again—the words of kindness and of encouragement which have been sent from all places of the land to bear us up on the field of conflict, and our thankful sense of the friendship which prompted them—the amalgamating power of a common object and a common feeling, to cement and knit together the hearts of men—the very emulation to love and to good works which has given birth to so many associations, each striving to outrun the other in their generous contributions for the support of what is deemed by all to be a noble cause—even the work-

ing of these associations, in which the rich and the poor are often made to change places, the former visiting the houses of the latter, and receiving the offerings of Christian benevolence at their hands—the multiplied occasions of intercourse thus opened up between those parties in the commonwealth which before stood at the greatest distance, and were wont to look with the indifference, if not the coldness, of aliens to each other—these are so many sweetening and exalting influences, which serve to foster the sympathy of a felt brotherhood among thousands and tens of thousands of our countrymen, and will mightily tend, we are persuaded, to elevate and humanize the society of Scotland."

Two things especially characterized the first General Assembly of the Free Church,—the marvellous popular enthusiasm which it kindled without, and the equally marvellous and unbroken harmony which prevailed within. The sittings were continued from Thursday the 18th till Tuesday the 30th May, and yet from the beginning to the close of each daily sitting, the Hall at Canonmills saw a compact crowd of 3000 auditors listening with intense attention to every part of the proceedings, and breaking out, whenever the occasion permitted, or at all encouraged it, into extraordinary demonstrations of sympathy and approval. During the two Sabbaths which intervened, religious service was conducted in the Hall of the Assembly. It is to give no conception of the scenes which there occurred to say, that the mass of human beings, forced by the outward pressure into the building, was so compact that, unable to penetrate, the preacher had to be carried over their heads. Such multitudes assembled that five separate congregations were formed without the walls, and though the rain began to fall, remained hanging upon the lips of the speakers. During the course of the Assembly many plans had to be matured and resolutions taken, which, had matters been thrown loosely in a crude and undigested form before the House, might have created difference or discord. It was with a clear foresight of this danger that Dr. Chalmers was so urgent in carrying the work of preparation beforehand to the utmost possible extent. There was no measure submitted to the Assembly which had not been the subject of frequent and anxious deliberations with one or other of the committees in Edinburgh ; and, even after the Assembly met, no measure of any importance was brought forward for public discussion or approval till after much private consultation regarding it. In these private conferences every one who had any counsel to tender was

invited to bring it forward, and each seemed ready to yield his own judgment to the collective wisdom of his associates. A reigning spirit of brotherly love and of mutual confidence guided all their deliberations, and such a rare and unbroken harmony of judgment was effected that not once had a vote to be taken, nor with any one of this Assembly's decisions was dissatisfaction afterwards expressed. The excitements of debate were exchanged for the excitements of an ardent, hopeful zeal—quick to devise and ready to execute. No sound of strife was heard, no shadow of jealousy appeared—all were of one heart and of one mind, stimulating and strengthening each other for the great work to which they stood committed.

That work was sufficiently arduous. First, the pains of separation from old homes and old churches and old friends, had to be suffered, and then the toils of an overburdened ministry had to be undergone, and the front of a most determined opposition to be faced. They knew nothing of the Disruption as a time of trial and of sacrifice who knew it only in our great towns, where amid much to do and to suffer there was much also to animate and encourage. It was in the country manse—it was in the sequestered rural parish that the burden of this sore calamity was most severely felt. "Just conceive," said Dr. Chalmers, in the Assembly, entering most feelingly into their coming trials, "these clergymen returning to their homes, finding their houses in process of being dismantled and their parishioners saddened by the prospect of an approaching separation. We stay here in our hilarity in the presence of each other, but these gentlemen go to what were once their welcome and comfortable homes, and what is the spectacle that meets them on their return? I cannot venture on the description. Going, they and their families, they know not whither—resigning all those places to which they are attached by so many fond and intense local affections—their garden-walks where they freely enjoyed the hours of their relaxation—the peaceful study where the man of learning enjoyed many a raptured hour of converse with his books, or which the man of piety converted into a sanctuary, and held intercourse there with his God,—all these to be resigned and given up." One venerable minister had to send his wife and children away to a distance of seventy miles—not a house or hut nearer being open for their accommodation—and he had himself to take a room in the only inn which the district supplied. Another was asked by his widowed daughter to share a cottage, within his

parish, in which she lived, but the noble proprietor interfered. She was warned that if she harboured her own parent in her house she would forfeit her right to her dwelling, as it was not desired that any house on this estate should be a "lodging-place for dissenters." A third, driven from one of the loveliest homes, compelled to study in a wretched garret, and to sleep often with nothing between him and the open heavens but the cold slate, covered with hoar-frost—his very breath frozen upon the bed-clothes—sunk into the grave. From the manse of Tongue the patriarchal clergyman and his son, who was his assistant and successor, separating themselves from their families, retired to a very humble abode. The exposure and privation were too much for them; they both caught fever, and both died. "I shall never forget, to my dying day," said Dr. Guthrie,* "the scene which I witnessed at the manse of Tongue, or rather—I forget myself—in a mean, at least humble cottage to which that father and son had retired,—parting with their family rather than part with their flock. I was never so unmanned by any sight I ever saw—if I may call it being unmanned, for I am not ashamed of being affected by such a sight. I shall not venture to describe what I saw. I shall only say, in the words of Scripture, 'they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided.' I rise to bear my humble testimony to the worth of these men,—I should rather say, the worth of these martyrs for those great principles for which we abandoned our earthly all. They lay on their dying beds in peace. Never shall I forget the sight of that venerable old man—a man who would have adorned any Church—who would have adorned any society,—never shall I forget seeing him in his mean cottage—nature exhausted—buried in the sleep which he had not tasted during the livelong night, his venerable locks streaming over the chair where he was sitting asleep. I went up to him and intended to awaken him, but I thought it cruelty to do so. I passed by him again and again in the room, and still he slept on; and after seeing his son lying, in an adjoining closet, on a fever bed,—a son that had never closed his eyes all the night long either, for his father's groans were like daggers to his heart, I left the house; and the last words I heard that son say on the earth were, 'Mr. Guthrie, this is hard enough; but I thank God I don't lie here a renegade. My father's conscience and mine are at peace.' Yes, they are both at peace now. They have both

* In a speech before the General Assembly at Inverness in August 1845.

gone to the place where 'the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.'" Such are single leaves of a record, which, if ever the history of the first plantation of the Free Church be fully written, will be a book of many and strangely-coloured pages.

But toil came as well as trouble. To meet the wants of the adhering population upwards of 600 congregations had to be regularly supplied with all the means of grace, and as many churches had to be erected. Never in the history of the Christian Church were so many sermons delivered, so many prayer meetings held, so many addresses delivered, by the same number of clergymen, within the same period of time, as by the outgoing ministers during the twelve months which elapsed from the day of the Disruption till the General Assembly of 1844; and never, over the same surface of country, or within so short a time, were so many churches built. In towns the kindness of their dissenting brethren afforded many facilities for ministers meeting with their people on the Sabbath days. In the country it was different. Here and there the hand of tyranny was stretched out, and from the church and churchyard—from the bare hillside and from the public highways, on all of which they sought to assemble and to worship God—ministers and people were driven, till they took their station within high-water mark on the lone sea-beach, their feet upon the damp and tangled sea-weed—the roll of those breakers whose spray the breeze drove over them keeping time to their solemn psalmody. It was a summer in which there was scarcely a rainy or inclement Sabbath, and very generally in the rural districts, even where no opposition of any kind was encountered, there was preaching in the open air. When this was impracticable or inexpedient, strange shifts and expedients were frequently employed. At Morningside, Dr. Chalmers opened his own dwelling-house, and converted it into a church; and perhaps he never occupied a more picturesque position than when, planted midway up the staircase, he preached to a disjointed congregation scattered into different rooms, all of whom could hear, but not half of whom could see the clergyman. In addition to the increased amount of purely pastoral labour which devolved upon them, the leading ministers of the Free Church had large draughts made upon their time and strength for public services. The lively interest which the Disruption had created in other countries, suggested the idea of despatching numerous

deputations to explain the principles and to plead the cause of the Free Church. Familiar as the Presbyterians of Ulster were with the great principles involved in the controversy, and looking with the strong attachment of children to the parent Church in Scotland, they needed less either to be informed or to be stimulated, and, as became them, they were the foremost, both by word and deed, in expressions of attachment. In England, the deputations from the North were received everywhere with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and goodwill. Public meetings were held in the metropolis and most of the principal towns. In Manchester, thirty-five pulpits were opened upon one Sunday, that sermons might be preached and collections taken. In Birmingham, fifteen pulpits were placed, in like manner, on the same Sabbath, at the disposal of the friends of the Free Church. London was not so well organized, but it exhibited a no less generous spirit. Over all wide England, fervent and substantial expressions of desire were given to aid the men who, after making so great a personal sacrifice, were attempting the task of building up a national institute in a year. The event which had occurred in Scotland had power also to stir profoundly and extensively the sympathies of the American churches, and a deputation, headed by Dr. Cunningham, crossed the Atlantic. In one or other of these public services Dr. Chalmers was again and again solicited to engage. It was pressed upon him in particular, and in the strongest terms, that he should deliver a few lectures in London, explanatory of the principles involved in the Disruption; but he steadily resisted all the urgency by which he was beset. He had the profoundest conviction that all which Ireland, England, or America would or could do for her, was utterly insignificant as compared with what Scotland could and ought to do for herself.* Those bursts of generous feeling, which it was so pleasant to witness or excite, would in a year or two subside, and the contributions begotten by them would die away in like manner. To meet all the temporary

* "*Edinburgh, Nov.* 6, 1843.—My dear Sir,—Your suggestions are admirable, and will be handed to the proper quarters. Yet, however valuable our labours in England, a tenfold greater good would accrue to the Free Church were each man but to cultivate his own district, and make the most of it. Do tell Mr. Mackinlay that I would have more value for a vigorous and well-conducted system in his locality, and for the imitation of it in the other localities of our own land, than for all that either England or Ireland can do in our favour. I was delighted with my visit to you, nor have I spent more congenial or happier hours for a long time, than within the limits of your domain, and the Necropolis together.—Ever believe me, my dear Sir, yours most cordially, Thomas Chalmers.

"Hugh Tennant, Esq."

necessities of her position, it was proper and needful that the Free Church should avail herself of them to the uttermost. They served, besides, a higher and more enduring object—that of binding together the churches in the bonds of a brotherly unity, and upon that ground especially were they to be cherished. But ere very long the Church would be thrown back upon her own internal resources—the foreign springs would fail, and it would be upon the home fountain that all would finally depend. It was to the striking out of that fountain, to the rendering it as deep and productive as possible, that Dr. Chalmers's whole and undivided strength was given. When told with rapture of this and that other donation from this and that other remote district of England or America, he playfully would say, "The eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth." In August and September he made a Sustentation tour, taking in Perth, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Arbroath, Dundee, and St. Andrews. What he sought for in each place he visited was, a meeting with ten, or twenty, or thirty of those who would undertake the actual work of making the regular rounds through the families of their districts, that he might impress them with the magnitude of their office, and animate them to punctuality and zeal in the discharge of its duties. In one or two instances he had large audiences to address. At Aberdeen 1400 office-bearers of the Church assembled to receive his counsels. But he eschewed the larger assembly, and courted the small and confidential conference.*

There were three visits in the course of this tour which he especially relished—the three days spent with Captain Burnett of Monboddo, the week with Mr. Thomson of Banchory, and

* "I assure you," said he to the General Assembly convened in Glasgow, "that if I can get twenty gentlemen persuaded to do what I recommend, I should consider it an ample reward for all the fatigue endured by the Assembly. The truth is, I have infinitely greater taste for meetings which are followed by common sense practical workings, than I have for meetings which are not so followed up. I cannot express the futility of these general meetings, which are tenfold less useful to the community, and tenfold more exhausting to the strength, than those private confidential meetings which are attended by none but those who are willing to give their time and their substance to the labour. I cannot express the distaste I feel for the meetings which are not so followed up. I care nothing for the bold oratory, for the bursts of enthusiasm, for the electric flashes of the speeches, followed by the thunder-claps of applause from the thousands of assembled hearers, for the flights of eloquence in the orators, and the peals of admiration from the auditors—for all this, if its energy is to be expended like the winter torrent, will leave few men the readier to put forth their hand to the required work. All this may be very splendid; but it is nothing, or worse than nothing, reminding us of the oratorio, where the sacred music has awakened a thrilling ecstasy in the minds of multitudes who have none of the habits or characteristics of piety; or of the theatrical acclamations with which virtuous speeches or sentiments are hailed by hundreds who have no patience for its toil, no relish for its homely services. I want not the excitement of emotion, but the sturdiness and endurance of good working principles."

the day at the manse of Carnoustie. In his Journal letters, under the date of Monday the 4th September, he says—"Captain and Mrs. Burnett had the great kindness to accompany me on my departure as far as Stonehaven, on my way to Banchory. I took leave with much feeling of the whole family, children and all. I have been treated with the greatest cordiality, and I owe nothing to the Captain but the utmost gratitude and respect. What a difference it would make in Scotland, if we had one such as he within every ten miles of each other!" On Sabbath the 10th of September, it was arranged that Dr. Chalmers should preach at Banchory, a short distance from Aberdeen. The Free Church congregation was then worshipping in a tent, which was enlarged for the occasion, so that it might accommodate from 1600 to 2000 persons. Two hours before the time for the commencement of the service, a message was sent to Mr. Thomson that the tent was already crowded. On going to see the state of matters, he found it not only crammed to suffocation, but as many assembled round it as would have filled it two or three times over, while crowds were hastening to the spot along the various roads, on foot and in vehicles of every description. It was obvious that there was no resource but to ask Dr. Chalmers to preach in the open air. He had retired to the library, and requested to be left alone for an hour, but it was absolutely necessary to intrude upon him. "I went to him," says Mr. Thomson, "and said to him, 'We find that the tent will not nearly hold all the people who have assembled; would you dislike preaching in the open air?' He looked up, and with the most perfect simplicity, exclaimed, 'What has brought all the people here?'" He at once agreed, however, to the request; and various places being proposed and shown to him, he promptly selected the principal door-way of the house, where a temporary pulpit of tables, covered with a large green cloth, was immediately erected. The situation was favourable; a level lawn of some extent stretching out before him, bounded on each side by a sloping bank covered with shrubbery and wood. The narrative of the preaching must be given in Dr. Chalmers's own words:—

"I had expressed my preference for a rural Sabbath. But little thought I, that, notwithstanding the day and the hour, and even the rain of this day, there were to assemble six or seven thousand, some say ten thousand people. And so the pulpit had to be carried half-a-mile from the Free Church tent to the front

door of Banchory House, where I could preach under cover, with a lobby full of grandees behind me, and such a multitude before me, as presented what the opium-eater calls an ocean of human faces. The people occupied all the gravel before the house, and all the grassy lawn, wet as it was, to the trees, whose foliage gave back the sound, so that the echo came back upon our ears, and prolonged each line so as to compel a pause from the precentor in a way that was somewhat ludicrous. Nevertheless, I was completely heard; and having Mr. Archibald, a probationer, to conduct all but the sermon, I got over the whole with marvellously little fatigue. The open air in front, and freedom from all heat and stifling, made it far easier for me than if I had been in the tent."

Dr. Chalmers's text upon this occasion was his favourite one from Isaiah xxvii. 4, 5. "The breathless interest," says Mr. Thomson, "with which the people listened was very striking; and the blessed fruits of that discourse will all be known only at the great day."

It was the domestic quiet and Christian converse of the manse of Carnoustie which endeared it to him. Speaking to Mrs. Dymock of the pleasure of Christian friendship, he said,—"But we are wayward; where we love much, we often love wrong. We must take care of fixing our hearts on earth. Yet we have a warrant in the Bible for loving much:—'Love one another with a pure heart fervently.' It may be fervently, if it be *first* with a pure heart. . . . You do not know how much I need your prayers. This is one of the pleasures of Christian affection. Christians may and should think most of one another, in their holiest and happiest moments. Remember me in your holiest moments — your moments of prayer."* Some time afterwards, he said, "Remember you have promised to pray for me," adding, "every time you pray, for I am a poor wretched sinner." Upon another occasion he said, "I hope you find no difficulty in appropriating Christ. If I were to come as an accredited agent to you from the upper sanctuary, with a letter of invitation to you, with your name and address on it, you would not doubt your warrant to accept it. Well, here is the Bible, your invitation to come to Christ. It does not bear your name and address, but it says '*Whosoever*'—that takes you in; it says '*all*'—that takes you in; it says 'if *any*'—that takes you in. What can be surer or freer than that? I

* From Notes taken at the time by Mrs. Dymock.

have been reading some treatises on the appropriation of Christ, and I like them, especially Ebenezer Erskine on the Assurance of Faith."* Having been engaged in this way for some time, he said—"This is the kind of conversation I like." It was not often that he indulged in it. He had too great humbleness of mind—too great natural secretiveness, and too great recoil from some of the too frequent characteristics of religious conversation, often to embark in it. But when it came, simply and unaffectedly, the keenness of his relish for it showed the depth and the tenderness of his piety. Engrossed though he was with the public and outward business of the Church, such conversations as those of Carnoustie Manse indicated how naturally and how fondly his spirits reverted to and reposed upon the most spiritual truths of Christianity. "I regret exceedingly," he wrote to Mrs. Chalmers in the course of this tour, "that this bustling, various, engrossing work should so encroach on the higher occupations of good reading and good thinking; I do hope to make my escape from it; and yet I cannot but feel that I have a call to my present doings. My heart is drawn towards the sacrificing ministers. I do hope that a system of adequate provision will be set up, and kept up not only for supporting but extending the Free Church. Meanwhile, let us cast more of our care and confidence upon God. To him I would commit all our interests, both for time and for eternity."†

* "I enjoyed also my readings of the little book which I have as my companion at present, a collection of little works on the assurance of faith. Its doctrine is very precious—the warrant for appropriation in the message or good news of salvation. I feel confident that nothing else will do, but that this will; that Christ's offer to me in particular, if only trusted, will be realized; and more especially that His offer of strength, if so trusted, will avail for the mastery over every temptation, and for the achievement of all holy and acceptable obedience."—From Letter to Mrs. Chalmers, dated Monboddo, September 2 1843.

The volume referred to in this extract became a great favourite of Dr. Chalmers, and was frequently and earnestly recommended to his students. It is entitled—"Saving Faith as laid down in the Word of God: being a series of works by the following authors:—John Anderson, D.D., United States; Rev. Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling; and Rev. William Cudworth of Norwich." Edinburgh, John Johnstone, 1843. In reference to one of those treatises, Dr. Chalmers wrote as follows to Mr. Lennox:—"I have been reading with great interest lately the work of an American divine, whose name I had never before heard of—Dr. Anderson. I believe that the little treatise to which I refer was published about fifty years back; and I have since seen and perused another work of his, entitled 'Precious Truth,' in reply to Mr. Bellamy, the well-known American theologian. The title of the treatise is, 'The Scripture Doctrine of the Appropriation which is in the Nature of Saving Faith.' I hold it to be a first-rate composition, and well fitted to dispel the obscuration which your Bellamy, and even Jonathan Edwards himself, do sometimes (I apprehend) cast on the freeness of the Gospel.

† From Letter, dated Monboddo, August 30, 1843.

CHAPTER XL.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1844—FRUITS OF THE YEAR'S LABOURS—HISTORY OF THE SUSTENTATION FUND—PROPOSED MODIFICATION—ITS REJECTION BY THE FREE CHURCH.

Dr. Chalmers returned from his Sustentation tour in the North to attend a meeting of the General Assembly held at Glasgow in October, which he opened by a sermon on the "Outward business of the House of God," from the text, Nehemiah xi. 16. The object of this meeting was, to revive in the west of Scotland that impulse which the presence of the outgoing ministers had created in Edinburgh. Interim reports of the various operations of the Church were read, all bright with promise, but covering too brief a period to give accurate augury of the future. Reanimated by their intercourse, the ministers returned to prosecute their labours amid greater outward difficulties, but with undiminished ardour, during the succeeding winter. The results, as announced at the meeting of the General Assembly in May 1844, were in the highest degree encouraging.

Without exception, all the Missionaries in foreign stations had declared their adhesion to the Free Church. This testimony was doubly valuable, as coming from men who had been quiet spectators of the conflict, the purity and devotedness of whose character was above all suspicion, and who must have had many fears as to the probabilities of an infant Church, struggling for life at home, being able to continue their services abroad. Their fears were disappointed; for, notwithstanding all that she otherwise had to do, the Free Church, in the first year of her existence, raised no less than £32,000 for her various schemes of Christian philanthropy—a sum greater by £12,000 than had been raised by the whole Church in the year 1842.

It had been looked upon as a marvel that in the course of seven years previous to the Disruption, two hundred churches should have been built, in connexion with a Church the whole number of whose ministers numbered about a thousand. But

that marvel was lost in this—that by a Church, whose ministers numbered at the commencement only 470, nearly 500 churches were built in a single year. And yet the work of church building was far from finished; for, contrary to all anticipations, the people had forsaken the Establishment in a much higher ratio, as to numbers, than the ministers; and it would have required more than 700 churches to accommodate the congregations who were ready to attach themselves to the Free Church. To meet the spiritual wants of more than 200 unprovided congregations, the Church had only 130 licentiates at command, some of whom, it might be presumed, were unlikely to be elected as ministers. Of these, so many as 114 were ordained in the course of a year, which saw the original Church of the Disruption making an addition of about one-fourth to the number of her ministers.

Setting aside the generous aid rendered by strangers, upwards of £300,000 had been contributed by a community, which at this period could not embrace so much as one-third of the population of Scotland. That particular branch of the general revenue which was devoted to the maintenance and extension of the ministry appeared also to be in a prosperous condition. Adopting the suggestions embodied in a pamphlet by Dr. Chalmers, printed and privately circulated in 1843, two sources of ministerial income had been opened. The produce of all the local associations constituted a general fund, out of which each minister received an equal dividend; while from the collections at the church doors, each congregation was permitted and encouraged to supplement the salary of its clergyman. With the Central Sustentation Fund, established by the Free Church, the name of Dr. Chalmers is imperishably connected. It stands and will long abide as the best monument of his genius in ecclesiastical finance. Compared with the system under which each separate congregation sustains its own ministry, it presented many and peculiar recommendations. By drawing from the abundance of the rich a fixed supply for the necessities of the poor, it preserved a Christian ministry in many districts where otherwise it must have expired. By binding the strong and the weak together, it created a new species of unity in the Church, and breathed throughout it a fresh and healthful spirit of brotherhood. By erecting orderly channels through which the overflowing liberality of the wealthier congregations was spread equally within the whole area of the Church, it established a

security against the fitful and capricious distributions of individual benevolence. By inviting every member of the Church to unite, not simply in supporting that clergyman whose services he personally enjoyed, but in sustaining and extending a Gospel ministry throughout the land, wherever it was needed, it gave a new, if not a purer motive to his liberality, supplying it "with a wider aim, and a nobler arena." The actual income, it is true, which in the first year of its existence it supplied, was comparatively small and insufficient. The whole sum yielded by the Associations throughout that year amounted to £68,700, which, divided equally among 600 clergymen, afforded to each a salary of £100. Many, however, of the Associations had but recently been organized—many had been in full working order, under the eye of an ordained clergyman, during a portion only of the past year; and when the large and exhausting efforts expended upon church-building were over, it was confidently and generally expected that the Sustentation Fund would be largely replenished. To some extent Dr. Chalmers participated in this expectation. He rejoiced that one of the primary objects of the Fund—the maintenance of the Church of the Disruption in all its original magnitude, had been more than realized. But he had been watching with eager and anxious eye the working of the system during the past twelvemonth; he had subjected the returns which specified each item of congregational income and the object to which it was appropriated, to a most searching scrutiny, and the result was, that beneath a flourishing outward aspect he detected symptoms of weakness and decay, presages of a contracted rather than of an expanding Church. Dividing all the congregations of the Free Church into two classes—those which gave into the Fund more than they got out of it, and those which got more than they gave, it excited his liveliest apprehensions to discover that more than three-fourths of the whole belonged to the latter, while by so small a number as fifteen of the former, one-fifth of the whole Fund was furnished. Confining his attention again to the aid-receiving congregations, the sluggishness of some and the selfishness of others, pained and alarmed him. More than 150 congregations gave less than £20, and more than 350 less than £50 to the Fund, and yet some of them reckoned their communicants by hundreds. He would not admit the plea of poverty, when urged in excuse of such neglect of duty. "I am only sorry," he said in the General Assembly of 1844, "when some of the Highland brethren were telling us of

the inability of the people in some districts to give anything, that I did not put the question, whether the practice of snuffing was at all prevalent among them? Why, I believe that I could make out by the Excise returns, that in the island of Islay alone, some £6000 a year is spent on tobacco. The power of littles is wonderful. I began with pennies; I now come down to pinches, and say that if we got but a tenth of the snuff used by Highlanders—every tenth pinch—it would enable us to support our whole ecclesiastical system in the Highlands. It is astonishing, the power of infinitesimals. The mass of the planet Jupiter is made up of infinitesimals; and surely, after that, it is in the power of infinitesimals to make up a stipend for the minister of Ballachulish!" But the playful changed into the indignant when he turned to contemplate those congregations which, while receiving from the Fund more than they contributed to it, afforded palpable evidence of their ability to be aid-giving, rather than aid-getting, by what they raised for their own home uses. He wondered whether the congregational conscience was at all awake, when they could permit themselves to extract from a Fund, designed for the weak and helpless, twice as much as they forwarded to it, and yet give to their own minister a supplement twice or thrice, or eight or ten times greater than their contribution to the Fund. He foresaw and he deplored the fatal influence which such apathy and ignoble selfishness must necessarily in the long-run exert, in deadening the generosity of the wealthier and aid-giving congregations, who could not fail to be disheartened by perceiving that though, year after year, they renewed their efforts to enlarge the Fund and raise the equal dividend, these efforts were fruitless. And still more distressing to Dr. Chalmers than the depression of the general ministerial income which he anticipated, was the fatal check to Church Extension which these aid-receiving congregations interposed. "It is, no doubt, desirable," he writes, "that we should increase both the number and liberality of the aid-giving congregations, but it is of far more vital importance to our cause that we should lessen the number, and diminish the enormous absorptions of the aid-receiving congregations. They form a wall of interception in the way of extending the Church to places and people more destitute than themselves; or, perhaps they were better compared to an annular belt of sand, which drinks in all the waters that issue from the central reservoir, making it impossible to reach or fertilize the regions beyond it.

We should infinitely less value all the additional hundreds and thousands that might be raised from the wealthier congregations, than we should an average elevation of £50 in the contributions that come to us from the lower half of the scale. This were like the opening of a gate that would set us at liberty, and make us free to expatiate, so that we might find our way both to the most wretched population in towns, and to the poorest and remotest extremities of Scotland."* Dr. Chalmers's chief desire for the Free Church was, that she should prove instrumental for accomplishing this design; and his fondest anticipation as to the Sustentation Fund had been, that it would afford her an additional facility for doing so. As things stood, this could not be. With more than a hundred congregations of adherents craving to be supplied with a regular ministry, and ready to absorb all that the General Fund could furnish, that Fund was smitten with impotence as an instrument of Church Extension. Dr. Chalmers, to a large extent, attributed this to the fixed and universal equality of the dividend. When the rule was absolute that, let a congregation give what it liked, its minister should receive the same salary from the Fund, no stimulus was applied to its generosity—no check imposed upon its selfishness. This rule, he conceived, should be relinquished, and some other adopted in its stead, constructed upon the principle that the "gettings out" should bear some equitable proportion to the "givings in." In deliberating upon what substitute he should propose, there were two qualities or characteristics which he regarded as essential. It should be simple, unencumbered with minute or complicated details; and it should be self-acting, self-regulating, needing not the constant interference or agency of any central authority. Under a conviction, matured and strong, that a change in the method of distribution was imperatively required, and with these qualities or characteristics before his eye, he proposed to the General Assembly of 1844, that the equal dividend should be abolished; that no Congregation should be put upon the Fund till its annual contributions should amount to £50; and that each Congregation should receive from the Fund one-half more than it transmitted, till the ministerial income should amount to £150. The proposition came abruptly upon an Assembly, unprepared, amid the glow of early triumphs, to be told of impending disaster. The existence of so great a peril, and the necessity for so great and immediate

* Earnest Appeal, p. 14.

a change were not perceived, and the remedy suggested was as little relished as the need for its application was felt. It was strenuously and almost unanimously rejected. All that Dr. Chalmers could obtain, was the consent of the Assembly that a trial of his method should be made in future, with such new charges as were added to the Church; and that a committee should be instructed to watch over all embryo congregations, and stimulate their associations into such activity that they might prove less burdensome than heretofore, when sanctioned as ministerial charges. In the spring of 1845, he printed and circulated a pamphlet, "On the Economics of the Free Church of Scotland," the preface of which commenced as follows:—"In announcing my determination now to retire from the public business of the Free Church, I feel confident that it will not be ascribed to any decay of affection for its cause. It is not a matter of choice, but of physical necessity. I have neither the vigour nor the alertness of former days; and the strength no longer remains with me, either for the debates of the Assembly, or for the details of committees and their correspondence.

"At the last Assembly, during the first days of which I enjoyed a health that I never expect to regain, I did a very rash thing. I moved the appointment of an Extension committee, and accepted of its convenership. I fondly imagined the possibility of weathering one twelvemonth more of such active service as had long been familiar to me, and deemed the object I had in view of such special importance as to justify the attempt. A few weeks convinced me of my error; and, since the month of August, my connexion with our financial affairs has been little better than nominal. I can still describe, however, what I cannot execute; and the process which I hoped to set agoing will be laid before the reader in the following pages. Its accomplishment by me is now wholly out of the question; and, if judged worthy by the Church of being carried into effect, should be devolved on younger and abler men."

As the General Assembly of 1845, whose transactions this pamphlet was mainly intended to influence, made no approximation whatever towards the adoption of its views,* Dr. Chal-

* How deeply Dr. Chalmers felt this appears from the following letter to the Rev. Dr. Tweedie:—

"Morningside, 29th *November* 1845.

"My dear Sir,—I have been greatly saddened ever since I heard from you of the set in, on the part of the ministers, for an equal dividend—believing as I do that it will ruin the economics of the Church, and reduce what I fondly hoped could have been worked up into

mers had it reprinted and published in the spring of the following year, under the new title of an "Earnest Appeal to the Free Church on the subject of its Economics."* A second preface prefixed to the pamphlet, opened thus:—"The body of this little work was printed, but can scarcely be said to have been published, last year. As it contains the most matured views of its author, the fruit of much thought and of some experience, he is unwilling that it should be altogether lost. He therefore presents it anew to the Church, in a form which leaves the main pamphlet untouched, but with this peculiarity in its structure, that each topic which required any further enlargement, or to be represented over again with still greater earnestness and urgency than before, has a distinct place assigned for it in a little section with its own distinct title, which sections are made to compose an Appendix to the work. It is to this Appendix that I would invite the special attention of the reader, as containing a series of final deliverances on the matters which are there successively taken up. This is the last representation which I mean to offer upon the subject; and, such being the case, it is most natural that I should feel the importance, nay, the paramount duty, of stating not only the truth, but the whole truth, however unpalatable, if but salutary or needful and desirable to be made known."

From a pamphlet ushered in by such weighty sentences, we offer an extract or two bearing upon its main topic—the condition of the Sustentation Fund.

"It is obvious that if we are to give the same yearly allowance to every new minister, however little we shall receive from his congregational association, we cannot hold out long upon such a system, unless by such successive reductions of the divi-

a great national institute within the narrow dimensions of a limited ecclesiastical corporation. It is in sorrow and not in anger that I write—the latter emotion being the excitable one in the heat of an argument yet hopeful with an opposing adversary. Such a feeling, however, is completely overborne when hope expires and is succeeded by the apathy of despair. My expectation now of what has been long the object of my existence—a universal Christian education—is transferred from the Free Church of Scotland to such a union of the really good and wise of all evangelical denominations as is now contemplated by many.

"I can pay no more earnest and prolonged attention to this melancholy subject till spring, when I propose to come forth with my last words in the form of a final protest. I shall endeavour to take refuge from the disappointment in my professorial studies and the enjoyment of my private friendships. Among these last, I have the greatest value for confidential intercourse with yourself, and I do hope that our meetings will be frequent. Let me see you soon, and the sooner the better. THOMAS CHALMERS.

"To the Rev. W. K. Tweedie."

* An edition of this pamphlet was published in America by the Board of Publication of the Presbyterian Church, and through the liberality of a friend a copy of it was sent to each minister of that Church.

dend as must sooner or later involve the whole Church in one common overthrow. This is an argument, and a strong one; but we confess that it is not ours. Our argument against the continuance of an equal dividend is, that it would put an end to Church Extension. On the principle that the minister's work is of far higher consideration than the minister's stipend, we have ever regarded an addition to the number of our zealous and hard-working ministers as of paramountly higher value than an addition to their livelihood.

"The great and essential reform needed upon our financial system is some provision, call it either a stimulus or a check, by the operation of which our aid-receiving associations shall be either made to contribute more, or receive less, from that great central fund, which, if but relieved from the present inordinate pressure, could be made so greatly more available for our Church's prosperity and enlargement. . . It were well if the Sustentation Committee had authority to proclaim such a rule of distribution as that if associations will give little—whether because they give much for supplements, or from any other cause—they will receive proportionably little. The enactment of 'one and a half' answers this purpose, though there might be other and perhaps better ways of it. It were the removal, for instance, of a mighty incubus upon our operations, if it could be made law —that in no instance we should give more than £50 to any minister, over and above what we received from his association; —to which it might be added, that the connexion of an association with the Sustentation Committee should only commence when its own contribution came to £50 a year. Without some check of this sort, I predict, with all confidence, but in great heaviness of heart, that sooner or later we must lay our account with a most fearful overthrow; or at least, that a sore paralysis will be inflicted on the support and enlargement of the Church, which might otherwise, in respect of both these interests, be made to advance most prosperously."

The warning given here was unheeded. The brief experiment of the "one and a half" method was abandoned by the General Assembly of 1847, and matters returned to the position in which they stood in 1844. Recently, however, the opinion of the Church has been undergoing a rapid change. The gross amount of the fund has been steadily progressing, till from £68,700 it has mounted to the sum of £91,949, or within a few hundred pounds of what Dr. Chalmers predicted at the Convo-

cation, yet the equal dividend has not increased. Considerable additions have been made to their returns by the more generous congregations, yet the end aimed at, of increasing the annual dividend, is as far out of sight as ever. The charges which, between 1844 and 1847, were dealt with as Dr. Chalmers desired, have been put upon the footing of the equal dividend, and the result has been a declension almost, *per saltum*, of their annual contributions to the extent of about £3000. Facts like these have at last sufficed to work a very general conviction that a change of some kind is imperiously required. It has taken nearly eight years to convince the Church of the existence and fatal nature of the disease; it may take an equal period to satisfy her of the suitableness and efficacy of the remedy. It would form but another illustration of the singular foresight of Dr. Chalmers should the changes upon which the Church has now embarked terminate in the adoption, either of the plan which he recommended, or of one to which the same two features of a simple and self-regulating character are attached.

CHAPTER XLI.

CHRISTIAN UNION—THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

During the collegiate session of 1831-1832, in commenting upon that section of Dr. Hill's Lectures on Divinity which relates to Church Government, Dr. Chalmers addressed his students in the following words:—"It has been exceedingly well said by the judicious Andrew Fuller, that the points on which the disciples of the Saviour agree greatly outnumber, and in respect of importance, very greatly outweigh, the points on which they differ,—that for many ages the attention and the zeal of Christians have been vastly too much expended on the points on which they differ, but that now it is to be hoped the sentiments which they hold in common will be far more the objects of their steadfast and harmonious regard.

"Without disputing the superior expediency of one kind of government to another, I do think that, considering the manifold ties of common sentiment and principle between us and the evangelical sectaries of Christendom, it were better that we drew more closely together, and that the movement, at all events, instead of being one of wider distance and separation, were in the way of kindlier and more intimate converse than we have hitherto held."*

The spirit of these remarks was fully participated by that party in the Church with which Dr. Chalmers acted. The great controversy in which they became involved did nothing to deaden it. It was in the very thick of that conflict that they abolished the statute which, by restricting its ministerial communion, had isolated the Church of Scotland from all the other Churches of the Reformation; and it was when the shadow of the Disruption was hanging over them, that, in the General Assembly of 1842, they moved and carried the appointment of a committee for the cultivation of friendly relations with all evangelical Churches at home and abroad. An active corre-

* See Prelections on Butler's Analogy, Paley, Hill, &c., Posthumous Works, vol. ix. p. 425.

spondence with some of these Churches had in fact already commenced, originated by their sympathy with that struggle of which Scotland had become the theatre,—a sympathy of whose width and depth an impressive token was afforded by the presence in the General Assemblies of 1841 and 1842 of distinguished members of one or other of the Churches of the Continent. Amid its multifarious engagements the expansive zeal of the first General Assembly of the Free Church found time for prosecuting the work so auspiciously begun. Measures were adopted for uniting with other branches of the Presbyterian family in celebrating the Bicentenary of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. This great commemorative meeting assembled in Edinburgh on the 13th of July 1843. Its object was comparatively a confined one, but nothing narrow or sectarian marked its proceedings, in which Dr. Chalmers took so conspicuous and influential a part as to be hailed by one of the succeeding speakers as the great Apostle of Union. He was prepared to go farther here than many could follow. "For myself," he said, "I can see no obstacle in the way of our being fellow-workers, and that to a great extent, for the objects of our common Christianity. And I rejoice to observe the growing prevalence and popularity of this sentiment,—a sentiment which, I can perceive, has formed itself into a sort of watchword, brief and memorable, and having in it a certain cadence or alliteration, which recommends it all the more to the ear of the public, and is fitted to give it a larger currency and reception throughout the Churches of our land; I advert to the well-known and oft-repeated aphorism of 'co-operation without incorporation.' I am aware that by many this goodly and well-sounding aphorism has been fathered upon myself, and yet it is not just the motto that I would inscribe upon an escutcheon wherewith to signalize my family. I have no quarrel with the co-operation, and whenever aught which is good is expedited thereby, the more of it the better; but I except to the negative, as being by far too absolute, that is laid by this maxim on the incorporation. The truth is, that wherever incorporation can be effected with advantage and without violence to the consciences of the parties, it is in itself a most desirable object; and therefore without saying, roundly and universally, 'co-operation without incorporation,' I would, though at the hazard of marring somewhat the euphony of the saying, and of laying an arrest on its way towards the rank and celebrity of a proverb, I would substitute for these

words, 'co-operation now, and this with the view, as soon as may be, to incorporation afterwards.'"

One fruitful source of past divisions—one signal obstacle to future incorporation—lay in discordant beliefs as to the form of church government which had been divinely prescribed. But no obstruction of this kind lay before Dr. Chalmers. He did not believe that any peculiar form of ecclesiastical government had been authoritatively enjoined, so that its adoption was matter of imperative and universal obligation.* Let there be an essential unity of faith, and he would have merged his own Presbyterianism, much as he valued it, either in Episcopacy on the one hand, or in Independency on the other, had it appeared that the great object of a visible unity in the Church of Christ could thereby have been attained. In existing circumstances this was impossible. There appeared even to be wise and important purposes subserved by those strong national, or denominational attachments, by which different sections of a common Protestantism were characterized. Every approximation, how-

* "The controversies about Church Government have been exposed to much illogical treatment from the want of a right discrimination between the lawful and the obligatory. The distinction which I now make is different from that of Paul between the lawful and the expedient. I use another word than expedient at present; and I beg you will attend to the import of the difference between that which is lawful and that which is obligatory. Many things are lawful for me to do which I am under no obligation of doing; for, though lawful to do them, it may be equally lawful for me to refrain from doing them. The lawfulness of doing a particular thing does not necessarily imply the unlawfulness of not doing it; as, for example, it may be lawful to celebrate the Sacrament of the Supper in a sitting posture, yet not unlawful to celebrate it in a kneeling posture; whereas, if, instead of lawful, it were obligatory to celebrate it in a sitting posture, then it would be unlawful to celebrate it kneeling. In other words, though you prove the lawfulness of a given practice, you do not on that account prove the unlawfulness of a different or an opposite practice; but, once make out that a practice is obligatory, then all other practices diverse from it, or opposite to it, are held in the face of the obligation, and therefore positively unlawful.

"Now, even though the Independents should be able to allege, which I am very far from conceding to them, that their mode of Church Government had the warrant of scriptural example; this might establish no more than the lawfulness of that constitution, but not, most certainly, the exclusive obligation of it. There might be the warrant of a scriptural example, and so far this may be called scriptural authority for Independency; but I would not hold such an authority as this as establishing the divine right of Independency. For when we speak of the divine right of any particular form of Church Government, I imagine that by this is meant, its being obligatory that we should adopt that form, and that only; or, in other words, by the adoption of it we do right, and by the adoption of any other we do wrong. . . .

"I must confess that the testimony of Epiphanius is highly accordant with my own views on the question of Church Government, which seems historically to have been changed and adapted according to the purposes of what may be termed Christian expediency; and instead of being decisively settled in Scripture, left very much to the discretion of Christian men. In as far as we are at liberty to judge from his account of the matter, there seems to have been no regular Episcopacy at first, and that men, instead of starting with it from the days of the Apostles, at length found their way to its more full and formal establishment through centuries afterwards. . . .

"You will not fail to perceive from what a dimly conjectural region it is that the authorities on all sides of the question respecting Church Government are gathered; insomuch that I cannot enter with any very keen or decided earnestness into the controversy at all."—*Posthumous Works*, vol. ix. pp. 420-424

ever, which the different Churches could make to one another, everything that tended to cement their brotherly attachment and to bind them in the bonds of a closer fellowship, Dr. Chalmers delighted to countenance and carry forward. In the General Assembly held at Glasgow in the autumn of 1843, it fell to him to give an account of the various communications expressive of approval and congratulation which had been sent to him as Moderator of the preceding Assembly. "I confess to you," he said, "that I was much interested by the arrival, by one post after another, of these addresses and resolutions from various Churches, of whose very existence I was not aware till I received their letters. And I think that every man whose heart is in the right place, will be delighted with such movements. They are movements quite in my own favourite direction—because one and all of them are movements of convergency; or in other words, movements which point, in the first instance, to union, and as soon as possible and prudent, I trust their landing place will be incorporation. There is among them one very pleasant address, signed by—I have not had time to count the names,—but I believe some of the youngsters of my family tried a more wholesale method of arriving at a probable estimate of the amount of support thus given to the Free Church; instead of numbering they measured it, and found it about seventeen yards long." Having enumerated about twenty different Churches, at home and abroad, from which communications of this kind had emanated, "I have felt," he added, "exceedingly delighted with these communications. I must say that I consider it as infinitely more characteristic of the religion which we profess—the religion of peace and charity—that instead of each denomination sitting aloft and apart upon its own hill, and frowning upon each other from their respective orbits, that they should hold kindly and mutual converse, and see each other eye to eye, while they will discern, to their mutual astonishment, if not how thoroughly, at least how substantially, they are at one. And I just conclude with observing that now is the time to rally about the common standard all that is pure and vital in Protestantism; for now it is that we shall have to make head against a new form and revival of Antichrist, whether in the form of Popery—naked Popery—or Popery in disguise, even that Antichrist which threatens to shake a most withering mildew over the whole of Christendom."

"There is that scattereth, yet increaseth;" so there is that

divideth, yet it tendeth to unity. So was it with the Disruption. Blamed by many as a schismatic act, a great prompter to and promoter of division—no public incident of our times has done more to bring together into one the scattered Churches of the Reformation. For a time, and that the very time when it was most needed, the Free Church formed a centre of union whence the best and happiest influences were spread abroad. Its Assemblies of 1844 and 1845 prosecuted that work of union which preceding Assemblies had commenced. Within two years, and around the Moderator's chair of these Assemblies, more Christian ministers, of a greater variety of profession, and from greater distances on the surface of this earth, met for Christian fellowship, than have ever congregated in modern times at the councils of any of our existing Churches. And if it cheered the Free Church amid her labours and trials to receive expressions of sympathy, she was not backward in returning them. The Report of the Committee "appointed for corresponding with Foreign Churches, and aiding them in their evangelical operations," given in to the Assembly of 1845, informed the House, that for continental objects of religious usefulness alone, there had been put into the hands of the Committee during the preceding year, a sum three or four times exceeding the largest contribution ever sent from Scotland for the same objects. It was upon a most memorable occasion (that of May 28th) that this Report was read. Dr. Merle d'Aubigné of Geneva, Mr. Frederic Monod of Paris, and Mr. Kuntze of Berlin, were present. Dr. Chalmers had resolved to absent himself from the meetings of this Assembly, but the temptation to introduce these distinguished foreigners was too great for him to resist. When he entered the vast crowd which the singularity of the occasion had congregated, the whole rose to welcome him, and saluted him with a tumult of generous applause.*

"The high and honourable office," said Dr. Chalmers, "has been assigned to me of announcing the presence in this Assembly of certain evangelical and much esteemed ministers from various places on the Continent. At the present juncture of affairs, I cannot but regard the appearance of such men amongst us as providential. If ever there was a time when the friends of a scriptural faith and a free Gospel should draw closer to-

* "The audience rose, shouted, clapped their hands, and waved hats and handkerchiefs." For a full description of this scene, see "Germany, England, and Scotland," by J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, p. 117.

gether, surely it is now, when the spiritual tyranny of former days is raising its head again, and threatens to resume its ancient lordship over the consciences of men. It is possible that, for the maintenance of our liberty, we may again be called upon for the same sacrifices, for the same struggles of principle with power, for the same heartfelt devotion to a noble cause, for the same lofty and intrepid doings on the side of Christian principle, which were first put forth in Germany, under the championship of one whom I need not name, because for three centuries he has been known and revered over all Christendom as the Hero of the Reformation. And, sir, I am delighted to think—it makes me feel as if I were now at the most interesting moment of my existence, when I can point to one of those strangers whom, in this great Assembly, I need as little to name —who is universally known as the Historian of the Reformation." Dr. Chalmers proceeded then to speak of the works of Dr. Merle, and of the many interesting ties which bound together Geneva and Scotland. But the personal and the national was soon lost in a wider topic—"I hail," said he, "the footsteps of those friends from the Continent, because I know that one, and I believe that all of them, may be regarded as the apostles of Christian union; and I do hope that their presence among us, and their conversation with the ministers of various denominations, will have the effect of expediting that sacred cause in this country. I trust you will not charge me with over-liberality if I say, as I do from my conscience, that among the great majority of evangelical dissenters in this country, I am not aware of any topics of difference which I do not regard as so many men of straw, and I shall be exceedingly delighted if these gentlemen get the heads of the various denominations to meet together, and consent to make a bonfire of them."

In the Bicentenary commemoration there had lain concealed the germ of the Evangelical Alliance. Catching the enlarged and unsectarian spirit which then had been displayed, John Henderson, Esq. of Park, a name dear now to every lover of the truth, proposed to eight distinguished clergymen of various churches to frame together a volume on Christian Union. Dr. Chalmers furnished the Introductory Essay to this volume, closing his brief sketch of "How such a union may begin, and to what it may eventually lead," by quoting a passage from the Moravian poet Gambold, which we have heard him more frequently repeat than perhaps any other passage in English poetry,—

"I'm apt to think, the man
That could surround the sum of things, and spy
The heart of God and secrets of his empire,
Would speak but love. With him the bright result
Would change the hue of intermediate scenes,
And make one thing of all theology."

It was from the Rev. Dr. King, one of Dr. Chalmers's coadjutors in the preparation of this volume, that the first proposal of a general conference emanated. With this proposal Dr. Chalmers cordially concurred, and his name was placed first in the list of requisitionists. The conference met at Liverpool on the 1st October 1845, and led to the organization in the summer of 1846 of the "Evangelical Alliance." Unable to take part personally in the deliberations of the "Alliance," Dr. Chalmers's contribution in furtherance of its object was given in the form of a pamphlet. The main drift of this publication was to dissuade the Alliance from doctrinal discussions, and invite it to instant united action as the best expedient for promoting perfect harmony of sentiment, and even of belief. "It will not do," he said, "for the thing to evaporate, as many other magnificent enterprises have done, in the mere phantasmagoria of committeeship, and sub-committeeship, with an imposing list of officials, and large periodical assemblages, where first-rate speakers make their eloquent demonstrations, but are sadly at fault for the materials of real business, or how to assign an operative process by which they might advance towards the completion of the object on which they have met."

Dr. Chalmers was at no loss himself in prescribing the special objects to which he conceived that the members of the Alliance should immediately direct their energies. "We feel all confidence," he said, "in recommending that they should stand forth in the character, first of a great Anti-Popish Association; and, secondly, of a great Home Mission; believing as we do that to walk together in the field of Christian philanthropy is a likely preparation for thinking together on the questions of Christian faith." As serving to mark more distinctively what he conceived should be the primary object of the institution, he proposed that it should be called the *Protestant* rather than the Evangelical Alliance. After describing the benefit which might arise from this change of name in the way of warding off the perplexities which might arise from any attempt to define the evangelical doctrine, so as to obtain for the definition a universal concurrence,—

"There is another argument," he added, "in favour of our proposed title. Its single watchword not only describes very clearly the qualifications of the proposed membership; but it intimates with equal clearness what the precise work is, in which, when brought together and formed into an association, they are expected to engage. It is an alliance in defence of Protestantism. Were there no danger to be warded off, there might be no reason in pleading for such an association as we now advocate, or for its title either. But who can deny the existence of a most imminent and daily increasing danger? Who can be ignorant of the busy aggressive proselytism and undermining policy that are now in active operation, under the conduct of agents and emissaries from the Church of Rome? Who can be blind to the evidences now springing up in various lands, that the old priestcraft of the Middle Ages is lifting its head again, and shedding baleful influence over Churches that were wont to boast of theirs being the foremost place, and theirs the first-rate services in the cause of the glorious Reformation? Whether the Antichrist that is now reappearing be in the ancient and unmitigated form of Popery, or in the no less dangerous though milder form of Puseyism, surely there is most urgent call for vigilance and alarm; and, should it be made the first and most ostensible object of the Alliance to repel the inroads of this threatening mischief, we are confident, if such an undertaking were to give forth its certain sound, that thousands and tens of thousands would hasten to its summons, in the sacred cause of religious freedom, and scriptural Christianity, and the rights of private judgment. It will be miserable indeed, if the hostile demonstrations from without do not lead us to look outwardly; or if we shall waste our energies on the yet premature attempt to settle the account between the various modifications and distinctions of Protestantism, when the common enemy is at the door, and if not met with a systematic and combined resistance, might bury Protestantism, throughout all its varieties, in one common ruin.

"We tell of a distinct thing to be done, and a distinct thing to correspond about, when we state how desirable it is to ascertain the statistics of Popery all over the world, and more especially the statistics of Puseyism and High Churchism—these great feeders of Popery in our own island; and furthermore, when we state as most fitting objects for deliberation, what the best methods are by which to arrest the progress of the threatening mischief, not only at home, but in America and the British

Colonies, and the continent of Europe, and every other place where Jesuitism is plying her wiles, and practising with deadly success her manifold delusions. And reverting to our own affairs, as well as making an advance from deliberations to doings, what more patent than the various methods by which our literary and ecclesiastical and influential men might arouse the Protestant community of Great Britain; and put our constituencies on the alert; and raise funds for the multiplication of scriptural schools; and outrival our adversaries, who at this moment are labouring with all their might to obtain possession of the masses by their unwearied attentions in the houses of the common people, and doing whatever in them lies to influence and gain over our heretofore sadly neglected population."*

In this enumeration of things needing to be done, Dr. Chalmers put last of all what he had so long considered to be the greatest and most urgent of all—the evangelization of the neglected masses. For more than thirty years this had been the ruling passion of his life. That life, though none imagined so at this period, was drawing near its close; and as if knowing that its time was short, this ruling passion rose into redoubled strength, and broke forth into most beautiful manifestation. His first expectation was that the Free Church in her organized capacity, and by help of her Sustentation Fund, might press forward her Christian services into the polluted recesses of city life, and help to heal the spreading leprosy. That expectation failing, he lifted at the close of his "Earnest Appeal to the Free Church" this imploring entreaty to other evangelical denominations:—"We would earnestly wish the concurrence, the practical concurrence of all other evangelical communions in this great work. We are all the more desirous of this, when we think on the mighty, nay, the yearly increasing spaces of wild and outlandish territory which are still unoccupied. Are there not myriads of immortal, yet perishing because neglected, spirits in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and other large towns of Scotland, as well as in hundreds of outfields throughout the country at large, which would require the united efforts of all the wise and good in our land for many years to come? Why put off for another hour, we do not say the fulfilment, but at all events the commencement of this glorious enterprise—for in truth this, though forming the greatest moral problem of our day, has scarcely been entered on? In our city wastes, in our

* The reader will recollect that these paragraphs were written in 1846.

manufacturing villages, in many, very many of our remote and rural hamlets—in all these put together, are there thousands of families who live in guilt and die in darkness, and have never up to this moment been the objects of aught like an adequate effort for their Christian education. Should not all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, form themselves into agencies, and select their respective fields of operation? And though each of these bodies will labour far more effectively when labouring apart from each other, or when not overlaid by the weight of that very usual, but, at the same time, very useless apparatus —we mean the incubus of a complex and cumbrous committeeship—yet this need not hinder a busy converse and comparison of their several methods on the part of these distinct bands of philanthropists, the individual members of which might often meet together in social party, and there provoke each other to love, and more especially to this great and good work. And another mighty benefit might be expected from such a co-operation as this. A common object of Christian charity, zealously prosecuted by all, will lead to a more general community of thought and feeling betwixt them. It would speed the cause of Christian union at an infinitely more rapid pace than ever will be effected by Synods and Assemblies labouring in conjunct deliberation to new-model their formularies, and settle their articles of agreement. Let us be one in well-doing; and this, wherever there is real sincerity and right good earnest, will prove the high-road to being one in sentiment. A oneness in conduct will often lead to an essential oneness of creed—for the reflex influence of the former upon the latter is far greater than perhaps logicians and controversialists in theology are willing to allow. And so may we speed onward the accomplishment of our blessed Saviour's prayer—even that palpable unity among Christians, which He has announced as an indispensable stepping-stone to the world's regeneration."

When he wrote these sentences, he was not without the hope that the Evangelical Alliance when fully constituted, though not itself undertaking the great task, would become its public patron, by proclaiming its necessity, and stimulating the Church and Christian societies of Britain to its vigorous prosecution. It was mainly, in fact, with a view to this that his pamphlet on the Evangelical Alliance was published. Here also, to a large extent, his hope was frustrated; but the undying flame burned on, and made for itself a fitting vent.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE WEST PORT.

The Report of the Royal Commissioners on Religious Instruction established and proclaimed the fact, that one-third part of the entire population of Edinburgh had no fixed connexion with any Christian church. A statement, however, couched in such general terms could give no adequate conception of the religious condition of the lower classes of the community—more than three-fourths of whom (and in many sections the proportion was much higher) had forsaken the ordinances and renounced all visible profession of Christianity. Nor was Edinburgh at all singular in this respect.* In all the large towns of the empire, the vast bulk of the working population had been suffered to sink into a profound abyss of ignorance and irreligion. Ever since his own personal observations at Glasgow had convinced Dr. Chalmers that this was the nearest, the greatest, the most growing, and the most alarming of all our national evils, it had been the unwearied effort of his life to stimulate into vigorous operation that peculiar instrumentality which was alone able, as he believed, to cope with this gigantic evil—effectually to reduce, and finally to remove it. It was to this end that his own ministerial labours in Glasgow were so steadily and strenuously directed, but the extraordinary general popularity by which that ministry was attended, to a great extent frustrated his attempts. He took up and carried on the Church Extension scheme as an effort on a wider scale to compass the same object; but just when that great enterprise had touched the borders of those wide moral wildernesses which were waiting to be reclaimed, he saw it arrested in its course. He was convinced

* London is much worse:—"It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for whole streets to be found without a single individual who attends public worship, or recognises the claims of God. Of the working classes, and especially of the working men of the metropolis, there is only the merest fraction who are to be seen within its churches or its chapels, a proportion so small as perfectly to appal the Christian heart with the consideration."—"London City Mission Magazine," Jan. 1852, pp. 5-9.

that a Church in which unmitigated Patronage prevailed, and over which a direct spiritual control was exercised by the State, could never be an effective instrument in Scotland for evangelizing the masses, and this conviction quickened the zeal with which he entered upon the Non-Intrusion controversy. He longed, however, for the close of that controversy, in order that, rid of its embarrassment, the Church might devote herself to this most urgent and important work; and when the Disruption came, he cherished for a brief season the expectation that, by force of its powerful impulse, the Free Church would be impelled onward to its accomplishment; but busied with the supply of so large an adhering population, that Church was unable to make any great or systematic effort in this direction. For a time he turned his hopes towards the Evangelical Alliance, and besought its countenance for his favourite method of territorial cultivation, but that countenance was withheld. Baffled thus in his endeavours to obtain the support of public bodies, with a conviction unshaken and zeal unquenched, Dr. Chalmers resolved to engage single-handed in this great enterprise—to select one of the worst districts of Edinburgh, and, by the help of such zealous associates as he could gather around him, to institute an experiment of so testing a kind that, if successful, it might compel belief and invite imitation. "I have determined," he says, writing to Mr. Lennox on the 26th July 1844, "to assume a poor district of 2000 people, and superintend it myself, though it be a work greatly too much for my declining strength and means. Yet such do I hold to be the efficiency of the method, with the Divine blessing, that, perhaps, as the concluding act of my public life, I shall make the effort to exemplify what as yet I have only expounded."

Recurring again to the same topic in a letter dated the 9th August—"Indulge me," he says, "if I feel encouraged to state the grievous spiritual destitution of the thousands and tens of thousands in all our large towns who are utter strangers to all the habitual decencies of a Christian land. I could not in my own individual strength, even though aided by the means and energies of all my acquaintances, ever think of coping with this enormous evil, *en masse*, or in all its magnitude and entireness. I feel very confident as to the likeliest steps by which, piecemeal and successively, the whole even of this great and growing evil might be overtaken. But the most which I can personally undertake to do is, to work off one model or normal

specimen of the process by which a single locality might be reclaimed from this vast and desolate wilderness; and after the confirmation of my views by a made out experience of this sort, pressing it on the imitation of all other philanthropists of all other localities. . . . Such is the value and importance which I attach to this enterprise, that, now I have done all I can for the economics of the Free Church at large, I mean to give up all general business, and, with God's help, will devote my remaining strength to the special object which I have now explained."

As preparatory to the execution of his purpose, Dr. Chalmers delivered four public lectures in the months of June and July, directed mainly to the illustration of the superior efficacy of local schools and local churches, so related to the limited districts in which they are planted as to bear with special and concentrated effect upon the surrounding families; and with as great freshness of thought and feeling as if the topic were wholly new to him, the attractive and the aggressive systems were compared and contrasted. The time was, in one respect, favourable for a re-hearing of the subject. He could present now his favourite territorial scheme, dissociated from all those public questions with the discussion of which it had been formerly mixed up, and upon the ground of its own naked and inherent merits, he could urge its claims equally upon Churchmen and Dissenters. It was true that in each locality in which that scheme was tried, he desired to see a church erected, which must be connected with some Christian communion. It was equally true that in that particular locality which he might himself select, the church so raised would come naturally to be connected with the Free Church; but, with some hope of his motives being understood and appreciated among his former opponents—the Voluntaries—he could indignantly repudiate all sectarian aims, and in the fervour of intense excitement could exclaim—"Who cares about the Free Church, compared with the Christian good of the people of Scotland? Who cares about any Church, but as an instrument of Christian good? for be assured, that the moral and religious wellbeing of the population is of infinitely higher importance than the advancement of any sect." *

The locality selected by Dr. Chalmers as the scene of his projected enterprise was the West Port; a part of Edinburgh

* This passage was uttered with great vehemence of expression, at a public meeting held in Edinburgh on 27th December 1845

to which a few years previously an infamous notoriety had been attached by those secret murders, the discovery of which sent a thrill of horror through the land. By an accurate survey, it was found that the main street and its adjoining wynds contained 411 families, of which 45 were attached to some Christian communion; 70 were Roman Catholics; and 296 had no connexion with any Church whatever. Out of a gross population of 2000, three-fourths of the whole, or about 1500 of the inhabitants were living—within sound of many a Sabbath-bell, and with abundance of contiguous church accommodation—lost to all the habits and all the decencies of the Christian life. In these families the number of children capable of attending school was only 411, and of these 290 were growing up altogether untaught. The physical and moral condition of this community was deplorable: one-fourth were paupers on the poor-roll, and one-fourth were street-beggars, thieves, or prostitutes. When Mr. Tasker, the minister of the West Port, made his first visits to some of the filthiest closes, it was no uncommon thing for him to find from twenty to thirty men, women, and children, huddled together in one putrid dwelling, lying indiscriminately on the floor, waiting the return of the bearer of some well-concocted begging-letter, or the coming on of that darkness under which they might sally out, to earn by fair means or by foul, the purchase-money of renewed debauchery. Upon one occasion he entered a tenement with from twelve to twenty apartments, where every human being, man and woman, were so drunk they could not hear their own squalid infants crying in vain to them for food. He purchased some bread for the children, and entering a few minutes afterwards a neighbouring dram-shop, he found a half-drunk mother driving a bargain for more whisky with the very bread which her famishing children should have been eating. He went once to a funeral, and found the assembled company all so drunk around the corpse, that he had to go and beg some sober neighbours to come and carry the coffin to the grave. These were extreme cases, indicative, however, of a deep and general moral corruption. It was a somewhat formidable enterprise—to many it would have seemed altogether hopeless—to come into close quarters with such a population. Aided, however, by that band of zealous associates which his public lectures, and the many private interviews by which they were followed up had gathered around him, Dr. Chalmers went hopefully forward. The plan

of operations laid down by him was sufficiently simple, but it needed zeal and regularity and devoted perseverance to carry it into execution. The West Port was divided into twenty districts, containing each about twenty families. Over each of these districts a visitor was appointed, whose duty it was to visit, once each week, all the families committed to his care; by all such attention and services as he could offer to win their goodwill—by reading the Scriptures, by distributing tracts, by entering into conversation, and by engaging in prayer—to promote, as fit openings were given him, their spiritual welfare. A printed slip, drawn up by Dr. Chalmers, was to be left in every house by each visitor, explaining the objects of his present and future calls. As the demand for education precedes that for spiritual instruction, it was proposed that the first step taken should be the opening of a school somewhere within the West Port, and the visitors were advised to direct much of their attention, in the first instance, to the young, and to persuade parents to send their children to the school which would be opened for them ere long in some convenient place. In the execution of this plan there were two points to which Dr. Chalmers attached particular importance. To protect the purity of the enterprise, he was most anxious that his agents should not become almoners, and should dispense as little money as possible among the poor. Dilating upon this subject in one of his lectures, he recounted his own experience at Glasgow—"I may state to you, that in the outset of my settlement in Glasgow, I was placed in the Tron Church parish, with a population of 10,000 souls, which afterwards increased. I was anxious to become acquainted with the habits of a city population, and the parish I got was quite to my mind. I was anxious to become acquainted with the inner springs of that department of society, and I therefore resolved to go personally round among the people. My first entry was upon a close, reaching from the Salt Market to the celebrated Molendinar Burn; and to be sure, in that close there were to be found wretchedness and misery of every kind. I was struck with the great apparent interest and cordiality of my reception, so very unlike to what I had anticipated. There was even a competition for me, each one wanting me into their own house. I could not understand it. But I soon discovered that I was thought to possess great influence in the city charities—I found that was the subject they constantly broached whenever they got me into their

houses. What I judged and apprehended as the consequence of this was, that it would neutralize the influence which I wanted to have as a Christian minister. I saw that this would vitiate my influence among them. I felt that it would never do if I were to go among them first as a dispenser of temporal good things, and then as urging upon them the things which make for their everlasting peace. I felt the want of compatibility between the two objects, and, rather than defeat my primary object, I determined to cut my connexion with the city charities, and to let it be understood that I would not attend any more of the meetings of this hospital, or that charity, or Millar's Mortification—I am sure it produced great mortification to me —I fairly cut my connexion with them all; I let the people understand that I dealt only in one article, and that, if they valued the advantages of Christian instruction, they were welcome to any approximation which I could make to them. Now, the thing that delighted me was, that after this declaration was made to them, the people were disabused of the imagination that I had an inexhaustible treasury to dispose of, and that it was in my power to scatter plenty through their habitations, but that if they would insist upon asking me, I could tell them that anything I might do for them must be at my own expense, and I was not very rich. The effect of this frankness between me and the people was, that, if there was any difference, they received me more cordially than ever. . . . I had an elder who was a person of great benevolence, but not so judicious and discriminating in this instance as I would have liked; for when I instituted the Sabbath-school system, it was reported to me that he was devising, and had gone a considerable length in forming—and the scheme looked feasible enough—a local Sabbath-school clothing society for the parish of St. John's. Sir, said I to him, your society will blast our Sabbath-school enterprise; I wish to have 1200 scholars, do you mean to clothe all these? No, said he, only the most necessitous. Well, said I, but all the rest will wait their turn to be clothed, and we shall get no more than a fraction. My object is, that they should come with the clothes they have on, so do not embarrass us with your society. I accordingly got the society knocked on the head. You may go forth with perfect safety, having this inscription on the forefront of your enterprise—'Education for all;' but what would be the effect if you were to go forth with this inscription—'Money or meat for all?' If you go forth

with that inscription it will require very little effort on the part of the people, by a trifle more of dissipation or of indolence, to qualify themselves for relief in that way."

He was equally strenuous in resisting the proposal that in the school about to be opened, the children should be educated gratuitously. "I don't think," he said, "that you will achieve any permanent good for the population unless you enlist them as fellow-workers in, or at least as fellow-contributors to the cause. I think that a great and radical error in the management of our population has just proceeded from the idea that they are utterly helpless and unable to do anything for themselves. I believe that if you proceed rightly, it will be found that they are able to do a great deal for themselves. I know that there is a difference of opinion on this point; but I stand up most inflexibly on the subject of school-fees, and think those persons ought to pay for the education of their children. I want to train up the families in the sentiment that education is worth its price, and to win them to the paying of that price. I am unfriendly to gratuitous education; nor do I wish that any of our agents, or the people themselves, shall, in the imagination of our indefinite resources, look for any relaxation of this system. The lesson which I am constantly giving out is, that we shall not be able to do aught which is permanently effectual for the people's good, unless they will lend a hand and do something for themselves."

Dr. Chalmers held his first regular meeting with his agents in Portsburgh Hall, an old court-house within the bounds of the West Port, on Saturday evening, the 27th July 1844. Having made in the interval their weekly round among these families, the visitors were to assemble here every Saturday evening to give in their reports, and to converse together about the most effectual methods of carrying on the enterprise upon which they had now fairly embarked. Dr. Chalmers was prevented by illness from presiding at their meetings for a few weeks in August and September, but so intense was the interest which he took in them, that he addressed the following notes to the chairman:—

"*Morningside, August* 31, 1844.—It grieves me to say, that I at present labour under such prostration of strength as to be unfit for the business of meetings. My physicians have laid me under an interdict against all committee work. I have pleaded hard with them on behalf of the meetings of the West Port, and I am happy to say, that so soon as the interdict is removed, the first use I will make of my freedom will be to revisit the West

Port, and take all the share I can in the management of its important affairs, deeming this to be of far greater importance than that I should continue my connexion with any of the public committees of the Church. These I mean to give up; but our present attempt to reclaim the population of the West Port is what I never can abandon till forced to it by absolute necessity.

"For the present, I would only request that full minutes should be taken of your meetings, and that I should be favoured with the sight of them. I fear that for some little time my only converse with you may be by such a weekly letter as the present. But I trust that, by the blessing of God, I may soon appear amongst you; and I cannot adequately express how much I long for the opportunity of addressing the householders of the West Port, either in your Court-hall, or in some larger place, for the accommodation of a general meeting.

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"My best regards to all who are assembled."

"*Morningside, Sept.* 6, 1844.—I return the minutes, which I have read with the deepest interest and satisfaction.

"There is one providential object which might be gained by my present retirement. I feel quite certain that success is to be attained in no other way than by the blessing of God on the assiduous prosecution of that task which you have severally had the goodness to undertake. Be assured that our doings will be regarded as far more imitable if, instead of being stimulated by the personal influence of any one individual, they are quietly and perseveringly performed by each man doing his duty. I have often said, that great results are to be looked for, not from a gigantic exertion on the part of one, but from the accumulation and practicable efforts on the part of many. I hope that by the time the winter sets in, we shall have all our districts provided with agents, and all our agents in regular operation.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*Morningside, Sept.* 20, 1844.—There is no statement made by any of you which has yielded me greater hope and satisfaction than the progressive liking which you feel for the families of your respective districts. There cannot be a better security, or more solid guarantee than this, for the perpetuity of our operations. Let me, therefore, once more entreat your perseverance in the great and good work, that with the blessing of God,

in answer to our united prayers, a great and signal benefit may be rendered to the population among whom you labour. With my most cordial regards to all members of your meeting, I ever am, &c. THOMAS CHALMERS."

A schoolroom was at last obtained. It lay at the end of the very close down which Burke and his associate decoyed their unconscious victims. Fronting the den in which those horrid murders were committed, stood an old deserted tannery, whose upper storeloft, approached from without by a flight of projecting wooden stairs, was selected as affording the best accommodation which the neighbourhood could supply. Low-roofed and roughly floored, its raw unplastered walls pierced at irregular intervals with windows of unshapely form, it had little either of the scholastic or the ecclesiastical in its aspect; but never was the true work of school and church done better than in that old tannery loft of the West Port. Dr. Chalmers invited all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to meet him there on Wednesday the 6th November. By this time the frequent calls of the visitors had awakened a general curiosity, and the invitation was accepted, the loft presenting a larger assembly of what he called 'genuine West-Porters' than had met together for many years. Acting upon the saying of Talleyrand, which he so often quoted, "That there is nothing formidable in meeting with the very lowest of the people, if you only treat them frankly," Dr. Chalmers told them all that he and his friends meant to do for them, and all that he expected that they would do for themselves. He told them, in homely but vigorous terms, that a school was to be opened for their children, and that one of the best teachers in the country had been obtained for it; but that they must pay twopence a week for each child's education; that the article they were to be supplied with was worth a great deal more than that, and that they were quite able, and he was sure would be quite willing to pay that much for it. The audience were quite delighted with the address, and quite persuaded that they both should and could do all that was required. Dr. Chalmers was singularly fortunate in his selection of his first teacher, Mr. Sinclair, to whom, soon after his nomination, he addressed the following letter:—

"*Morningside, Oct.* 30, 1844.—I expect to tell you in a day or two when the school may be opened; but, meanwhile, it is of prime importance that you should clearly understand our object.

"It is not to fill that school anyhow, but to fill it from the families of the West Port; a process which will be more or less gradual, but in which, if we fail, we shall conceive our peculiar object to be lost—even though the school should, on being opened for children from all quarters, be filled to an overflow.

"I have all confidence in your energy and ability as a teacher, and like exceedingly the special attention which you mean to bestow on those clever boys that you would employ as monitors. But I should particularly like that your preference should be for West Port boys, rather than for those who might be afterwards brought in from beyond the locality. Be assured that you will meet with a full average of talent among the ragged children of this outlandish population. Our great object in fact is, to reclaim them from their present outlandishness, and raise them to a higher platform. We may have a good deal to encounter in the way of slovenliness and untoward habits at the outset: but the achievement will be all the more honourable if you succeed; and be assured that it will be at length productive of a far mightier effect on the interest of plebeian education than if, lying open to children from all distances, you were filled to the very door with a higher style of scholars for better classes in society.

"Let us only have patience and toleration for all the disagreeables of our outset, whether as regards the school or the scholars. Let us recollect the coarse materials that we have in the first instance to deal with, gradually to be improved, however, by the refining and humanizing process which they will be made to undergo.

"Do come then, my dear sir, with a heart alive to the importance, and resolved, as far as in you lies, on the success of this great enterprise, and so earn the title to one of the highest achievements which can possibly be contemplated, either by the enlightened patriot or by the Christian philanthropist.—I am, &c. THOMAS CHALMERS."

The school was opened with sixty-four day scholars, and fifty-seven evening scholars, on the 11th November 1844; and in the course of a single year, no fewer than 250 were in attendance, and those chiefly from the West Port. The educational part of the process having been fairly set agoing, the higher and more difficult operation was commenced, of bringing the adult population under regular spiritual instruction. On the forenoon of Sabbath the 22d December, Dr. Chalmers opened the tan-loft

for public worship. We were present on the evening of that day, when the city missionary officiated; and when we looked round and saw that the whole fruit of the advices, and requests, and entreaties which for many previous weeks had been brought to bear upon all the families by the visitors, was the presence of about a dozen adults, and those mostly old women, we confess to strong misgivings as to the result. But the services were regularly continued thrice each Sabbath, and the private agencies were renewed. In April 1845, Dr. Chalmers was so peculiarly fortunate as to secure the services of the Rev. Mr. Tasker—the attendance grew under his ministry, and at the close of the year the nucleus of a good congregation began already to appear. The scheme, however, was obviously working at disadvantage so long as an apartment so difficult of access, and so rudely fitted up, formed at once the schoolroom and the church. Ground, therefore, was purchased, and all other needful steps were taken for the erection within the West Port of a church and schoolroom. Meanwhile, under the zealous ministry of Mr. Tasker, who in due time was regularly ordained, and with the aid of those ladies and gentlemen who, with the utmost devotedness, gave themselves to the work, all those different operations were carried on which the reader will find so well described in the "Territorial Visitor's Manual" of Mr. Tasker. A library, and a savings'-bank, and a washing-house, and a female industrial school, were all established, and all succeeded. Dr. Chalmers preached frequently in the loft; addressed several meetings of the inhabitants to explain to them the different parts of the scheme, as they successively were instituted; presided at many of the agents' meetings, and was, in fact, the central spring which set the whole machinery in motion. There may have been other works of his hands, upon which a larger amount of labour was bestowed, but there was none over which so many prayers were offered. It lets us into his secret feelings, and tells us of the depth of that peculiar interest with which he watched the progress of this undertaking, when we find him in his study at Morningside, on Sabbath morn or Sabbath even, penning such prayers as these:—"It is yet but the day of small things with us; and I in all likelihood shall be taken off, ere that much greater progress is made in the advancement of the blessed Gospel throughout our land. But give me the foretaste and the confident foresight of this great Christian and moral triumph ere I die. Let me at least, if it be Thy blessed will, see—though it

should be only in one or in a small number of specimens—a people living in some district of aliens, as the West Port, reclaimed at least into willing and obedient hearers, afterwards in Thine own good time to become the doers of Thy word. Give me, O Lord, a token for the larger accomplishment of this good ere I die."—"Moving fearlessly onward, may I at length obtain such possession of the West Port, as that the Gospel of Jesus Christ shall have the moral ascendency over a goodly number of its families. And let me not forget the conquests of Thine all-subduing grace, and the preservations of Thy faithful servants in the history of the missions of other days. And oh! in this as well as in other work, let it be my care to follow the Lord fully; neither let me go up thither unless Thy presence and favour go along with me. Thou surely hast not forbidden this enterprise; and therefore will we ever pray that Thou mayest prosper and extend it. We would give Thee no rest, O Lord, till Thou hast opened the window of heaven and caused righteousness to run down that street like a mighty river."—"O pour forth the spirit of generosity on my coadjutors and their friends in the work of cultivating the West Port of Edinburgh; and let such a memorial of Christian philanthropy be set up in that place as to be a praise and an example both in the city of our habitation and in the other cities of our land."—"Reveal to me, O God, the right tactics, the right way and method of proceeding in the management of the affairs of the West Port. O that I were enabled to pull down the strongholds of sin and of Satan which are there; and oh! save me, save me from the difficulties to which I am exposed should hollowness of heart or principle be found to obtain with any of the agency. O how incompetent I feel myself to be for acting the part of a cautious and wise general in the midst of them. Be my help and my adviser, O God, and tell me by Thy word and Spirit what I ought to do."—"O my God, give me the power of ordering matters aright in the West Port; let all be peace and harmony, and no confusion there; direct all my footsteps in that undertaking; and may I more and more be made to abound in such suggestions as Thy Spirit will prompt and approve of. Let me keep all the impulses of my own spirit under the subjection of a presiding and circumspect wisdom. And more especially, O God, let me understand Thy will in regard to the right place and performances of a female agency. May their work be abundantly blessed and countenanced from on high, and have a happy effect on the

families. Let me beware of mine being too much of a restraining authority; and let me seek that all things be done for edification, and all things be done decently and in order."—"Bestow on me in larger measure and proportion that grace which Thou didst so plentifully bestow on the churches of Macedonia. Let it spread abroad more and more among the sadly deficient congregations of our Free Church: Do Thou begin it even now among the families of the West Port. Make them willing in the day of Thy power, that abounding in all that is good, they may abound in this grace also. It is still but a day of small things. O do Thou brighten it onward even unto the latter-day glory. Cause the poorest to take part in the fellowship of Christian charity; and may the substantial equality be maintained among all the classes, by the rich casting in their larger gifts, and each man giving in proportion to his ability."—"O my God, give me to set my delight here on the excellent ones of the earth, that I may be prepared for the perfect enjoyment of their and my presence before Jesus Christ at His coming; and draw close the affection and the affinity between Mr. Tasker and the families of the West Port. Do thou plentifully endow him with the graces and gifts of the Apostle Paul. May he have many souls for his hire; and bestow Thy guidance on him and on all the other associates in the good work of attempting to reclaim an outcast population to the light and obedience of the Gospel. O may the attempt be a successful one; and may he, in particular, have many for a crown of joy and of rejoicing in the great day of account."—"And I pray not for myself alone, but for him who labours in holy things among the families of the West Port. Prosper, O Lord, his meditations upon Thy word. Let me ever rejoice in the endowments which Thou hast been pleased to bestow upon him. Do Thou guide and encourage him, O Lord. May he be enabled to wait upon Thee without distraction; and let him so minister, that not only his own profiting, but the profiting of those under his charge, may appear unto all. O may he not only be himself saved, but may he be the instrument of salvation to many; and may both he and I be carried in safety and at length with triumph to that prosperous consummation for which we are jointly labouring."*

These impressive petitions were all offered up while yet the West Port enterprise was in its infancy—an infancy shadowed by many doubts and fears. It was while one of those shadows

* "Horæ Sabbaticæ," vol. i. pp. 238, 255, 302, 319 and vol. ii. pp. 229, 238, 241, 303.

hung over it that Dr. Chalmers addressed the following letter to Mr. Tasker:—

"*Fairley, by Largs, June* 12, 1845.—My chief anxiety is that neither you nor any of our coadjutors shall lose heart because of a less rapid progress than some of them may perhaps have anticipated. We are not worthy of having entered on the experiment, if not capable of persevering with it under the discouragement it may be of many alternations, and for a time, if God so please to exercise our faith and patience, of reverses. Such a spirit is peculiarly called for in a work of which it may be pre-eminently said, that except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it. . . .

"While dependent on the Divine contribution for success, I must say that I feel the importance too of no ingredient in the human contribution being wanting. On this ground I desiderate that all justice should be done to our undertaking, and that as an experiment it should be made as complete as possible, otherwise the instruction given by it will be imperfect; whereas even from its failure we shall learn a great deal more from a full than from a partial operation. I therefore desiderate, and that as soon as may be, a church not only within the locality, but, agreeably to your own view, as much in the view of the families as possible. I look on the present steady attendance, say of 80 or 100, in the present disadvantageous circumstances, as a sufficient nucleus, under God, for a future congregation. And what should reconcile us all to this step is, that even though the worst should come to the worst, though the local preference should not give us a full local congregation for years together, we can, after giving it a local constitution, that is, securing the offer of all vacant sittings in the first instance to the people of the West Port—we can, at each seat-letting, hold out the room not disposed of to the public at large; so that, after having done all for a local, we have still the same resource that is had in all other churches for supplementing the deficiency from our first aim, by means of a general congregation. The sooner the operation is expedited the better for me, who am getting on in life; and I desire, whatever may be the result, to take the instruction of it with all the calmness both of a philosopher and a Christian, viewing it in one light as the lesson of experience, and in another, as the lesson which God pleases to give me, whether to humble or to gratify me, before I die.—Ever believe me, my dear Sir, yours most cordially.—Thomas Chalmers."

The prospect of a speedy and remarkable triumph brightened before Dr. Chalmers as the year 1846 progressed. Visible success cheered on the various agents, and their efforts were multiplied as the fair and pleasant fruits of them ripened under their eye. The liberality of many Christian friends supplied Dr. Chalmers with funds sufficient not only to build a church and school-room, but to purchase and fit up a tenement of houses as model houses for working-men, in which, at a low rent, additional means of cleanliness and comfort were enjoyed. It was in a tone, therefore, of rising confidence that, while the church was building, he issued his last circular.—"We have long thought," he said, "that the failure of every former attempt to reclaim the masses of our population is due to the insufficiency of the means which have been brought to bear upon them; and while deeply sensible that means alone will prove of no effect without the blessing from on high on the devotedness and the conscientious labours of those into whose hands they are intrusted, yet we hold it irrational to look for any great or sensible result with so slender an apparatus as that of Sabbath-schools, and prayer-meetings, and rare occasional visits from house to house, under the conduct, it may be, of a few missionaries for the whole of a large town—each sinking under the weight of the many thousands who have been committed to his care; and dispirited by the want of any such visible fruit as might serve to satisfy both himself and his employers that his efforts are not wholly dissipated or lost, to all observation at least, in that mighty aggregate of human beings wherewith he has to deal.

"It is under this conviction that we have long advocated the concentration of commensurate efforts and means on a small enough territory. What cannot be done in bulk, and all at once, let us try in separate portions—each within the compass of such an agency as would form a sufficient eldership and set of office-bearers for an ordinary congregation. We are aware of the ridicule that has been poured in other departments, whether of politics or philanthropy, on the process of what has been termed a bit and bit reform. But let us ascertain whether this bit and bit process be not, after all, the only one that is suited to the real mediocrity of the human powers.

"The very essence of our scheme lies in the thorough operation of what we have called the territorial principle. We limit our attention to a single district or locality, itself split into

sub-districts, having each a Christian agent attached to it; so that not a home or family which might not be frequently and habitually visited by one having the charge of not more, if possible, than twenty households. By this busy internal missionary process, a vast amount of direct good might be done, even were there nothing more than a kindly influential converse, all, of course, on the side of morality and religion and a better economics, than now prevails throughout the population. But one of the main benefits of such a system as this is, that it might be made to act so powerfully as a recruiting process both for church and schools, as at length to terminate in a parochial economy of a power and character so pervading that each child shall receive a wholesome education, and at the sound of their own Sabbath-bell nearly each house may be seen to pour forth its family of worshippers. We are sensible that even though this were to take effect, it would yield nothing more than but a reclaimed portion of the whole territory. But if the hundreds of Christian philanthropists in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the thousands in London, were in little separate bands to select their respective localities and do the same thing, a single decade of years might not pass away without our being landed in the blessed result of a better and happier generation."

On Friday the 19th February 1847, the West Port Church was opened for public worship by Dr. Chalmers, and on the 25th April he presided at the first sacrament administered within its walls. On the following Monday, he said to Mr. Tasker—"I have got now the desire of my heart—the church is finished, the schools are flourishing, our ecclesiastical machinery is about complete, and all in good working order. God has indeed heard my prayer, and I could now lay down my head in peace and die." On Tuesday the 27th, he wrote thus to Mr. Lennox :—"I wish to communicate what to me is the most joyful event of my life. I have been intent for thirty years on the completion of a territorial experiment, and I have now to bless God for the consummation of it. Our church was opened on the 19th of February, and in one month my anxieties respecting an attendance have been set at rest. Five-sixths of the sittings have been let; but the best part of it is, that three-fourths of these are from the West Port, a locality which, two years ago, had not one in ten church-goers from the whole population. I presided myself, on Sabbath last, over its first sacrament. There were 132 communicants, and 100 of them from the West Port."

Scarcely more than two years had elapsed, yet how great was the transformation! When the work began, the number attending all places of worship did not exceed one-eighth of the whole population of the West Port. In the new church 300 sittings were taken as soon as it was opened; and of the 100 communicants from the district who sat down at the first communion, there were so many as eighty (some far advanced in life) who had never communicated in their lives before, or so long ago that they had wholly forgotten the nature and objects of the ordinance. When the work began, of those capable of education three-fourths were not at school; already the ratio had been reversed, and three-fourths were in regular attendance. Many of these children were of the poorest class, yet school-fees, amounting in the aggregate to upwards of £70 per annum, had been cheerfully and gratefully paid by their parents. The change was beginning to show itself even in the outward appearance of the district—in the increased cleanliness and tidiness of the children*—in quieter Saturday nights, and more orderly Sabbaths. Many moral and physical agencies still existed which wrought powerfully against the attempted reformation. More than twenty dram-shops in that single district hung out their invitation to debauchery, while fetid nests of filth and vice lay festering in many a close. There was something to be done here which the public authorities alone could do, and which Dr. Chalmers urged them in vain to undertake.—"I would again implore the aid of the authorities for the removal of all those moral, and the aid of the Sanitary Board for the removal of all

* "We have upwards of a hundred girls at this school, and I have no recollection of any thing so sudden, so much *per saltum*, as the transition in the aspect of these girls from the time of their first raggedness, as they were found running about the streets in that destitute locality, to the personal cleanliness and respectability which they now exhibit. Their appearance, indeed, is altogether delightful.—The boys, I may state, have not made so large an advance as the girls in point of appearance; but altogether the schools present a most attractive and delightful spectacle. I have been told that a number of the plebeian schools in our city have been abandoned by female visitors, in virtue of want of personal cleanliness. By the use of baths, this want is counteracted. The truth is, that there is nothing like going thoroughly to work; we even take cognizance of the hair-cutting, as far as the boys are concerned. We have made a bargain—I don't know that it is a very cheap one—but we got a hair-dresser to clip the boys' heads at eighteenpence a dozen, which is at the rate of three-halfpence a head. I can just say this much, that I am sure that the ruder and rawer the material is, out of which finished goods are worked, the greater is the triumph of the manufacturing art; and in this point of view, I would consider it a most attractive and inviting circumstance, when we recollect that these poor people have all the capacities of human spirits—that they have talents—that they have imperishable souls—that they are on a full level of equality with ourselves in all that is essential to man—and that we have nothing to do but to go and do them justice, and to give up the shameful neglect which we have indulged towards the lower classes for half a century, I would say for almost a whole century; and it is not to be told to what height of advancement, morally, intellectually, and economically, they are capable of being raised."

those physical nuisances and discomforts which are found to exist within the limits of a territory so full of misery and vice at present, yet so full of promise for the future. Could I gain this help from our men in power, and this co-operation from the Board of Health, then, with the virtue which lies in education, and, above all, the hallowing influence of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I should look, though in humble dependence on the indispensable grace from on high, for such a result as, at least in its first beginnings, I could interpret into the streaks and dawnings of a better day—when, after the struggles and discomfitures of thirty years, I might depart in peace, and leave the further prosecution of our enterprise with comfort and calmness in the hands of another generation."

It was but the dawning which he was permitted to behold. A few weeks after that first communion in the West Port, he was removed to the communion of the heavens, and the work was left in other hands. There were some who thought that his removal would be fatal to its success; and that it was only by such impulses as he could give, that such an enterprise could be sustained. But under the admirable management of Mr. Tasker, each year has witnessed an advancing progress. In its educational department the work is complete. In the different schools, male and female, day and evening, between 400 and 500 children are in attendance; *nor is it known that there is a single child of a family resident within the West Port who is not at school.* Of what other like district in this country could the same be said, and by what other instrumentality could it have been accomplished? The most commodious schoolroom might have been built, and the ablest teacher salaried, and the education offered gratis to all the families, and yet hundreds of these children have remained untaught. It was the district visiting, and the zeal especially of those ladies by whom a special oversight of the children's regular attendance at school was undertaken, by which this great achievement has mainly been accomplished. The ecclesiastical department presents us with a no less gratifying result. The habit of church attendance has become as general and regular within the West Port as it is in the best conditioned districts of Edinburgh. It was Dr. Chalmers's conviction that in the worst localities the means existed, and could be evoked, by which an effective Gospel ministry, if once created, could afterwards be sustained; and the history of the West Port confirms that conviction. The ecclesiastical machinery is now

complete, and were it separated from the rest it could be maintained in all its present efficiency by the freewill offerings of the people themselves. During the last year, besides meeting all the expenses necessary for the due support of Christian ordinances, amounting to nearly £250, the West Port congregation has contributed £70 to missionary and educational objects. Nor has the cost been great at which all this has been effected. A site has been purchased, a church, seated for 520, has been erected, commodious schoolrooms have been built and furnished, a large adjoining tenement has been bought and fitted up, the minister's and the schoolmaster's and the schoolmistress's salaries have been paid, and all incidental expenses discharged, during seven years and a half, for less than £5500.

At the same cost, among the same class, within the same limits, and during the same time, there never have been accomplished in this or any other land anything like the same educational and spiritual results. It stands the only instance in which the depths of city ignorance and vice have been sounded to the very bottom; nor can the possibility of cleansing the foul basement story of our social edifice be doubted any longer. How the spirit of the departed would have rejoiced had he lived to witness what the West Port now presents; and how gladly would he have hailed every token that the lessons given forth thereby were not likely to be lost!* We have dwelt the longer upon it because we know how willingly he would have seen every other thought of his heart and every other work of his hands perish from the remembrance of his fellows, if only the guiding light were followed which this example furnished as to the best method of raising the sunk millions of our fellow-countrymen to a higher level of character and comfort on earth, and preparing them for "glory, honour, and immortality" hereafter.

* It is with the greatest pleasure that we have noticed two recent articles in the Christian Journal of the United Presbyterian Church, containing an account of the operations in the West Port, and strongly recommending the territorial principle upon which they have been conducted.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ALTERING THE CURRICULUM IN THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES—THE COURSE OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION—DR. CHALMERS'S PROFESSORIAL CAREER—APPOINTMENT AS PRINCIPAL IN THE NEW COLLEGE—INSTITUTES OF THEOLOGY—THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW—THE GERMAN PHILOSOPHY—THE FAMINE.

Dr. Chalmers's attention had been early directed to the course of education pursued in the Scottish Universities, to the defects attached to it, and the improvements of which it was capable. In the year 1828, during his examination before the Commissioners appointed to visit the Universities of Scotland, he suggested that the first Latin and Greek classes, in which the elements of those languages were taught, should be abolished, as suited rather for a school than for a college; and that, by the establishment of gymnasia* and a strict entrance examination, the standard of qualification for commencing a University education should be elevated. He also suggested that an important change should be made in the order of the Undergraduate course. According to the existing arrangement, Logic and Moral Philosophy occupy the second and third sessions in a four years' curriculum; Mathematics and Natural Philosophy occupying the third and fourth. Upon the principle that the mental and

* "Edinburgh, *April* 22, 1846.—Dear Sir,—I have now read your pamphlet, and with high approbation of its general views. I like in particular your strong recommendation of gymnasia. Such is my conception of their usefulness that I think they might do even more than prepare for the literary and philosophical classes of our Universities. I think they might prepare for an immediate entry on all the studies of the learned professions, whether theological, or legal, or medical. But at this rate, would they not supersede our Universities altogether? I think they ought not; and that to these Universities there would remain the high function of elevating the literature and science of our land, purely for their own sakes, and apart from their subserviency to any merely professional object. What a glorious country it would make, if, for the expense of some £10,000 or £20,000 a year more, we could thus get our Universities placed in those higher regions of philosophy and taste, where they might contribute to the indefinite elevation of our national authorship in every department, whether of letters or of science! These hasty sentences represent my views very imperfectly, but should we ever have the opportunity of meeting, I should like to talk more at large with you upon the subject. Meanwhile, I rejoice in your having advocated a high system of preliminary scholarship that might well enable us all to take up higher positions in our respective territories.—I am, dear Sir, yours respectfully,

Thomas Chalmers.

"Professor Blackie, Aberdeen."

moral sciences required a maturer intelligence, he proposed that this order should be reversed, and that the Moral Philosophy of the Undergraduate course should be brought thus into juxtaposition with the Natural Theology of the Divinity curriculum. Without altering the place already given to Natural Philosophy, the Royal Commissioners, in their Report of 1830, recommended that Moral Philosophy should be taught during the fourth year of the student's attendance at College. But this, with all the other valuable recommendations of that Report, has lain for years unheeded, so as to make one wonder why such Commissions were appointed.

Although not a member at this time of the Theological Faculty, Dr. Chalmers was examined also as to the course of Theological study. In St. Andrews, as in all the other Scottish Colleges, the Theological Faculty consisted of three Professors —one of Divinity, one of Hebrew and the Oriental Languages, and one of Church History. The course lasted for four years, attendance, however, being only imperative during three sessions. There fell thus into the hands of the Divinity Professor, to be treated in a four years' course of lectures, the whole range of Natural Theology, the Christian Evidences, and Systematic and Pastoral Theology. Independently of the undue amount of labour thrown thus upon a single Professor, it was obvious that entering as they did at different parts of the course, it was only the students of one session in every four who began the course with the Professor and followed it consecutively to its close. And the few students who might have enjoyed it were deprived even of this benefit, by the prevalent habit of attending only during three sessions, and interposing the session of absence at different points in the curriculum. In a scheme of Theological Education which he drew up and presented to the Commissioners, Dr. Chalmers suggested that if not five, as he would have desired, there should be at least four Professors in the Theological Faculty; and that there should be two Professors of Divinity, the junior to teach two classes each day, and the senior to do the same; so that, enter when he might, the student should be carried regularly forward, and the subjects be presented in a consecutive order. Upon this subject the Commissioners satisfied themselves with advising that a new Professorship of Biblical Criticism should be instituted at the different Universities—an advice which waits till some Government shall be patriotic enough to execute it. Upon his own

appointment to the Chair of Theology in Edinburgh, Dr. Chalmers was fully exposed to the disadvantages which the existing arrangements entailed upon the Professor, nor were all the efforts which he made to extricate himself* sufficient to yield anything like content. Could he have satisfied himself with drawing up a four years' course of lectures, to be repeated again and again as the four years' curriculum came round, he might have earned for himself the same ease and comfort with which the duties of his Chair had been discharged by ordinary and inferior men.

* In answer to an inquiry made by a member of one of the English Universities, Dr. Chalmers gave the following account of the manner in which his classes were conducted:—

"The Professor of Theology, Dr. Chalmers, teaches two classes, a junior and senior. The junior class commences on Tuesday the 12th of November, and its hour of meeting is two o'clock. This class is attended by all the professional students, or students of divinity, at the beginning of their course; and the following account of its topics of lectureship will serve to show why, of the two classes, it is the most adapted to the demand and convenience of those gentlemen who, not of the ecclesiastical profession, wish to become acquainted with the grounds or evidences of the Christian faith.

"The general object of this class is to demonstrate the evidences of natural and revealed religion, which is done in a series of lectures delivered from the Chair on the three first days of every week. The lectures on Natural Theology take up nearly half the Session, and are succeeded by lectures on the historical and internal evidences for the truth of Christianity; and the course is concluded by lectures on the inspiration of Scripture, with a general view of Scripture Criticism and Systematic Theology.

"It will be seen that the main design of this class is to establish the credentials of revelation, or to unfold the grounds on which the Bible ought to be regarded as the genuine record of a genuine communication from heaven to earth. It is for this special reason that an attendance on this class is recommended to the general or extra-professional students, while it is only imperative on those who are destined for the clerical profession. By opening this part of theological education to all sorts of students, we approximate to the academic system of England, in which sacred is blended, to a certain extent, with general literature.

"Two days of the week are occupied with lectures, both written and extemporaneous, on the various topics of a text-book, which gives the Professor an opportunity for entering with greater minuteness and familiarity into the details of the Christian argument; it is in this part of the course that the students are most subjected to examination. It is the practice to examine all the professional students, and only those of the general students who express a wish for it. The text-book for the ensuing Session is Butler's 'Analogy.'

"The senior class of Theology commences on Tuesday the 12th of November, at eleven o'clock; it receives the appellation of Senior from the circumstance of its being attended by those professional students who have advanced beyond the first year of their attendance on the Divinity Hall, as the attendance of regular students generally lasts four years. The course of lectures in the senior class, in accommodation to this practice, is completed in three years; comprising, therefore, the instructions which are proper to the divinity students of the second, third, and fourth year's standing. This class is attended by a large proportion of general students, notwithstanding the inconvenience to them of their receiving by one year's attendance only a fraction of its course; and notwithstanding a still greater inconvenience, that for two sessions out of the three, instead of beginning with the commencement of this senior lectureship, they have to begin with the ulterior parts of it.

"The object of the senior class, as distinguished from that of the junior, is to expound not the credentials, but the contents of the Christian message; or, if the business of the junior is to establish the truth in opposition to all infidelity, the business of the senior is to establish the truth in opposition to all heresy; its main topic is the subject-matter of the Christian Theology, and it should conclude with a series of lectures on the duties of the ministry and of the pastoral cure."

The reader is referred to the ninth volume of the "Posthumous Works" for information as to the text-books used in the Theological Classes, and the manner in which they were employed.

But he could not confine himself within such limits. Upon some of the great topics in Natural Theology and the Christian Evidences, he had original and valuable contributions to offer, which, after first offering them to his students in a course of lectures, he lost no time in presenting to the public. His early professorial career at Edinburgh resembled that of those German professors who pass so frequently through the press the lectures of the preceding year, entailing thus upon themselves a new burden of composition for the future. Subjects, besides, were constantly occurring to Dr. Chalmers of a character somewhat extraneous to the proper topics of his course, upon which a brief set of lectures were drawn up and delivered to his students. The result of the whole, while impairing the orderly treatment of the common heads of Divinity, was eminently favourable to that freshness and force of impulse which it was his great distinction as a teacher to communicate. He who studies attentively the first four volumes of the one, and the last three volumes of the other series of his Works, will not readily believe that even in respect of the amount and variety of information communicated to them, the students of Dr. Chalmers fared worse than others; but it was not here that his power and glory lay, as the greatest teacher of Theology our country has ever seen. Others have amassed larger stores of learning, and conveyed them to their students in more comprehensive and compendious forms. But who ever lit up the evidences and truth of Christianity with a light so attractive; and who ever filled the youthful breasts of those who were afterwards to occupy the pulpits of the land, with the fire of so generous and so devoted an enthusiasm! His professorial career had lasted for twenty years when the Disruption occurred. Even at that time he could travel, he said, from one end of Scotland to the other, and spend each night in the manse of one of his former pupils; and if the growing majorities in the General Assembly by which that event was preceded were analysed, it would appear that nine-tenths at least of those who had listened to his fervid prelections in the University, counted it an honour to stand by the side of their venerated instructor when the hour of trial came. Immediately after the Disruption, Dr. Chalmers resigned his Chair at the University, and accepted the appointment of Principal and Primarius Professor of Divinity in whatever collegiate institution the Free Church might be able to erect. Strongly convinced that with the slender attractions

which its unendowed and under-paid offices held out, the future ministry of the Free Church could alone maintain its position in the country by the superior scholarship and deeper piety of its ministers, he gave an increased measure both of time and care to the duties of his professorship; and after the experience of three sessions he had this hopeful testimony to bear:—"The convener of your Committee has the satisfaction of bearing witness, and this after the experience of eighteen winters as a Professor of Theology, and five more as the occupier of a previous chair, that his class of last session stands the highest in his estimation of all which have preceded it, if not in its superior number of eminent and distinguished students who stand above the level of their fellows, in what is far better—a more elevated table-land of general proficiency and good scholarship. But it is of greatly surpassing moment that we should have to report an obvious increase, from year to year, in their sense of things sacred, and devotedness of heart and spirit to the great objects of the Christian ministry." In the hope of contributing to this increase during his last collegiate sessions, Dr. Chalmers was in the habit of inviting his students to private interviews, devoted wholly to conversation relative to their own spiritual condition and to prayer.

In the General Assembly of 1844, the Moderator, Dr. Grey of Edinburgh, was singularly felicitous in returning the thanks of the Church to Dr. Chalmers, for the valuable services which he had rendered to it. "We are all aware," he said, in closing his address, "of the important and directly spiritual duties which you fulfil in training up the future teachers of Israel, and in your manifold labours as a minister of Christ; but even in the department of finance we feel that your services are invaluable, as clearly and directly subservient to the maintenance and extension of true religion in the land. Sir, we duly appreciate the self-denying, generous zeal, which makes you willing, at the present stage of your valuable and fruitful life, to continue to labour in the service of a Church which, if dear to you, holds you also most dear to her,—granted her by a gracious Providence as her ornament and guide. In the review of our noble controversy, the words of Milton, in a sonnet addressed to Sir Henry Vane the younger, occur to me as so applicable, that I trust you, sir, and the Assembly, will excuse me if I conclude with them. After mentioning other high qualities and attainments, he adds—

'Both *spiritual power*, and *civil*, *what each means*,
What *severs* each, thou hast learned, which few have done,—
The bounds of *either sword* to thee we owe.
Therefore on thy firm hand religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.'"

"I can only ascribe," said Dr. Chalmers in reply, "these high eulogiums to my having long held a principle which I should like to see carried into effect throughout the whole of the Church's business,—I mean the principle of division of employment. I should like to see that principle made permanently applicable to the management of our whole ecclesiastical affairs. So sacred is my respect for this principle, and, I trust, also my observance of it, that all the time and strength which I have been able to spare, have been given to the labour of but one department of the Church's service; and I trust, from experience, and am in some measure confident, that the little, or rather no part I have taken in other, and perhaps more important duties of the Church, has been of more avail than if I had meddled with them all. I knew that these were in other hands, and I wished to allow them to get the full benefit of the same principle. Even although I was at the head of the academical department of the Free Church, I have not attended a single meeting of the Educational Committee. This may seem odd, and incongruous with my situation, as at the head of our Theological Faculty; but it is because I would infinitely rather be satisfied with doing a single task well—with being an efficient doer in one thing, than being a dabbler universal in everything."

For some time after the Disruption, the general superintendence of the collegiate and educational departments of the Free Church devolved upon Dr. Welsh, and Dr. Chalmers took little share in their management—his class duties, and the oversight of the Sustentation Associations engrossing his attention. An event, however, soon afterwards occurred which modified his conduct in this respect. In the spring of 1845, the Free Church lost one of her brightest ornaments. "I dare not," said Dr. Chalmers, in alluding to the event, "incur the hazard of exciting the pathos and profound regrets of this assembly by saying all I might on the bereavement which a mysterious though all-wise Providence has been pleased to inflict upon us by the death of Dr. Welsh. This institute, of which he was so distinguished a member, will ever associate with his memory a sense of grateful obligation for high services. The College fabric now on the eve of its commencement, and to which, I might add, our choice

and rapidly increasing, and even already our well-stored library, might be regarded as all his own. And beyond the circle of our Free Church, there must be the general feeling of a heavy loss, in that he was arrested on a most promising career of authorship, when engaged in supplying what might well be termed a great desideratum in British literature, a good Church History. His first volume, all that was published before his death, will ever abide a standing moment to the erudition, and classic taste, and scholarlike accomplishments of its author. Would to God that the lesson of mortality given forth by so near and affecting an example of it—that lesson which of all others is the oftenest repeated, yet the soonest and the oftenest forgotten —were to tell with all the force and feeling which it ought on the hearts of survivors, more especially on those survivors who, years before him in the journey of life, are now pressing hard on the confines of both worlds, on the twilight of their earthly existence, and on the dawn of their eternity."

It was a large debt under which Dr. Welsh laid the Free Church by providing the funds for the erection of a new College in Edinburgh. In the midst of great pecuniary sacrifices required for other and more pressing necessities, it was one of the noblest offerings which Christian generosity presented when at his solicitation twenty individuals came forward and gave each £1000 to effect this object. And at the close of the Assembly of 1846, the foundation-stone of the edifice was laid by Dr. Chalmers. At a public breakfast which preceded the ceremony, he quoted and applied to himself the lines of Byron,—

> "I am not what I have been,
> And my visions flit less palpably before me;"

but there was no sign either of faded sentiment or decaying power, when, after the triple stroke with the mallet upon the stone, he addressed those who had collected at the spot, among whom were a considerable number of operatives. Having referred first to the great objects of a theological education, "It delights me," he said, "to observe that so many of the working classes in our city now stand within the reach of my voice. Within the walls now to be raised by their hands there may or there may not in time be delivered the lessons of general science. But from the very outset, we hope, there will be the lessons of that higher wisdom which is often hid from the wise and the prudent, and revealed unto babes. We leave to others the passions and politics of this world; and nothing will ever be taught, I

trust, in any of our halls, which shall have the remotest tendency to disturb the existing order of things, or to confound the ranks and distinctions which at present obtain in society. But there is one equality between man and man which will strenuously be taught,—the essential equality of human souls; and that in the high count and reckoning of eternity, the soul of the poorest of nature's children, the raggedest boy that runs along the pavement, is of like estimation in the eyes of Heaven with that of the greatest and the noblest of our land. The youth who frequent our classes will with all earnestness and emphasis be told, that the Christian minister is a man of no rank, because a man of all ranks; and that although he should have an education which might qualify him for holding converse with princes and peers, it is his peculiar glory to be a frequent visitant of the poor man's humble cottage, and to pray by the poor man's dying bed. Heaven grant that the platform of humble life may be raised immeasurably higher than at present, and through the whole extent of it,—that the mighty host who swarm upon its surface, brought under the elevating power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and so rescued from grovelling ignorance and loathsome dissipation, may rise to a full equality with ourselves in all that is characteristic of humanity, and take place along with us, side by side, on the footing of kindred and companionable men. Let kings retain their sceptres, and nobles their coronets,—what we want is a more elevated ground-floor for our general population, and this without derangement to the upper stories of the social and political edifice, where may our beloved Queen, God bless her, long retain upon its summit the place of gracefulness and glory which she now occupies. The beauteous structure behind us, and which bears her name, will not injure, but illustrate our humbler fabric,—not humbler, we think, in respect of its tasteful and becoming architecture, but as rising from a lowlier platform,—whence let us close the ceremonial of the day by the acclamations of honest and deepfelt loyalty, with thanks to Heaven for the many preservations which a merciful Providence has awarded to our good Queen Victoria."

In consequence of Dr. Welsh's most lamented death, Dr. Chalmers accepted the convenership of the College Committee, which he was the readier to do, as, owing to recent circumstances, he stood relieved, to a great extent, of the charge of the Sustentation Fund. When the new collegiate arrangements following upon the Disruption were completed, Dr. Chalmers

had the satisfaction of seeing the scheme for theological education (first broached by him in 1828) adopted by the Free Church, and an additional Professor of Divinity appointed.* The preliminary branches being committed to his colleague, Dr. Chalmers's undivided labour was bestowed upon systematic theology. It had for many years been the highest object of his literary and professorial ambition to leave behind him a complete body of Divinity, containing the fruits of his maturest reflections, both on the credentials and contents of the Christian Revelation. Had his Lectures on Natural Theology and the Evidences not been already given to the public, they would have been subjected to the same process of condensation through which his other lectures were made to pass; and his "Institutes of Theology," when given to the world, would have presented a more uniform and homogeneous aspect than they now wear. As for many years he had, however, to go over the same ground with his students which the first four volumes of his works embraced, he adopted the plan of employing these volumes as text-books, accompanying his examinations with that summary and review of their contents which form Book II. and Book III. of his "Institutes of Theology." With the obvious disadvantage of subjecting the reader of this last work to a reiteration of familiar topics, those two books of the "Institutes" exhibit a compactness of diction, which amply proves that he could when he pleased transfer the brevity and force of his spoken into his written language, and what will be of no ordinary importance to any one who undertakes the hitherto unattempted task of estimating the direct and original contributions which Dr. Chalmers had made to theological science, they give us his own estimate of what he conceived to be most valuable in his earlier writings. It is, however, to that portion of the "Institutes" which treats of the subject-matter of Christianity that we would especially solicit attention. Upon no part of his published writings was so large a share of their author's care and thought bestowed. There are to be found here his latest and ripest thoughts upon some of the profoundest questions with which the human intellect has engaged; if not set forth in the gorgeous amplifications in which he loved previously to indulge, yet in

* With a staff of five Theological Professors the Free Church College provides now the most comprehensive and complete course of theological education supplied by any British Institution.—For full information on this subject the reader is referred to the Inaugural Address of the Rev. Dr. Cunningham, delivered at the opening of the New College.

the simpler, purer, weightier diction which became one who was leaving his last intellectual legacy to the world.

The "Institutes of Theology" and the "Daily Scripture Readings" were commenced about the same time, and were carried on simultaneously, a portion of each being written daily, and the transition being frequently instantaneous from the one composition to the other. Engaged with the one, he brought to the Divine oracles a mind singularly free of theological prejudice; he sat as a little child at the feet of Divine wisdom, and received into a meek and loving heart, according to its plain and natural meaning, each utterance she gave forth. Engaged with the other, he brought to the sacred oracles a mind full-fraught with the true spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, and, collecting the varied testimonies of the Divine record as they lay scattered over the sacred page, he combined them into one complete and harmonious system. The two engagements were most unlike. Very rarely has the same simplicity in the one, and the same science in the other, been exhibited; but where shall we find another instance in which the two, brought into such daily and close proximity, went on so harmoniously together? The many prayers, however, which Dr. Chalmers offered that he might be preserved from the fetters of an artificial orthodoxy,* may be taken as an evidence that even in his instance it was not without an effort that simplicity sat embosomed in system, while system did nothing to hurt simplicity.

Besides the composition of his "Institutes of Theology," the only other literary occupation of Dr. Chalmers's later years was an occasional contribution to the "North British Review." This publication, which, under its present accomplished Editor, ranks with the best conducted and most influential of our literary journals, was established in 1844 by Dr. Welsh, Mr. Edward F. Maitland, and a few friends in Edinburgh, to whom it appeared that there was both room and need for a review of the highest class, the organ of no party, political or ecclesiastical, and which, instead of ignoring or affecting to disown Christianity, was imbued with its spirit. What the "Englishman's

* "Let me not be the slave of human authority, but clear my way through all creeds and confessions to Thine own original Revelation. . . . Deliver me, O God, from the narrowing influences of human lessons, and more especially of human systems of theology. Teach me directly out of the fulness and freeness of Thine own Word, and hasten the time when unfettered by sectarian intolerance, and unawed by the authority of man, the Bible shall make its rightful impression upon all, because the simple and obedient readers thereof, they call no man master but Christ only. . . . O that we were fully unfettered from all which has the effect of distorting and deranging the Christianity of the Bible in the artificial systems of human orthodoxy."—"Horæ Sabbaticæ," vol. i. pp. 69, 350, 373.

Register," of Dr. Arnold, was meant to do for the great mass of the population, the "North British Review" was intended to accomplish in the highest branches of literature and for the highest class of readers. "I never wanted," says Dr. Arnold, "articles on religious subjects half so much as articles on common subjects, written with a decidedly Christian tone,"—language which the founders of the "North British Review" would have been forward to adopt. Its pure and independent, its Christian yet unsectarian aim recommended it to Dr. Chalmers, who entered warmly into the project of its establishment, and contributed several articles to it while under the editorship of Dr. Welsh and Mr. Maitland.* Upon the retirement of the latter, the writer of these Memoirs was invited to be his successor, an office which he was encouraged to undertake by the large promises of counsel and aid held out by Dr. Chalmers. For the brief period that remained, those promises were energetically fulfilled. Mr. Maitland had already put into Dr. Chalmers's hands Morell's History of "Modern Philosophy," and invited him to review it. This work gratified a curiosity which had hitherto been unsatisfied. He had been sensible of a tide of speculation setting in from Germany, which threatened to displace all our ancient faiths, both in theology and in science; he had marked the increasing influence which it was exerting, and had become somewhat alarmed as to the result. As it stood before him, clothed in the dark mantle of a new and obscure phraseology, he had not as yet been able to form any distinct conception of the *prima philosophia* of the German metaphysicians, and he was glad and grateful when an intelligent expositor enabled him to do so. He resolved forthwith to institute a comparison between it and the philosophy of Reid, and to test its power, whether for good or evil, upon the established theology of Scotland. It was a subject altogether new to him, which threw him back upon the studies of earlier days; but so eagerly did he embark upon it, that in the introductory address which he delivered as Principal of the New College, in November 1846, he announced it to be his intention to deliver a short course of

* The following were the Articles which he contributed:—

No. I. Art. 1. On the Corn Laws.
No. III. Art. 1. On the Political Economy of the Bible.
No. IV. Art. 7. On the Poor Laws of Scotland.
No. VI. Art. 3. On Savings' Banks.
No. XI. Art. 4. On Stirling's Philosophy of Trade.
No. XII. Art. 1. On Morell's History of Philosophy.
No. XIII. Art. 9. On the Political Economy of a Famine.

lectures to his students upon the German Philosophy. These lectures were embodied afterwards in an article which appeared in the 12th Number of the "North British Review." Dr. Chalmers's knowledge of the subject was too slender, and taken up too much at second-hand, for us to expect from him any minute or profound analysis of the Continental speculations; but as there were few better fitted to take a general survey of any wide-spread intellectual field, and to mark off the broad boundaries of truth and error, it was most interesting, at this period of his life, to watch the almost boyish zest with which the new region opened to his contemplation was traversed—most instructive to mark the first impressions he received and the conclusions to which he was conducted. "I have a great respect," he used to say in his private conversations at this time, "for the preference they show in Germany to mental over material products. A book bears a much greater proportional value to a bale of silk there than among us. It shows a high people—the value they have for pure thought. But there is a great want of solidity about their philosophy. They overstep the limits that separate the known from the unknown in a most unphilosophical way. I've no reverence for profound reasoning the grounds of which cannot be made patent to other minds. Their fine airy speculations may show a certain mental power in the mind that originates them, but they have not the weight of a straw to direct me on my path—great acumen—great grandeur of conception—but where is the appeal to undoubted fundamental truth and historical fact? It is ridiculous to oppose a fine wire-drawn argument to a historic fact. I just say to all their arguments and their counter-arguments, that I can't undertake to arbitrate between conflicting maggots.* Truth, no doubt, lies at the bottom of a well; but which should get most credit, the man that leaves it there, or the man that brings it to the surface?" Such was

* "Full of the subjects of the Germans and their philosophy, it was natural that during breakfast that morning, he should lead the conversation in that direction. On this particular occasion, however, it happened that his hostility to what he considered a vicious tendency in all characteristic German speculation, predominated over the respect which he acknowledged for the powerful intellectual manifestation visible in this species of labour. As he spoke, he became excited, even angry. There was much false reverence, he thought, for many things, simply because they were foreign, and this was seen in the present rage for German philosophy. It was the greatest madness imaginable. 'Germany! a country where system after system was springing up, none of them lasting a day; every man, as it were, holding up his cheeks, crying, "Look at me, too!" I tell you I'll look at none of you;—your Skillers (Schillers), and your Skagels (Schlegels), and your ———.' There he was interrupted by the merry laughter of all at his half-conscious mispronunciation of the two German names that had the misfortune to occur to him in his moment of wrath, and, well aware of the cause, he broke down into a laugh at himself."—Pictures of Dr. Chalmers in Lowe's Magazine.

the way, sometimes playful, sometimes profoundly serious, in which he used to speak in private to his family and friends. The terms were more measured, the tone more solemn, in which he addressed his students. "I should esteem it one of the highest services which our Institute could render to society, and among the proudest of its literary honours, did there issue from these walls in those days of conflict which are coming, when many of ourselves shall be reposing in the dust, profoundly asleep to all the noises of the living world above us, some master minds that could measure strength with every system of philosophy on the Continent, and by the weight of a more powerful and ponderous demonstration than was wielded by any, could rebuke and overbear all the infidelity that was to be found in them. . . .

"I feel it incumbent on me to enter on a computation of the distances and bearings between this transcendentalism, on the one hand, and the theology of the Bible upon the other. This I apprehend to be all the more necessary, that I do recollect of some who, chiefly in the University, and before our Disruption, were a good deal carried, as if by a sort of fashionable infection, which might have been seen in the phraseology of their discourses, and I will add, however mortifying to one's own self-love, and all the more mortifying that they were really superior and aspiring young men, who gave forth the symptom which I am now to describe in their obvious inattention to the lessons of the Chair, as if they had only been plain Scottish boluses, having vastly too much in them of the home-bred and the commonplace to be at all suited for those higher apprentices which nothing else can satisfy but the more exquisite and *recherché* articles of a foreign preparation, just as if we had been serving up milk for babes, instead of strong meat for men of a full grown understanding, or speaking from the outer court to those who had already been initiated in the mysteries of the inner temple. What I want to make out is, that the unintelligible does not always imply the solid, or even the profound; and, far more momentous than this, that the simple verities of the Christian faith rest on a foundation deep enough and strong enough to uphold them against the more recent, or, I should rather say, the ever-shifting philosophy that now sets in upon us from abroad.

"Many of you know my value for the intelligible, and my conviction of the magnitude of that service which lies in trans-

muting what is profound, and only understood by a few, into what is plain, and so that it may be understood by many. We know well the penalty that awaits the successful executor of such an aim, that, had he abstained, he would have been still ranked among the profound thinkers of the day; but, because he has not only made the endeavour, but fulfilled it, he sinks down to the level of a very plain and ordinary personage. Nevertheless, I will rejoice in it as the best achievement of philosophy, when it has made its products patent to every eye and accessible to the world at large."

It fell singularly in with the current of Dr. Chalmers's thoughts, that, when engaged in the study of the German philosophy, Professor Tholuck, of Halle, visited Edinburgh. He took an early opportunity of spending an evening with him, at the house of the friend with whom he resided.* "Dr. Chalmers," says this friend, "seated himself on a low chair close to the learned German, and listened with an air of genuine docility to all he said, throwing in a stray characteristic observation now and then, always, however, in the way of encouragement, never in the way of contradiction. Dr. Tholuck had published some verses of a religious character, which had given umbrage to some sect or other. He showed the lines to Dr. Chalmers, who, admiring them, observed that he had often been taken to task himself for a similar latitudinarianism; 'for, my dear sir,' he added, 'some people have a very fine nose for heresy.' While Dr. Chalmers was sitting in this posture, drinking in all that was said to him, Tholuck turned to his host, and said, in German, that he had never seen so beautiful an old man. The words coming out so suddenly in an unknown tongue, instantly changed the whole expression of Dr. Chalmers's face from that of happy acquiescence to one of puzzled amazement, which was in the highest degree comic, and this effect was not lessened by his eager putting of the question, 'What is it, sir, that he says?' —a question impossible to answer, and yet not easy to evade. The result of this interview was an amount of mutual confidence and esteem, as deep and sincere as it was sudden. Dr. Tholuck took an early opportunity of returning the visit, and spent some hours with Dr. Chalmers, urging upon him in the most direct and homely way, the necessity of directing his mind to the study of the German Theology, for, as it was from that quarter the bane had come which was poisoning the simple faith, so it was

* Dr. Rutherfurd Russell.

there alone that the antidote could be found. The day before Tholuck's departure, Dr. Chalmers called upon him and found him at his mid-day repast. He sat with him only for a few minutes, and said little, but looked at him constantly with an expression of earnest interest and affection. He rose to take leave; and, instead of taking him by the hand, he threw his arms round his neck and kissed him, while 'God bless you, my dear friend,' broke with apparent difficulty from his overcharged heart. After he was gone, it was noticed that a tear had gathered in the eye of him who had received the apostolic benediction and seal of brotherhood from one he loved and venerated so much. His only observation was a half-muttered, half-spoken, '*Eben ein Kuss*'—even a kiss."

The article upon Morell's History was to have been followed by a series of papers on Kant, Fichte, and Cousin, for which Dr. Chalmers had collected some materials, when another subject arrested his sympathies and occupied his pen. The almost total failure of the potato crop in 1846 left 300,000 of the population in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and many millions in Ireland, to face the coming year with food in hand sufficient to sustain them only for a few weeks. The extent of the failure of the crop was no sooner announced than the awfulness of the impending catastrophe filled Dr. Chalmers with alarm and anxiety. He foresaw that nothing but an act of prompt and unparalleled generosity could ward off the fearful calamity of hundreds and thousands in a Christian land miserably perishing from want of food. To wait till the cry of actual hunger was heard, and the sight of the dying kindled sympathy, was to ring the death-knell over multitudes to whom the relief would come too late. Fastening his first thoughts upon the Highlands, he not only hastened to gather up all the information conveyed through public channels, but by private circulars of his own, widely distributed, he obtained the most minute and trustworthy accounts of the state of the suffering population. As a great proportion of them were members of the Free Church, it became that Church to step prominently forward in this emergency, and to do what she could to save them from the horrors of famine. Nor did she fail in her duty at this time; being the first public body that moved, organizing an effective Committee of Relief, and ordering a public collection to be made in all her churches on Sabbath the 6th of December. Animated by a generous philanthropy, Dr. Chalmers addressed the following letter to Dr.

Mackay of Dunoon, who was leading this movement of the Church:—

"EDINBURGH, *November* 28, 1846.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I quite agree with you in thinking that the public have a most inadequate view of the efforts necessary to keep our suffering population alive; and I earnestly hope that the collection, on Sabbath the 6th of December, will be somewhat proportional to the magnitude of the call, though I am quite aware that it will not reach, by a tenth part, the magnitude of the necessity. Still let us do our part, and it may stimulate others to like efforts, and not, I hope, supersede them. I trust that your anxieties as to the amount of the collection will prove unfounded. It should very greatly exceed the average collections for any of our schemes; and most heartily do I wish that the people were brought up to a high pitch of liberality, by a juster view than I fear is generally entertained, both of the immense number of destitute families, and the extreme urgency of their wants.

"Ever since the failure of the potato crop became quite notorious, I have felt as if the country at large were under a delusion in underrating, as I fear they do, the fearfulness of a visitation, which, if not provided against, will land us in a great national tragedy. If people would only have recourse to the plainest arithmetic, and think of the hundreds of thousands of families, both in the Highlands and in Ireland, who are positively without the materials of subsistence for a week, and further think, that for six months at least, we can look for nothing from the soil, this might well convince them how far the public imagination falls short of the reality of the case.

"But it is not by means of the feeble and unimpressive generalities which I now pen, that sympathy will be awakened, and therefore I would value more the plain and literal details of suffering from people on the spot, than I would any elaborate statement or demonstrations which could be put forth on the subject.—I ever am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"THE REV. DR. MACKAY, DUNOON."

This call was nobly responded to. The collection was the largest, I believe, ever made by any Church in Scotland for any object; the Committee of Relief being put into possession of no less a sum than £15,000. This denominational effort was soon

merged into those larger measures of relief which Scotland so promptly and successfully adopted, so that while thousands died in Ireland—whole households perishing together, and many lying unburied till the dogs came and devoured their bodies—it was not known that in Scotland a single individual died solely and directly from want of food. It required, however, incessant vigilance, and no small amount of generosity, to be sustained all through the winter. In addition to the public tide of charity flowing in upon the Highlands, innumerable lesser streams were kept constantly flowing. Very large sums were committed to Dr. Chalmers for private distribution. There was scarcely, indeed, a daily post which did not bring him some donation; and he never watched for letters more eagerly, and he never read any with greater delight. He had many methods of communicating directly or indirectly with the Highlands, and of dispensing the money intrusted thus to his care. To one lady alone, the late Mrs. Mackay, we are aware of his having committed more than £500. Nor was Ireland forgotten. Her greater sorrows claimed a large share of his sympathy; and, through Miss Pringle of Edinburgh, and Dr. Edgar of Belfast, he had pleasure in conveying his own and other gifts of charity. The extraordinary spectacle of upwards of 300,000 men employed on the relief works—of upwards of three millions of people fed daily by the hand of public charity, and yet many perishing notwithstanding—afforded matter of most interesting speculation. When the spring months came, there was a fear that large breadths of the country would be left uncultivated. The crofters had neither seed-corn of their own, nor money to buy it; and even after it was furnished to them, they knew little or nothing of the new modes of agriculture which it would be necessary for them to adopt. The state of a country thrown suddenly into circumstances so new, appeared to Dr. Chalmers so worthy of investigation that he resolved to devote himself to the task. Having presented his general views in a paper entitled, "The Political Economy of a Famine,"* he proposed to prosecute a minute and searching inquiry into the past condition and future prospects both of the Highlands and of Ireland, with a view to determine what were the likeliest means of permanently improving the economic condition of their inhabitants. It is ever to be regretted that he did not live to execute a work for which much preparation had been made, and many materials collected. We can

* See *North British Review*, No. XIII., Art. IX.

but indicate, that from the singular history of the Relief Works in Ireland he meant to draw a fresh illustration of the evils by which all public charity is accompanied, and of the inseparable connexion which obtains between the moral and economic well-being of a community. He meant to test the various expedients for promoting the future prosperity of Ireland, by applying to them the general axioms, that it was out of her own soil, and by the industry of her own inhabitants, that she must be taught to draw her support, and that the best and most effective aid which could be given her, was that which promised the soonest to set her free from all foreign help. And had he lived to see what since his departure has been attempted, I can have little doubt, that while rejoicing over the progress of female industrial schools in various parts of Ireland, his eye would have rested with particular complacency upon such operations as those prosecuted at Ballinglen,* where the young are trained to that kind of industry for which there is a permanent demand, and have instilled into them the lessons of truth and righteousness.

* For a recent admirable proposal by Dr. Duff relative to the extension of this establishment, see No. 14 of "Voice from Ireland."

CHAPTER XLIV.

LAST VISIT TO ANSTRUTHER—INCIDENT AT BARNSMUIR—SERMON AT ST. MARY'S LOCH—CAVERS REVISITED—DOMESTIC HABITS—TIMES AND MODES OF COMPOSITION—NUMERICAL ADJUSTMENTS—THE TOILET—THE BREAKFAST TABLE—MODE OF RECOGNISING HIS STUDENTS—CONVERSATIONAL MEMORANDA—APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION—THE MONASTERIES AND THE MIDDLE AGES—AMERICAN SLAVERY—THE SPIRITUAL RABBIT-WARREN—EXCESS AT TABLE—EVENING READINGS OF GIBBON, SHAKSPERE, AND MILTON—CATECHISMS AND CONFESSIONS—SCRIPTURE CHARACTERS—LIFE AT BURNTISLAND—FEELING OF YOUTHFULNESS—HEAVINGS OF INCIPIENT CIVILISATION—JANET OF THE GALLOWGATE AND THE ASTRONOMICAL DISCOURSE—CONSOLATORY LETTERS.

In the spring of 1845, Dr. Chalmers visited his native village. It almost looked as if he came to take farewell, and as if that peculiarity of old age which sends it back to the days of childhood for its last earthly reminiscences had for a time and prematurely taken hold of him. His special object seemed to be to revive the recollections of his boyhood—gathering Johnny-Groats by the sea-beach of the Billowness, and lilacs from an ancient hedge, taking both away to be laid up in his repositories at Edinburgh.* Not a place or person familiar to him in earlier years was left unvisited. On his way to the churchyard, he went up the very road along which he had gone of old to the parish school. Slipping into a poor-looking dwelling by the way, he said to his companion, Dr. Williamson, "I would just like to see the place where Lizzy Geen's water-bucket used to stand,"—the said water-bucket having been a favourite haunt of the overheated ball-players, and Lizzy a great favourite for the free access she allowed to it. He called on two contemporaries of his boyhood, one of whom he had not seen for forty-five, the other for fifty-two years, and took the most boyish delight in recognising how the "mould of antiquity had gathered upon their features," and in recounting stories of his schoolboy days. "James," said he to the oldest of the two, a tailor, now upwards of eighty, who in those days had astonished the children, and

* After his death, a drawer of his desk was found filled with relics of many kinds, among which was a piece of lilac, labelled "Lilac from my father's garden."

himself among the number, with displays of superior knowledge, "you were the first man that ever gave me something like a correct notion of the form of the earth. I knew that it was round, but I thought always that it was round like a shilling till you told me that it was round like a marble." "Well, John," said he to the other, whose face, like his own, had suffered severely from small-pox in his childhood, "you and I have had one advantage over folk with finer faces—theirs have been aye been getting the waur, but ours have been aye getting the better o' the wear!" The dining-room of his grandfather's house had a fireplace fitted up behind with Dutch tiles adorned with various quaint devices, upon which he had used to feast his eyes in boyish wonder and delight. These he now sought out most diligently, but was grieved to find them all so blackened and begrimmed by the smoke of half a century, that not one of his old windmills or burgomasters was visible. To one apartment he felt a peculiar tie, as having been appropriated exclusively to his use in his college days when the love of solitary study was at times a passion.* But the most interesting visit of all was to Barnsmuir, a place a few miles from Anstruther, on the way to Crail. In his schoolboy days it had been occupied by Captain R——, whose eldest daughter rode in daily on a little pony to the school at Anstruther. Dr. Chalmers was then a boy of from twelve to fourteen years of age, but he was not too young for an attachment of a singularly tenacious hold. Miss R—— was married (I believe while he was yet at college) to Mr. F——, and his opportunities of seeing her in after life were few, but that early impression never faded from his heart. At the time of this visit to Anstruther in 1845, she had been dead for many years, but, at Dr. Chalmers's particular request, her younger sister met him at Barnsmuir. Having made the most affectionate inquiries about Mrs. F—— and her family, he inquired particularly about her death, receiving with deep emotion the intelligence that she had died in the full Christian hope, and that some of his own letters to her sister had served to soothe and comfort her latest hours. "Mrs. W——," said he, eagerly, "is there a portrait of your sister anywhere in this house?" She took him to a room and pointed

* A visitor of old Mr. Chalmers once noticed him coming out of this room with a singular smile upon his face. When asked what had amused him, he said, "It's Thomas there; I went in upon him and disturbed him in his studies, and what do you think he exclaimed? 'It's too bad that I can't get even a room—I just wish that I had a world to myself to study in!'"

to a profile which hung upon the wall. He planted himself before it—gazed on it with intense earnestness—took down the picture, took out his card, and, by two wafers, fixed it firmly on the back of the portrait, exactly opposite to the face. Having replaced the likeness, he stood before it and burst into a flood of tears, accompanied by the warmest expressions of attachment. After leaving the house, he sauntered in silence round the garden, buried in old recollections, heaving a sigh occasionally, and muttering to himself—"More than forty years ago!" It is not often that a boyish feeling survives so long, and still less frequent that after such a life of variety and occupation as his had been, it should break out so freshly and strongly; nor would we have ventured to record the incident, did it not appear to us to prove that Dr. Chalmers was as much distinguished for the tenderness and tenacity of his attachments as for the brilliancy of his intellectual gifts.

On Sabbath the 12th April 1846, he preached in the small but beautifully situated Free Church, built upon the edge of St. Mary's Loch. Mr. Parker, who had been the chief agent in the erection of the church, went with him as his guide and companion, and he was accompanied besides by two of his daughters. "I like," said he, as they wended their way through the bare and treeless but purely green and beautifully moulded hills of Peebles-shire—"I like these quiet hills, these sober uplands. Hills, all bare like these, are what I call the statuary of landscape." The valley of the classic Yarrow was entered, and its intense stillness and loneliness powerfully excited him. He stopped his carriage, and calling out to Mr. Parker, who was on the box of another carriage in which his two daughters were seated —"Tell them," he exclaimed, "to look at the solitudes that are about them." That night at Sundhope, where he was most hospitably entertained, he called his daughters into his own room, and read to them Wordsworth's exquisite description of Yarrow, repeating with great emphasis of delight the lines—

> "Meek loveliness is round thee spread,
> A softness still and holy;
> The grace of forest charms decay'd,
> And pastoral melancholy."

The Sabbath sustained well the fitful character of a changeful April day. It rose hopefully, bright all over with the lustre of recent rain. The lake lay glass-like under the wave-like clouds which flitted gently over it. At the hour for worship, and as

Dr. Chalmers was seen approaching, for the first time since the chime of the monks was silenced, the sound of the Sabbath-bell came floating over its waters. Dr. Chalmers preached from his favourite text, Isaiah xxvii. 4, 5. There was unruffled beauty without and perfect stillness within till the service was over; but as the worshippers began to disperse, a storm-blast swept the loch, and a perfect waterspout of rain poured down upon them, forcing the plaided shepherds and their families to cower for shelter behind knoll or dyke. The next morning, Dr. Chalmers had great pleasure in breakfasting with John Cowan, a venerable shepherd—the patriarch of Yarrow—and spent the day in visiting Henderland and the "Grey Mare's Tail," listening to the ballads which his daughters repeated, and gazing with ecstasy upon the waterfall which, swollen with the heavy rain, filled the rocky chasm from side to side, and sent out its foam like clouds of snow-drift into the air. Yarrow and St. Mary's were the only new localities which Dr. Chalmers visited during his last summers, yet even here his thoughts were wandering over the hills of Ettrick to another neighbourhood. His daughters had climbed a hill near Sundhope, and he was waiting to receive them on their descent. "And did you," he said with impatient eagerness, after listening for a moment or two to their description,—"did you see Cavers?" and then turning to the shepherd who had been their guide—"Can you see the hills about Cavers from that elevation?" An affirmative reply having been given to the question, he looked up wistfully to the hill-top, lamenting that his strength did not permit of his ascending it, and uttering some ejaculations about the scene of his early ministry. Three months afterwards he went to Cavers,—seeking out all old acquaintances, surveying the little room in Hawick where so many of his first sermons were written and his mathematical preparations had been prosecuted, and entering with the utmost interest into all the domestic history of the family in whose house he had then lodged. At Jedburgh he passed a few days with Mr. Elliot, the grandson of the clergyman to whom he had been assistant. The last visit of the last summer was to Glasgow, and down the Clyde. At Tilliechewan and at Strathleven he sauntered through the wooded parks, catching glimpses of Lochlomond through breaks of the foliage,*

* He had a peculiar epithet for such kind of views. I remember once walking with him in company with a refined English baronet, when he suddenly caught sight of a fine mountain view, seen through a gap in a neighbouring hedge. Stopping suddenly, he exclaimed. —"Ha! very fine; it's very fine, sir,—an ulterior through an opening" (or, as he pronounced

luxuriating amid the kindnesses of those whose personal friendship to himself he could not but associate with their boundless liberality to his Church. In returning to Edinburgh, he stayed a day or two with Mr. Bain at Morriston near Glasgow, and preached in the open air at Cambuslang to a vast multitude, assembled within some natural amphitheatre where Whitefield had once preached. These farewell summer visits paid, he returned into the bosom of his family.

It may gratify a natural curiosity should we follow Dr. Chalmers through the different engagements of a day at Morningside, and furnish some details of his personal habits and mode of domestic life. Whatever variety the day exhibited, it had one fixed essential feature. The motto "*nulla dies sine linea*" never met with a more rigorous fulfilment. The period allotted to what he called "severe composition" had never (if we except his first winter at St. Andrews) exceeded two or three hours at a time, and in ordinary circumstances there was seldom more than one sitting daily at such work. The tension of the mind during the effort was extreme, but it was never so long continued as to induce fatigue or exhaustion. During the last six or seven years of his life, his daily modicum of original composition was completed before breakfast, written in short-hand, and

it), "through an oppening." His English companion stood embarrassed; politely inquired what it was that was so fine; had the same words repeated—and looked as bewildered as before. Another instance of perplexity, produced by the singularity of his phraseology, occurs to me. While staying at Rosstrevor, a pic-nic party proceeded across the bay to visit the ruins of Carlingford Castle. The day was fine, the company numerous, the scenery enchanting, and Dr. Chalmers was in the highest spirits. We dined on a green knoll near the ruins, and as dinner proceeded, some old crones from a neighbouring village were seen hanging around us, in the hope of sharing the spoil. When Dr. Chalmers was told that the inhabitants of the village spoke the Irish language, he declared that it would be quite an acquisition to him to hear a new set of vocables uttered by a native. To gratify his curiosity, one of the most picturesque of the old villagers was selected, and a sixpence was given to her to come forward and speak a sentence or two of Irish. By this time we were all upon our feet, and had formed a circle, in the centre of which stood Dr. Chalmers; fronting him, the old and greedy-looking crone, and beside her the village doctor, who was to act as an interpreter. "Well, sir, tell her now to say something in her own tongue." A sentence, accordingly, was spoken, and, turning eagerly to the interpreter, Dr. Chalmers, said,—"What was it that she said?" "Why, Doctor, she says that she wants another sixpence." The revolt was instantaneous, from curiosity to intense disgust and indignation. Addressing himself instantly to the woman, he said, "It is too bad; you must really learn to set limits to your unbridled appetency." An interpreter was evidently as much needed as before. When Dr. Chalmers had done with her—leaving her, however, quite untouched by his rebuke—a good lady of the company stepped forward to inquire of her, whether it really could be true that she worshipped the Virgin. She appeared to be much provoked, and the village doctor, who had no relish for such kind of conversation, cut the colloquy short, and sent the woman away. The lady, fearing that she had really hurt the woman's feelings, followed her to a retired place, and telling her that she had no intention whatever to give her pain, in proof of her good-will put a shilling into her hand. The woman looked for a moment at the shilling, then at the donor, and, with a toss of hand and head, she said, in tones of the greatest glee, "Och! and what does your ladyship think that I care about the Virgin?"

all done in bed. The preparatory ruminating or excogitating process was slow, but it was complete. He often gave it as the reason why he did not and could not take part in the ordinary debates of the General Assembly, that he had not the faculty which some men seemed to him to possess, of thinking extempore; nor could he be so sure of any judgment as to have comfort in bringing it before the public till he had leisurely weighed and measured it. He was vehement often in his mode of expression; but no hasty judgment was ever penned or publicly spoken by him. "I have often fancied," he once said to me, "that in one respect I resemble Rousseau, who says of himself that his processes of thought were *slow but ardent*,"—a curious and rare combination. In proportion, however, to the slowness with which his conclusions were reached, was the firmness with which they were riveted. He has been charged with inconsistencies, but (putting aside the alteration in his religious sentiments) I am not aware of any one opinion formally expressed or published by him, which he ever changed or retracted. This slow and deliberate habit of thinking gave him a great advantage when the act of composition came to be performed. He never had the double task to do, at once of thinking what he should say, and how he should say it. The one was over before the other commenced. He never began to write till, in its subjects, and the order and proportions of its parts, the map or outline of the future composition was laid down; and this was done so distinctly, and, as it were, authoritatively, that it was seldom violated. When engaged, therefore, in writing, his whole undivided strength was given to the best and most powerful expression of pre-established ideas. So far before him did he see, and so methodically did he proceed, that he could calculate, for weeks and months beforehand, the rate of his progress, and the day when each separate composition would be finished.

The same taste for numerical arrangement was exhibited in the most insignificant actions and habits of his life. It regulated every part of his toilet,—down even to the daily stropping of his razor. Beginning with his minimum, which was two strokes, he added one stroke more each day successively, till he got up to a number fixed on as his maximum, on reaching which, he reversed the process, diminishing the number of his strokes by one each day, till the lowest point was touched; and so, by what he would have called a series of oscillations between his maximum and his minimum, this matter of the

stropping undeviatingly progressed. It would be tedious, perhaps trifling, to tell how a like order was punctually observed in other parts of his toilet. He did almost everything by numbers. His staff was put down to the ground regularly at each fourth foot-fall; and the number of its descents gave him pretty accurate measure of the space over which he walked. Habit had rendered the counting of these descents an easy, indeed almost a mechanical operation; so that, though meeting friends, and sustaining an animated conversation, it still went on. This mode of measuring distances was variously applied. When he lived at No. 7, Inverleith Row, a complication of streets lay between him and the University, and he imposed upon himself the problem of discovering a new route each day, and keeping a register of their relative lengths. Next to the pleasure of being introduced to an altogether new locality, was that of thoroughly exploring one already known. "I like," he said to one of his favourite students, "to find out new spots in places I am familiar with. The other day I had some time to spare, so I tried if I could extemporize a new route between Comely Bank and Inverleith Row. I sauntered, rather dubious I must confess, up a sort of cart-lane, and, before I was aware, I got involved in the accessories of a farm-house, where I was set upon by a mastiff, and so obliged to turn back." When, in the spring of 1843, he removed to a dwelling-house which he had built for himself at Morningside, as the distance was too great for him to walk from College, he generally drove to the outskirts of the town. Whilst walking from Wright's Houses, the point at which he was set down, to his house at Churchhill, he, one winter, kept an accurate reckoning of the number of persons he met upon the road each day,—curious to know whether a fixed average would be observed, or whether it would vary as the days shortened or lengthened. Many more like instances might be quoted, but we must return to our details of his daily life.

"I find," he says, "that successful exertion is a powerful means of exhilaration, which discharges itself in good humour upon others." His own morning compositions seldom failed in this effect, as he came forth from them beaming and buoyant, with a step springing as that of childhood, and a spirit overflowing with benignity. If his grandson, or any of the younger members of his family were alone in the breakfast-room, a broad and hearty "Hurro! hurro!" ringing through the hall, an-

nounced his coming, and carried to them his morning greeting. As his invariable mode of dealing with introductions was to invite the introduced to breakfast, very interesting groups often gathered round his breakfast table. In the general conversation of promiscuous society, Dr. Chalmers did not excel. There are minor acts of governing, such as those needed for the management of a House of Commons, or the conduct of a General Assembly, in which he was utterly defective; and there are minor graces of conversation required for its easy guidance through varied and fluctuating channels, which his absorption with his own topics, and the massive abruptness of his movements, made it difficult, perhaps impossible, for him to practise. But at his breakfast table, with half a dozen strangers or foreigners around him, his conversation was in the highest degree rich and attractive. Opportunities naturally occurred, or were willingly made, for him to "expatiate" upon some passing public topic, or upon some of his own favourite themes, and he was never seen nor heard to greater advantage. His power of pithy expression (remarkably exhibited in his occasional employment of vernacular Scotch), and of pictorial narrative, his concentrated and intense moral earnestness, his sense of humour, his boundless benignity, the pure, transparent, and guileless simplicity of his character—received many of their happiest illustrations at such times. He had one morning in the week reserved especially for his students. On meeting with them in his own house, he was often at a loss to recognise them by name, and the mode he took to extricate himself from the difficulty was rather singular. He had a card with the names on it of all the students whom he had that morning invited to breakfast. When all had assembled and were seated, holding the card below the level of the table, as he thought out of sight, he glanced furtively down at it to catch the first name on the list. Then, lifting his eyes and looking eagerly and rapidly around, he would say—"Tea or coffee, Mr. Johnson?" hoping by this innocent artifice to identify the person so addressed, and to save him the pain of being apparently unknown or forgotten. The device was too transparent to be unnoticed; but which of his students did not love him all the more for the kindliness which dictated it! The recognition once got over, no after difficulty remained. The student was asked generally from what part of the country he came, and it must have been some very remote and inaccessible region which found Dr. Chalmers unprepared to

enter immediately into conversation upon its topography. It was his first and favourite subject, and he revived in this way, during the winter, the knowledge gathered in his summer travels. When he met with one of kindred taste, or capable of informing him, he would talk for half an hour about a single locality, and with all the zest of a regular tourist. There was one desire which upon such occasions he seldom failed to express:—"I should like exceedingly," he would say, "that we had a series of maps of our Scottish horizons; it would be most interesting to recognise the appearances which the different elevations of the country presented as seen upon the horizon from different centres. It should have been one of the Government instructions to those engaged in the national survey to furnish us with such a set of maps."

With visitors from England, the conversation at the breakfast table turned frequently upon the state of the English Establishment, of which Dr. Chalmers had been an ardent admirer, but whose cause he felt less confidence in advocating after the inroad of Puseyism, and the absence or the impotence of all attempts to check it. "In speaking of apostolic succession," says one of his English visitors,* "he told us of a summary which Campbell of Aberdeen had made of the difficulties of that question, which had always appeared to him most excellent. Campbell conducts his inquiry relative to apostolic succession by putting three questions—Where is it? how is it? and what is it?—and, after a learned disquisition, concludes in some such terms as these:—'We find therefore that it is a something nobody knows where, contrived and produced nobody knows how, and leading to consequences nobody knows what.'† Allusion having been made to the Middle Ages, and to the piety of many of the monks, 'I had no idea,' he said, 'that so much of the history of that period was preserved till I read Hallam. As to the personal character of the monks, I could not dogma-

* Lady Richardson.

† Connected with the sacraments, Dr. Chalmers often told a favourite story about a Highland baptism. A clergyman went to administer the rite in the house of one of his hearers, near which there ran a small burn or river, which, when he reached it, was so deep and swollen with recent rains that he could not get across. In these circumstances he told the father to bring his child down to the burn-side. Furnished with a wooden scoop, the clergyman stood on the one side, and the father, holding his child as far out in his arms as he could, stood upon the other. The service proceeded, and when the time came for sprinkling the babe, the minister dipping the scoop into the water flung its contents across, aiming at the baby's face. He failed more than once, calling out to the father after each new trial, "Weel, has't gotten ony yet?" Dr. Chalmers wondered what the great sticklers for form and ceremony in the sacraments would think of a baptism by a burn-side performed with a wooden scoop.

tize upon that question. It is astonishing the confidence of some of your orthodox folk in their judgments upon others, and that too under our system of progressive development. I just say, we have not the materials for settling such a question. We would need to penetrate the counsels of God, and the secrets of another bosom, before we could pronounce through how much distorting error a man may grope his way to a blissful immortality; and I would say, therefore, that as in the rude ages the monasteries were conservatories of learning, so, for aught I know, they were conservatories in thousands of instances of genuine piety—debased no doubt by a superincumbent superstition.'"

Dr. Chalmers was much gratified by the reception given to his Works in America, and had great pleasure in making the personal acquaintance of Dr. Elton, Dr. Sprague, Dr. Smyth, Dr. Cox, Dr. Beecher, and other eminent American clergymen. In the summer and autumn of 1845, many transatlantic visitors were his guests at Morningside. The recent controversy about the propriety of the Free Church receiving pecuniary aid from Churches which admitted slaveholders to the Communion, had directed Dr. Chalmers's attention to the general question of slavery in America, and the measures of the immediate abolitionists. His conversations with Americans at this time were frequently directed to this subject. "I observe," he said, "that the abolitionists have tried to extort from your Board of Missions a declaration in favour of emancipation. It is really too bad that they should try to implicate in that way their one undoubted good thing with all the other good things that are going on in the world. I do hope that this obtrusive spirit of theirs will have an effectual check put upon it. It impedes, besides, the very object which their own hearts are set upon, and which there are other hearts as zealous, but only somewhat wiser, which are as much set upon as theirs. I admire exceedingly the deliverance of the Board of Missions and the report of the American General Assembly—both done, I do think, with admirable tact and wisdom. They have greatly elevated my estimate both of the wisdom and force of principle which pervade the ecclesiastical mind and philanthropic public of America."

While the West Port enterprise was going on, more than one breakfast party was composed exclusively of agents in that undertaking. At one of them he was told of an objection which had been started by a minister, that if many churches like that of the West Port were erected, each of them would abstract

some hearers from one or other of the existing Edinburgh ministers. It created a storm of indignation. "And for the sake," said he, "of the paltry few that would drop from this and that man's congregation, am I to let the masses live in dirt and die in darkness? Horrible! to make a rabbit-warren of human souls! Can that man believe what he preaches who would stand by and see hundreds sink into an unprovided eternity, rather than run the risk of Mr. John this [spoken with an ironical drawl] or Mr. James that, being lost to his congregation? There is a vast deal of spurious faith, and I see more and more the meaning of Christ's question—'When the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith upon the earth?' But [the indignation gradually giving place to despondency] I have little hope of the impracticable understandings of the general public. People talk of the enlightened public; I just look upon the public as a big baby. Eh, man [turning now archly to Tommy], if a' the gowks in the world were brought together, they wad fill a great muckle house."

Before or after breakfast, Dr. Chalmers would go round the garden lying immediately behind his house, in the progress of which he took great pleasure. "Well, dearie daughtts," he would say, after finishing a round, "it's a noble instrument a garden; I've just counted all the things in flower (in May) round all the walks, and they are 320. There is one which occurs with a nauseous uniformity, but with that exception they are all most beautiful." He was always the first to bring in the first snow-drop of the season, of which flower he was passionately fond.

The interval between breakfast and dinner was devoted to the "Biblical Readings," and to extending the short-hand of the "Institutes." He dined latterly at one o'clock, and as he had to be at his class at two, the meal was necessarily a hurried one. He was indifferent about food, and remarkably abstemious. But there was no habit of life about which he was so scrupulous. His private journals are filled with constant laments over his own incautiousness and excess at table; so much so, that were these journals ever to fall into the hands of one ignorant of Dr. Chalmers's habits, he might draw from them a conclusion exactly opposite to the truth. One night at supper at Merchiston Castle, a water biscuit, as thin almost as a wafer, but of large circumference, was put upon the plate before him. As he got into an animated conversation, he continued breaking down this biscuit

into small parts, and eating them. When he discovered that the biscuit was consumed, he expressed himself surprised and shocked; and although that was all that he partook of upon this occasion, there was an entry that night in his journal—"Exceeded to-night at supper." The truth was, that whenever he felt his capacity for any intellectual effort or any spiritual exercise impaired after eating, he attributed it to an excess, which it was his duty to curb. By a single extract from his journal, let us convey an impression of the light in which this part of self-government was regarded.

"Incapable of study, and in great physical discomfort. How shameful! and let me here record my humbling sense of it, that this was in great part due to excess at table, which has made me bilious, and alive to all sorts of plague and provocation. I gave way to this vile indulgence at Mr. P——'s, and have not been careful in the least for weeks past. Enable me, O God, to make a stand now, to enter on a new habit, and strive with all might for the mastery over this degrading appetite. But work in me by the might of Thy Spirit, O God; not me, but the grace of God that is in me. Let me slay this enemy. Let me keep the body under subjection. Let me embark with all strength of purpose on this holy warfare. Henceforward may I be circumspect, awake—awake both to duties and consequences, with a constant sense in me of God, and the predominating influence of His will, and that consciously, and with the distinct feeling of its obligation over my will, else how can I be said to be living otherwise than without God in the world. My God, let me enter now on a set career of self-government; and having the prospect of several convivial engagements before me, let me have the comfort of recording a victory over the lusts which war against the soul. Let me bethink myself of what I might yet do with my mind, and what I have yet to recover of a spirituality faded and well-nigh extinct, because overlaid by the sensualities of the flesh. The contest is for heaven, which I shall never reach unless the spirit so lust against the flesh as to prevail over it. Let me, therefore, carry the principle of godliness abroad over the whole platform of my life, and downward to the minutest actions of it, that whether I eat or drink, or whatsoever I do, it might be to the glory of God; and O save me from those sad effusions of temper which are so opposed to the second law, to the charity of the Gospel, and that long-suffering which is one of the Spirit's most precious fruits."

Dr. Chalmers's evenings were given to general reading, and to the society of his family and friends. He kept steadily by one book at a time, and however small a portion of it might be overtaken each evening, the perusal was regularly prosecuted to a close. And here too, as well as in his summer visits, he sought out the friends of his youth. Within the last two or three years of his life, he completed an entire perusal of Gibbon, Shakspere, and Milton. "I don't wonder now," he said, "at Milton's own preference for 'Paradise Regained' over 'Paradise Lost.'" The single passage of Shakspere which he most frequently recited, was that one in Henry IV., which commences

> "I saw young Harry—with his beaver on,
> His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly armed," &c.;

and the single play in which he took most pleasure was Midsummer Night's Dream, among the fairy pictures of which he delighted to revel. "I look," he would say, after laying down the book, "I look on Shakspere as an intellectual miracle; I would put him before Milton from his exhaustless variety." One of his students once told him of the enthusiasm of the Germans about Shakspere, and related the anecdote of Goethe's comparison between Tieck, Shakspere, and himself, in which, with a singular mixture both of pride and humility, he said, "That relation which Tieck holds to me, I hold to Shakspere. I regard Shakspere as a being of a superior nature." "Well, sir, do you know," said Dr. Chalmers, after hearing the anecdote, "I like that very much. I daresay Shakspere was the greatest man that ever lived—greater perhaps even than Sir Isaac Newton." In February 1845, two years after the Disruption, we find the following entry in Dr. Chalmers's journal: "A few days ago finished the complete perusal of Shakspere. Began 'Paradise Lost,' and am reading with great interest, 'Edwards on the End of God in Creation.' Let me henceforth betake myself to serious reading."

In his domestic intercourse with his daughters, there was much playful familiarity. Finding one of them sitting alone in a room, he said to her,—"Well, my dear little howlet—

> Hail, mildly pleasing solitude,
> Companion of the wise and good;

but I'm no for us growing perfectly uncognisant of one another, sitting in corners like sae mony cats." After some of his great public appearances, when he came home exhausted, his daughters would gather round him as he lay at ease in his arm-chair.

One would play Scotch music, another shampoo his feet (a very frequent, and to him always a very agreeable operation), a third would talk nonsense, and set him into fits of laughter. At such times, in a mock heroic way, he would repeat Scott's lines,—"O woman, in our hours of ease," &c. A spirit of chivalry ran through all his intercourse with his daughters: they not only ministered to his comfort in the hours of relaxation, he made them companions, as it were, of his public life, and sought their intellectual sympathy with his even highest exercises of thought. Busied with his pamphlet on the Evangelical Alliance, in which he was dealing with the proper plan and use of Confessions of Faith, "I look," said he to one of his daughters, "on Catechisms and Confessions as mere landmarks against heresy. If there had been no heresy, they wouldn't have been wanted. It's putting them out of their place to look on them as magazines of truth. There's some of your stour orthodox folk just over ready to stretch the Bible to square with their catechism: all very well, all very needful as a landmark, but [kindling up] what I say is, do not let that wretched, mutilated thing be thrown between me and the Bible." "Bacon," said his daughter, "compares the Bible to the well-spring, and says, he were a huge fool that would not drink but from a tank." "Ha! ha! where does Bacon say that? it's nasty in the tank too, whiles!" The conversation turned upon Mr. Carlyle, for whom he cherished great regard and admiration. "It is a most interesting phenomenon to me, Carlyle's state of mind. The lad looking with a most graphic and intelligent eye on the peculiarities of Calvinism, having a sort of regard too for them, and yet" . . . "It is a curious faculty that I have"—we quote now from another of his conversations—"of magnifying things. Now I find no difficulty in looking at this [a little tuft of tree-moss which he held in his hand] as if I were an animalcule living there within it, and these little fibres a great pine forest with fine green mounds in it. . . . What an infinite variety of systems may the planetary world embrace! For aught I know, our own system may be diversified with worlds no bigger than that table-head. There would be scope enough for exquisite panoramas—the master existence no larger than a bee or butterfly. Who knows in the inexhaustible profusion of nature what may be?"

Reposing in his easy-chair, and recalling the subjects of his "Bible Readings," he would say, "I am fond of the Old Testament; what a stately procession of Scripture characters! I have

just twelve that I call my magnates; what a pinnacle that speech of our Saviour's lifts Abraham to—'He rejoiced to see my day,' piercing the futurity of 2000 years.—I like Isaac, there was such a mildness about him: it is very picturesque his going forth to meditate in the evening-tide.—Jacob's early life is most distasteful to me. The truth is, he was just too much o' a sneck-drawer: he was the sneck-drawer, and Esau was the snool about the pottage. But how impressive his interview with Pharaoh and his closing scene!—There was great chivalry no doubt in David pouring out the water before the Lord—the chivalry of the Middle Ages, in the antique Jewish way of it. I cannot say I altogether sympathize in it; I wad e'en ha'e ta'en a willy-waucht o' the water.—I like everything that marks the identity of human nature. I am sure that judgment of Solomon's would make a great stir among the women; tongues wad no be idle at Jerusalem."

"About the beginning of 1834," we quote now from a manuscript of the Rev. Mr. Couper of Burntisland, "Dr. Chalmers became the proprietor of a house in this locality, and here, for seven or eight years following, nearly one-half of his time was spent. His liking for the locality was very strong. It was not so bustling then as it is now; but on this account was all the more congenial to his tastes and habits. 'Some people,' he remarked, 'say that this is a dull place; but what they call dull, I call delicious.' His mode of life while here was tolerably uniform and exceedingly simple. The earlier portion of the day he generally devoted to study and correspondence, reserving the afternoon and evening for the society of his family and friends, and for the exercise of walking, in which he took great delight. He had many visitors, not a few of them from other countries; and he scarcely ever failed, when time and weather permitted, to conduct them to his favourite points of view, where he expatiated with wonderful enthusiasm on the varied beauty of the surrounding scenery. It was scarcely possible to take even one short walk with him without perceiving that his capacity of enjoyment was singularly large. He could find beauty everywhere; at least he could single out from the most ordinary scene, some feature or other on which his mind could dwell with interest and pleasure. All the points from which the scenery of this locality could be viewed to most advantage, he knew most thoroughly; and, however interesting the conversation in which he might be engaged, it was sure to be interrupted when any

one of these points was reached. He would pause for a moment —his eye would wander over the landscape, and, with a smile mantling over his countenance, he would give a brief but expressive utterance to his feelings of joy and admiration. The unselfishness of his delight in Nature was very noticeable. He seemed to have a positive affection for the scenes and objects from which he drew so much pure enjoyment—it was as if his heart went out to them. On a calm and bright summer day, I happened to be with him in one of his favourite haunts, the small promontory called Lammerlaws, which forms the eastern portion of the peninsula on which this town is situated—the tide was full, the water rippled gently between the low ledges of rock, and laved the roots of the grass and wild flowers that skirted every little nook. 'I have a great affection for these nooks,' was the characteristic remark that fell from Dr. Chalmers; and in the tone in which it was uttered there was a warmth, and withal a certain indescribable pathos which conveyed at once the impression that he spoke from the fulness of his heart.

"His youthful freshness of feeling imparted a singular charm to his manners and conversation. Even when verging on old age, he was very strikingly characterized by the simplicity of vivacious and unsuspected boyhood. Of this peculiarity he was himself quite conscious, and I have heard him more than once allude to it. Having equipped himself one evening to go to Edinburgh, he appeared to have outgrown his ordinary dimensions—the pockets of his great-coat being well stuffed, I think with books and pamphlets. This occasioned some merriment, in which he heartily joined. Placing his hands on his sides, he went on to say, 'I have now somewhat of the solidity and gravity, and somewhat also of the breadth of middle age; but I can scarcely shake off the feeling of boyhood. I remember, Mr. Couper, when I was a student at St. Andrews, with what profound veneration I regarded the Professors; when I came to be a Professor there myself, I used to wonder if these gilpies could have the same feeling towards me.' I may give another instance equally characteristic. A steep wooded bank overhanging the sea, commences about a mile and a half to the west of Burntisland, and terminates near the village of Aberdour. Here Dr. Chalmers delighted to ramble, and great was his satisfaction when he had one or two friends along with him to explore the Hews—for such is the name of the locality. One day, on reaching the west end of the Hews, we found the gate locked, and, as

we intended to proceed to Aberdour, we had to scale the wall. Dr. Chalmers declined the offer of assistance, feeling assured that he was quite competent to the task himself. He soon succeeded in planting himself on the top of the wall, but felt it expedient to rest for a little before attempting to come down. Perched on this rustic eminence, he felt as if carried back into the scenes of his boyhood, and, looking blandly down upon the companions of his walk, gave vent to his feelings in a very curious and racy strain of observation: the purport of it was that he felt it very difficult to realize his progress in life, and that there was often a great contrast between his feelings and his years. 'When I meet,' he said, 'a respectable matron, who is perhaps a dozen years younger than myself, I feel quite disposed to look up to her with the same sort of veneration that I felt when I was a boy.'

"While engaged in conversation, Dr. Chalmers would occasionally fall into a reverie, which, by those not acquainted with him, was felt to be embarrassing. The reverie, when not broken in upon by others, was generally terminated by the abrupt utterance of some important sentiment which he had been revolving in his mind. Thus, he one day remarked, after we had walked for a while in silence, 'What a blessed thing it is, sir, that it is confidence that is required of us.' At another time, a pretty long pause was broken by his saying with much emphasis, 'I know no point of orthodoxy that is not susceptible of a practical treatment. Take an extreme case—the doctrine that man can do nothing of himself; I would just say, Pray all the harder.' I may record another of the sayings which fell from him in this abrupt but impressive manner; it is one which young ministers especially would do well to ponder. 'It is of great importance to keep up a high tone of pulpit preparation; the efficacy of your private ministrations will depend very much upon it.'

"He often became extremely animated—sometimes even vehement—though conversing with only a single individual. This was especially the case when his mind was occupied with any great question in which he had been led to take a prominent part. He might begin calmly, but as he spoke, 'the fire burned,' and a torrent of glowing eloquence soon came rushing from his lips. I have heard him at a fireside, in the recess of a window, and even while sitting up in bed, break forth in a style of stormy grandeur sufficient to electrify a whole assembly. A scene which

took place in my own study is worthy of being recorded. He called one day with Isaac Taylor, whom he greatly loved for his virtues, and admired for his genius. It was at a time when the Church Extension cause had materially suffered from what Dr. Chalmers regarded as the unscrupulous conduct of men in power; and on this subject he broke forth, not, as he himself would have expressed it, with the vehemence of passion, but with the vehemence of sentiment. His face kindled up, his eye flashed, the tone of his voice became impetuous, and his whole bearing afforded unmistakable indications of the strength of the emotions that were at work within. When he began he was seated about two yards off from Mr. Taylor, but with almost every sentence that he uttered he gave his chair a *hitch* nearer, until the knees of the two were in very close proximity, and Mr. Taylor had to draw himself up and lean back on the wall in order to save his head from the uplifted arm of 'the old man eloquent.' In a few minutes the thunder cloud passed away, and his bland and genial nature beamed forth again with the sunny serenity that usually characterized it.

"He had a wonderful store of anecdotes of which he could avail himself with a happy promptitude, for the illustration of any subject that turned up in conversation, and on such occasions his keen sense of the ludicrous was often evinced with irresistible effect. One evening as we were walking together silently, after I had come to this parish, he was much gratified with the respectful demeanour of the people whom we met, and in particular with the fact (afterwards described by himself in broad Scotch) that 'an auld wife hirsled aff a dyke to mak her courtesy.' Towards the end of our walk, a person having passed without making any sign of recognition, Dr. Chalmers observed, 'I perceive your people don't all recognise you yet. This brings to my mind a story connected with Buckhaven, which, you know, is a peculiar sort of place. It was long, and is yet, to some extent, behind other places in point of civilization; but some few of the inhabitants got a little in advance of the rest. The minister of the parish went one day to solemnize a marriage; he made the bridegroom, of course, promise to be a faithful, loving, and indulgent husband—at least, he put the question to that effect, but could not get him to alter his stiff erect posture. Again and again he repeated the form, but the man remained silent and stiff as ever. A neighbour was present who knew more about the forms and footsteps of the thing, and was con-

sidered to have advanced a little more in civilization than the rest. Enraged at the clownishness of the bridegroom, he stepped forward, gave him a vigorous knock on the back, and said to him with corresponding energy, "Ye brute, can ye no boo to the minister!"' Dr. Chalmers's commentary on this scene was brief but emphatic—'The heavings of incipient civilization, you know.'

"Interesting snatches of his personal history were sometimes brought out in the most natural and incidental manner, as parallels to what had been mentioned in the course of conversation. I happened to tell him the following incident, which I had heard of not long before. At the close of a communion season in the north, *the men* of the parish, being assembled with the ministers who had assisted on the occasion, expressed their satisfaction with the services that had been rendered, and each particular minister received his modicum of applause, with the exception of one, of whose performances not one word was said. He was foolish enough to ask, 'And have you not a good word to say of me?' In order to soothe his feelings, one of the men, who had much of the milk of human kindness, and who was resolved to go as far as truth and honesty would permit, but no farther, said to him with much simplicity, 'Sir, you had fine psalms.' Dr. Chalmers, who was greatly amused with the story, observed that something parallel had occurred in his own experience. While preaching one of the Astronomical Discourses, he noticed among the audience a plain, honest, godly woman who lived in a close off the Gallowgate, and with whom he was well acquainted. She was one of a little company who attended a simple religious service which he sometimes conducted in the neighbourhood. The Doctor felt an irresistible desire to know what Janet thought of the sermon, as he was quite sure that it was above her reach, and he knew that he would not require to ask her opinion, for, being a frank, outspoken person, she would not fail to give it of her own accord. A day or two after, he threw himself in her way. when he soon got what he was in quest of. 'Weel, sir, I was hearing ye in the Laigh Kirk the ither day; I canna say that I liket ye sae weel as in our bit placey here—I canna say that I understood ye a'thegither—but, eh! sir, there was something unco suitable and satisfyin' in the psalms.' Dr. Chalmers was evidently delighted with the thought that her spiritual instinct had fastened on what could really profit her; and that, though she had derived no advantage from his sermon, she had not been sent empty away."

With all his social cheerfulness and beaming joy, there were tokens not a few of an internal conflict—glimpses of an inward desolation which told unmistakably that, like David, he felt himself to be a stranger upon this earth. "I would not live alway," was a sentence often uttered. "What a wilderness the world is to the heart with all it has to inspire happiness! I have a great and growing sense of desolation.* What a marvellous solitude every man bears about with him; and then that other and mysterious seclusion—the intercepting veil between us and the Deity. You would think [speaking in a hesitating tone] that He would delight to manifest Himself to His creatures. No doubt the obstacle must be in the subjective—the clearer the reflecting medium, the brighter the manifestations. That is strikingly put in Matthew, 'The pure in heart, they shall see God.' . . . I look on it as a strong proof of our alienation from God how short a time we can sustain a direct contemplation of Him;—what a mighty transformation when the veil of outer things shall be withdrawn, and we stand naked and alone before Him with whom we have to do!"

Into the peace and rest of the Sabbath Dr. Chalmers entered with a peculiar joy. Besides his usual evening interviews with his children in his study, there was one duty of a peculiar kind thrown always upon the afternoon of this day. He never received the notification of a death without writing to some member of the afflicted family, and these letters of sympathy were always written on the Sabbath evenings. "I take it very kind," he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Chalmers of Dunfermline, "that you have sent me the notice of an event so interesting, though painfully interesting to your family. I know not a more touching expression of confidence from one human being to another, than when the sorrow which oppresses his heart is communicated to his fellow, and this in the expectation that he will sympathize with and share it. This is the only explanation I can give of a feeling which I have long experienced, that whenever I receive the intimation of a death, I am by the very act domesticated with the house of mourning whence it comes, invited in short to partake along with its inmates in the griefs and emotions of our common humanity.

"Give my best regards to Mrs. Chalmers; and with earnest

* "I am conversant more with principles than with persons. I begin to suspect that the intensity of my own pursuits has isolated me from living men, and that there is a want of that amalgamation about me which cements the companionships and closer brotherhoods that obtain in society."—"Horæ Sabbaticæ," vol. i. p. 59.

prayer that these visitations may lead us all to prepare for the eternal and the abiding home of the blessed—I ever am, my dear Sir, yours very truly, ... THOMAS CHALMERS."

On receiving the intimation of the death of J. J. Gurney, Esq., he wrote thus to Mrs. Johnston :*

"EDINBURGH, *January* 17, 1847.

"MY DEAR MRS. JOHNSTON,—This is a very sad and truly solemnizing event. Your letter gave me the first intelligence of it, and I afterwards on the same day read his obituary in the *Universe* Newspaper. The sensation created by his death must be very deep and very general. For myself, I feel it to be a very great personal bereavement—standing as he did among the best and highest of my Christian friends both in respect of intelligence and worth. Ever since 1833, when I spent some days at Earlham, I have had the privilege of enjoying his friendship. Very pleasant was he at all times to me, and the remembrance of him is sweet.

"But what precious alleviations are attendant on the loss of him though near and dear to us—translated from a world of sin and sorrow, and now among the glorified spirits of the just made perfect. I associate with Mr. Gurney almost all the great and good men in England whom I had the happiness of knowing—your dear and venerable father, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, and Mr. Foster, who still survives, and whose acquaintance I made in Dorsetshire: add to these Mrs. Fry. But it is only now that I learned, and from you, of Mr. Hoare's death, who along with Mrs. Hoare (one of the finest specimens of feminine Christianity I ever met) suffered so much from the death of their eldest son. What a lesson does the disappearance of all this society convey; what a call to labour for the meat which endureth, and to disengage our affections from a world that passeth so speedily away!

"I take it exceedingly kind that you should have thought of me on this melancholy occasion. It was very good in you thus to single me out for a letter on a subject which went so near to my heart; and I felt it exceedingly genial when you told me of your dear son, and adverted to his baptism. It gives me a certain sense of the affinity of relationship to you and yours. It is my

* Daughter of Sir T. F. Buxton.

earnest prayer that he may pass through the world uninfected by its profligacy and vices, and that after a manhood of usefulness and honour, he may be admitted to the glories of an everlasting inheritance. Meanwhile, as friends drop away from us, let us draw nearer together—more resolved to befriend and support each other throughout the remainder of this short and uncertain pilgrimage.—Ever believe me, my dear Mrs. Johnston, yours very affectionately and truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER XLV.

FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE.

On the 17th March 1845, Dr. Chalmers made the following entry in his Journal:—"My birth-day; I have got over the half of my seventh decade, being now sixty-five, and have entered on what I call the Sabbath afternoon. My God, may it have a more Sabbatical character than my Sabbath forenoon has had. I would henceforth live wholly unto Thee." The outward Sabbath quiet was not given to him, but there came an increasing gentleness and spirituality which gave few more affecting exhibitions of its depth and tenderness than in the peculiar anxiety which he now manifested for the spiritual welfare of his children. Every reader of his biblical compositions must have been struck with the frequency to which the topic is there reverted to, and the fervour with which so many petitions are presented. His letters of this period present the same characteristics. To his eldest daughter, who, in 1836, had been united in marriage to the writer of these Memoirs, he, in 1841, addressed the following letter:—

"Burntisland, *June* 1, 1841.

"My dear Anne,—This is an important change that has taken place in my state and circumstances, now that I am disengaged from all the public business of the Church. It is true that the time heretofore devoted to this department I could find ample occupation for in the work of literary preparation both for the press and for my Chair; and I shall feel it my duty to do a great deal more, if spared, in each of these walks than I have been able to do hitherto. Yet important as these are, I have the urgent sense of its being a still prior and preferable duty to do all which in me lies, not for my own personal Christianity alone, but for that of my immediate relatives and friends. For these last thirty years, there has been always a strong undercurrent of earnest and anxious feeling in this direction, but sadly impeded and overborne among the fatigues and distractions and

manifold calls on my attention and time to which my various official duties exposed me. These have all been removed, and that which was but an under-current before, I desire, throughout the remainder of my days, to have full and free vent in every possible thing which I can either devise or do for the religious wellbeing whether of myself or of my family. And I do hope that the consideration of the few years (it may be much shorter) which I have to live in this world may incline one and all of them to second my earnest wishes for the good of their imperishable spirits—for the high end, in comparison with which all other objects sink into insignificance, their preferment to that state of blessedness, in which it will be our everlasting employment to glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever.

"I have not forgotten the impression made upon me by a short visit, of some years back, from Dr. Hanna,* and whence I could gather how intimately religion was blended and identified with his moral being—forming part and parcel, as it were, of the element in which he breathed. I am quite sure that when such is the pervading tone of all the inmates in any household, it forms the high road to a well-conditioned and happy family. It is a condition which I long, and with the grace of God will labour, to realize; for Heaven forbid that the purposed Sabbath of my life, which should have commenced sooner and which I trust will only be terminated by death—Heaven forbid that it should be limited in its effects to the selfish object of my own enjoyment, or my own preparation for the happiness of an immortal state. My longing desire is, that others also, and especially those who are nearest and dearest to me, should receive an impulse in the same direction, and be fellow-travellers along with me to a blissful eternity.—I ever am, my dear Anne, yours very affectionately and truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

As one step towards the accomplishment of this longing desire, he commenced a series of monthly letters, a copy of which was to be addressed to each of his daughters. The public demands upon his time, however, became so urgent, that these letters were not continued, and we have only the following specimen to offer:—

"BURNTISLAND, *July* 24, 1841.

"MY DEAR ANNE,—It is true that the Spirit is the alone effectual agent in the work of conversion, and without His agency

* The Rev. Dr. Hanna of Belfast.

nothing can be done to any good purpose. But this doctrine, so far from superseding diligence in the use of means, may supply the alone consideration which can justify that diligence and make it rational. Suppose it were true that in no possible way we could be made savingly to understand the Bible,—then all inducement to the reading of it would be thereby done away. But, instead of this, let us suppose that there was one way, and that was the enlightening of the Spirit given to our prayers,—this would instantly give a meaning and a motive to the exercise of dealing with our Bibles; and the perusal of the sacred volume, accompanied with supplication for light upon it from on high, would instantly become a hopeful and a reasonable employment. And, accordingly, if I were asked to specify the likeliest prescription for the wellbeing and prosperity of the soul, I should say it was a prayerful reading of the Bible.

"That we do stand in need of this supernal aid, we might well be convinced of from daily experience, for without it how often might we read again and again its most familiar and best known passages, and yet remain blind all the while to the veriest simplicities of God's Word. I was much struck with this when reading the evidence of Mr. Purves of Jedburgh the other day on the subject of revivals. . . . What impressed me in it was, how seldom, after all, faith in God's sayings, which is surely a very obvious, simple, and intelligible idea—how seldom it is realized by any of us. People think they believe in them, because they so far acquiesce as not to gainsay them; and yet with this acquiescence, an acquiescence so resolute and strong, that you would be shocked to utter aught in contradiction to them, there may yet be no faith. For let there be but belief in the Gospel, and where lies the hindrance to peace, joy, confidence in the good-will of a reconciled Father even at this moment? Why postpone all this? Why not rely on the good tidings of great joy, and be glad accordingly? How long shall we put off trusting in God for that redemption which is through the blood of Jesus, even the forgiveness of sin? It may startle you to be told, that this last question is tantamount to the following:—How long shall we persist in holding God to be a liar? He himself distinctly reduces it to this alternative. He tells us of the record that He has given of His Son, even that He has given us eternal life, and that this life is in his His Son; and He complains of being made a liar by all who won't believe this (John v. 10, 11). This one might think is bringing salva-

tion very near to us. It is telling us to take and live, to trust and be satisfied. On this footing, and it is the true one, there should be an instant translation from death to life, from darkness to the marvellous light of the Gospel. Let us not think that the way of being washed from our sins is anything more complex or circuitous than this, else we fall into the error of Naaman the Syrian, when told to wash him from his leprosy in the waters of Jordan. We are washed from our sins through the blood of Christ (Rev. i. 5). But this is through faith in His blood (Rom. iii. 25). Let us so believe, and so shall it be done unto us. These are plain sayings,—yet how few think of a salvation so nigh, and so placed by God within our reach, even that God who offers and entreats, and beseeches and commands, nay, threatens it upon our acceptance. What need of prayer, then, that the scales might fall from our eyes, which hinder us from seeing this great salvation, and from beholding the wondrous things contained in the book of God's law. Read and pray then; ask till you receive, seek till you find, knock till the door be opened to you, and, to hasten the wished for consummation, chide yourself out of your unbelief by the consideration that it is dishonouring to God's truth. For the opposite of this, read Rom. iv. 19-23, and learn from this passage how thoroughly God's glory and your comfort are at one. May you obtain precious faith. May Christ be found in you.—I am, my dear Anne, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Although a systematic correspondence was relinquished, there was no diminution, but the reverse, in the solicitude felt for his children's religious welfare. This was touchingly educed by the death of a beloved infant in my own family.

"DUNKELD, *April* 30, 1842.

"MY VERY DEAR ANNE,—This is a sad privation; and I cannot adequately express how much we all feel for you. I have often marvelled at the forbearance of God, in that though for nearly thirty years a family man, death should for all that time have made no inroad upon my own household; and little did I expect that the first of these visitations was to be on the persons of my grandchildren—you being the nearest and the principal sufferer. May He sustain, and above all, may He sanctify you under it; and superadding the influences of His grace to the

affecting demonstrations of His providence, may this heavy trial, not joyous but grievous, yield unto you abundantly the peaceable fruits of righteousness.

"Perhaps a very few lines from your own hand could inform us how you all are, and in particular Tommy, who is the object of great anxiety to us all, and for whose recovery and establishment of health I daily pray.

"The present, if I may so express it, is a great occasion, and may, in the hands of the Divine Spirit, become a great era in your spiritual history. For myself, I have no doubt that your babe is in heaven—where those smiles which gladdened you here may again open upon you. The pitying Saviour who loved children, loves and welcomes all who approach Him:—to Him would I commit you. Cast yourself on Him, and He will give you a place and a mansion in His unsuffering kingdom.

"I offer you these considerations, for there are none other but such as these which can be of any real or abiding efficacy. As Wilberforce says, the faith of immortality gives to every mind which cherishes it a certain firmness of texture. Lay hold, then, of eternal life, by laying hold of Christ as your propitiation. And may the fruit of this bitter dispensation be the work of faith in you with power.

"'Whom God loveth he chasteneth.' I remember being much struck many years ago with an exposition of John xv. 2, by Dr. Campbell of Edinburgh. Our Saviour there says of the great spiritual husbandman, that 'every branch which beareth fruit he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit.' He pruneth it; he cuts off some of its lateral or smaller branches, that the vegetable juice may not run to luxuriance in a wrong direction, but may so pervade the whole as will contribute most to the nourishment and vigour of the tree. And in like manner do our affections move sideways or downwardly to the objects which are on earth and around us; and God, in the exercise of a wise and skilful husbandry, is often pleased to sever or cut off these objects, that our affections may take an upward and a heavenward direction to Himself. May such be your blessed experience; and the medicine, though severe, will prove salutary, and the instrument of health to your soul.

"Give my best and most affectionate regards to Mamma and Mr. Hanna; and tell dear Tommy how much I love him, and pray for his being good.

"May God, the giver of all grace, fix and perpetuate every

good impression which the events of His providence are fitted to awaken.—I am, my very dear Anne, yours most affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

In 1839, Dr. Chalmers's second daughter was married to the Rev. John Mackenzie, at that time minister of the parish of Dunkeld in Perthshire. Immediately after the marriage he proceeded on his Church Extension tour in the north of Scotland, from which he writes to Mrs. Mackenzie :—

"INVERNESS, *August* 28, 1839.

"MY DEAREST ELIZA,—. . . But let me stop all further description of my travels, and conclude this letter with the expression of my earnest wishes for your highest wellbeing. I have often felt it as one great evil of too public a life, that it dissevered one from his family; and when I think how highly favoured I have been, in that, though twenty-seven years a family-man, I have never yet been exposed in my household to the visitation of death, I deeply feel that such a lengthened opportunity should have been consecrated more to the culture and preparation of those immortal spirits over whom I am appointed to watch. Let me hope that you will not in your new circumstances neglect this greatest of all concerns; and while I am far from wishing that you should overtask yourself with the duties either of the house or of the parish, I cannot but rejoice that you are so much in the way of all that stands most connected with the things of faith and of eternity. With the aim fixed on a better world, not only is the happiness of the future but that of the present life most effectually provided for; and the power of him who has chosen God in Christ for his portion is in itself a fulfilment of the saying, that godliness hath the promise of the life which now is as well as of that which is to come.—I am, my dearest Eliza, yours very affectionately.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"BURNTISLAND, *September* 28, 1841.

"MY DEAREST ELIZA,—There is doubtless much of the reserve that obtains in conversation on religious subjects to be ascribed to our state of spiritual inanition. It is out of the fulness or abundance of the heart that the mouth speaketh; and, therefore, it is necessary that the reformation of this matter be rightly gone about—that we begin at the beginning. It is with this as with

every other department of practical Christianity. Whatever good fruit we are aiming after, we must make the tree good that the fruit may be good. It is well that our sense of want and helplessness should thus throw us back on the deep and fundamental articles of our faith, and that we should thus be made to see in every attempt at being right, another experimental proof of the doctrine of regeneration, or of the necessity that, to be as we ought, we must be born again and become new creatures.

"I feel that this is being very general; but not more so than that most pregnant of all verses, 'God will give His Spirit to them who ask it.' Let us cry, therefore, as we can; and it is as you say, to prayer we must add watchfulness—watchfulness for the Spirit as well as prayer for Him. And this gives me to feel the special importance of the last clause of Eph. vi. 18—'watching *thereunto* with all perseverance.'

"Still it is furthermore of mighty importance to learn what are our specific wants, that we may state them specifically before God, and that we may afterwards watch as specifically for the supply thereof. Believest thou that I am able to do *this?* was the question put by our Saviour to the man who asked a cure, and according to his particular faith, so was it done unto him. Whatever the impediment or infirmity may be, let us ascertain it, and pray for its removal. This will give rise to that process of discipline and cultivation in which what is called experimental religion mainly lies. I have had several talks with the children here, and am not discouraged by the results of these.—I am, my dearest Eliza, yours very affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

From the letters to his eldest unmarried daughter, who possessed much of his own genius, we select the following:—

"EDINBURGH, *November* 17, 1838.

"MY DEAREST GRACE,—I received your valued letter; and, in return, I have to say, that the first essential to a pleasant and productive employment of your time is, the regular and systematic distribution of it. This does not supersede the relaxations of society, domestic concerns, light reading, and exercise out of doors. The truth is, that the zest of the last is greatly heightened by the previous tension and fatigue which you may have incurred throughout those parts of the day which are given

to the more serious pursuits of instruction and self-improvement. Regulate your hours, then; for it were quite vain to offer any advice to those who will not relinquish the habit of living at random, and living as they list.

"With this as my great preliminary advice, I would further recommend—1. That the first time of your day should be devoted to religious meditation and prayer, both of which would be mightily helped by a little serious practical reading. Of course, I suppose a regular progress through the Bible; but, over and above this, a pious practical commentary, though only of a single verse each morning, might tell impressively on the heart. I give as samples, 'Bridges on the 119th Psalm,' 'Horne on the Psalms,' Doddridge's 'Family Expositor,' Scott's and Henry's 'Bibles.' The same in the evening as well as morning.

"2. One or two hours of solid reading—such as the Evidences of Christianity—its doctrines expanded so as to suit a general reader; as 'Symington on the Atonement;' 'Owen on the Work of the Holy Spirit;' 'Owen on the Person of Christ,' &c. Intellectual literature—as Reid's, Stewart's, and even Brown's 'Works;' Foster's 'Essays;' 'Chalmers on Endowments and Establishments,' &c. &c.

"3. All proper female work—as the management of cow-heels in the kitchen, and stocking-heels in the drawing-room; the making of puddings in the one place, and of pin-cushions in the other; the orderly arrangement of all your articles in drawers, and on mantelpieces, and table-heads; the proper keeping of accounts, with as much letter-writing as is incumbent upon you.

"4. After standing acquitted of these, I give you great license as to all proper and innocent recreations; and I ask you to make trial for a week of the regularity I now prescribe, and see whether there is not a charm in it which might well convince us of the immense resources both for improvement and enjoyment that have been placed within our reach by a kind Providence.

"*N.B.*—I would rank biography and even history as light reading, along with imaginative literature, such as poetry and a few good and right novels. I will allow you, however, to make Cowper's 'Poems' and 'Paradise Lost' tell for solid reading. Tell me what you think of Thomson's 'Seasons.'

"And now my last advice to you is, self-denial, or the habit of giving up your own will first to the will of God; and then, in things lawful, even in things indifferent, to the will of others

also. I promise you the greatest enjoyment from the success of such a discipline; and remember what I have often felt to be a most precious connexion between two things in Christianity—the connexion between obedience and spiritual discernment, in virtue of which I should look, as the fruit of the sacrifice that I now recommend, for a clearer view of the Gospel and its method of salvation.—Yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"EDINBURGH, *January* 20, 1842.

"MY VERY DEAR GRACE,—I am exceedingly struck, on the comparison of your state with mine, at the variety of human states and experiences. I have no difficulty in filling up every hour with business, and business, too, which stands related to duty and good objects, and be interested all the while in the performance. But I do feel a great difficulty in upholding converse with God directly and devotionally; or in the immediate exercise of spiritual contemplation for any length of time. Now your case seems to be the reverse of this. I have heard you complain that you could not feel an interest in the routine of outward duties, while, at the same time, for hours together you could engage in prayer and meditation. For myself, I feel the utmost desirousness after such a habit and capacity as this—conscious as I am how very greatly I am deficient therein; and when reading such lives as those of Brainerd and Doddridge, have often stood amazed, I could almost say envious of their power to sustain a real and spiritual intercourse with Heaven for large portions of a whole day. At the same time, it is worthy of remark that even Brainerd testified to the great importance of a right and systematic distribution of time, and filling up each section of it with its own proper work, even for a healthful religious state of the soul.

"Both are best; and of the cultivation of both we have the best and highest examples. What a man both of performance and prayers was the apostle Paul; but, greatest of all, can aught be more instructive than the mingled life of our Saviour, of whom it is so often recorded that, after a day spent in the works and labours of love, He retired from the world, and spent whole nights in prayer to His Father, the doing of whose will was meat and drink to Him. Let us grow more and more in a conformity to His blessed image.—My dearest Grace, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"Gourock House, near Greenock, *July* 24, 1845.

"My very dear Grace,—I have not forgotten your birthday; and it is my fond belief, that both you and I are alive to the solemn thoughts which the recurrence of every such occasion ought to awaken. There is, in truth, a great practical delusion in the prevalent system of human life. We look at things as if by an inverted vision—investing time with all the worth and magnitude of eternity; while eternity, as if by the optical law of distance, shrinks into the littleness and insignificance of time. This is not as it should be; and to protect ourselves from the enchantment of such a treacherous and delusive imagination, let us ever keep by the side of Him who alone has the words and the gift of life everlasting. All would be well did we but attain the habit of the Apostle, in living a life of faith on the Son of God.—Ever believe me, my very dear Grace, yours very affectionately, Thomas Chalmers."

Dr. Chalmers's correspondence with his grandson, my eldest child, began early, and was frequently sustained, as the reader of the following letters will find, in circumstances not a little peculiar:—

"Burntisland, *June* 22, 1841.

"My dear Tommy,—This is the longest day in all the year, and it is also the day of the year in which you were born. This day you are four years old, and we have not forgotten it.

"As you grow in years, you should grow in knowledge and understanding; but what is still better than this, you should grow in goodness, and pray every day that God would give you His Holy Spirit to make you good. . . .

"Give all our kind regards to papa and mamma, and in reply to this letter you may say a letter to me back again, which mamma will write.—I am, my very dear Tom, your affectionate grandfather, Thomas Chalmers."

"Burntisland, *July* 22, 1841.

"My dear Tommy,—I am very sorry to hear that you have got sore eyes again, and are obliged to sit, poor fellow, in a dark room. But they tell me you are happy; and I think it quite a possible thing to be happy even when not well and in the dark. There is one way of being happy, and that is the best way of it, which is to thinkly rightly, and think much of God. He is all goodness; He made you and He loves you, and,

though you do not see Him, He is not far from you, but sees everything you do, and hears everything you say. We shall see Him when we get to heaven; and there is no sorrow, no wickedness there. You can at all times pray to Him; and one thing you should often pray for is, that He would make you good, and so fit you for His company and His friendship for evermore.... I am, my very dear boy, your most affectionate grandfather, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"EDINBURGH, *December* 30, 1841.

"MY DEAR LITTLE TOMMY,—Why do you like your hobby-horse better than grandpapa?* You tell me because it is bigger than him; but so are the haystack and the hill that you see from the window, and any house in the village,—these are all bigger than grandpapa, and will you tell me that you don't like grandpapa so well as you do a house, or a hill, or a haystack! And besides, the hobby-horse cannot write letters to you like grandpapa, neither can he buy toys for you and send them from Edinburgh to Skirling; neither can he show you pictures, or do for you any of those things which you best like. Therefore give up this foolish argument about bigness, and learn to like things for a better reason than the mere size of them.

"And what grandpapa would rejoice to hear that you liked best, was that you loved God with all your heart and soul. It is He who made all things, and gives us all things that we enjoy. He is the author of all our happiness here, and if we please Him, He will make us eternally happy with Himself in heaven. Give Samuel a kiss from me, and offer my kind love to your mamma.—I am, my dear little boy, your affectionate grandpapa, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*January* 11, 1841.

"MY DEAR LITTLE BOY,—I have two things to say to you:—First, you must now learn to speak less like a baby,—not *grandpa*, but grandpapa; not *gate*, but great; not *lickle*, but little. Recollect you are no longer a babe, but a boy, and you must leave off your baby words for Samuel Robert, and speak yourself like a man. But secondly, however fond you are of toys—and I like to see you happy in an innocent way, remem-

* "Dear little Tommy said that he liked his hobby-horse better than me; but retracted this afterwards, and said that he only liked it as well now."—*Dr. Chalmers's Journal, of date* 17*th December* 1841.

ber that you must prepare for the business of life; and one of the first things you must learn is to read. The greatest use of reading is to know the words of the Bible; its words are of far higher worth than its pictures. The God whom it is your duty to please and obey wrote all these words by the hands of His servants; and all good people learn, by reading this book, the way to heaven: and you should learn now how to begin, and what you must do to inherit eternal life there. Jesus Christ likes young children, and you should think of Him, and pray to God for His sake to make you good and willing to do all His will. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"BURNTISLAND, *July* 8, 1844.

"MY DEAR TOMMY,—I have just seen a sight which if you had been present, would, I daresay, have frightened you. I went down the pier to see Dr. Cunningham off in the steam-boat, which had just come from the other side. A gig-horse, with all its harness on, was taken out of the boat and landed on the pier; but it refused to go any farther, and when the men tried to pull it by its bridle forward, it went backwards till its hind feet got beyond the edge of the pier, and down it fell with a tremendous plunge into the deep water. We all ran to the edge of the pier to see what had become of it. I knew that horses could swim, but then I was afraid lest the weight of the harness should have sunk it; and to be sure it was very near sinking, for with holding up its head as high as it could, it scarcely kept its ears and nostrils for breathing above the water; and, poor stupid thing, instead of swimming to the shore, it swam out to the sea,—upon which some men ran into a little boat and rowed with all their might, and, by means of a long boat-hook, got hold of its bridle and towed it after them to the end of the pier,—upon which it got, with some difficulty, on its four legs, and was led, all dripping, up to its stable. . . .

"Be a good boy,—fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man.—I am, my dear Tom, your affectionate grandfather, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"CHURCHHILL DINING-ROOM,* *March* 17, 1845.

"MY VERY DEAR TOMMY,—This is my birth-day, and I beg

* As scarlet fever was in the family at Morningside, it was thought advisable to separate it into two sections, one of which occupied the upper or drawing-room story of the house, and the other the dining-room story. For some days, no intercourse was permitted. It was while matters were in this condition that the two following letters were written.

to send you my best wishes—hoping that if God please, you will have a longer life than grandpapa. Our Father in heaven is the giver and preserver of the lives of every one of us....

"Be a good boy, and do not forget to thank God in your prayers for all His goodness to you.—I am, my dear Tommy, your affectionate grandpapa, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"To Master Thomas Chalmers Hanna, *Back Drawing-Room.*"

"DINING-ROOM, *March* 18, 1845.

"MY DEAREST TOMMY,—When I arrived in Edinburgh yesterday I first went to the library, and got out a very amusing book for you—Gulliver's Travels. . . . It is not a true history, but just a story, or stories, made for the reader's entertainment. Gulliver first travels to the country of the Lilliputians, where the men and women are not bigger than grandpapa's fore-finger, and the babies not bigger than your little toe, and where they drive about in coaches not near so large as a tea-pot. He then travels to a country inhabited by giants to whom Gulliver is as little a creature as the Lilliputians were to him; why, they can take him up with one hand and swing him back and fore upon one of their fingers. Then he travels to a floating island called Laputa; but I am not sure that you will care so much for this part of the story. And then he travels to a country where instead of the men commanding the horses, the horses command the men. I don't like this part so well as I do his travels among the Lilliputians.

"Be a good boy, and remember how much you owe to Him who has made you so much better.—I ever am, my dear Tom, your affectionate grandpapa, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"To Master Thomas Chalmers Hanna, *Back Drawing-Room.*"

"FAIRLIE, BY LARGS, *June* 22, 1845.

"MY VERY DEAR TOMMY,—Though this be Sabbath, I write you a few sentences, because this is your birth-day; and I wish to take the opportunity of pressing upon you the consideration of the shortness of life, and nearness of your latter end. You are now eight years old; and I want you to reflect seriously on this, that every year by which you get older, brings you a year nearer to death than you were before. It is therefore my earnest prayer, that as you grow in years and in stature, you may grow in grace and in the knowledge of your Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and I would earnestly warn you to remember your Creator in

the days of your youth, lest the evil days come, when you shall say, I have no pleasure in them. I shall now leave this letter open till to-morrow, when I mean to write some more to you.

"*Monday morning.*

"You are now eight years old, and I am more than eight times older than you—for eight times eight make sixty-four, and I am sixty-five; but I can assure you, that though you should live to be as old as I am, it is your highest interest, as well as solemn duty, to begin your preparation for eternity now, to make no delay in keeping the commandments, and observing the whole will of God for the salvation of man.

"Give my kind regards to papa and mamma. I should like if I could come soon to Skirling. Perhaps I will in autumn.—I am, my very dear Tommy, your most affectionate grandfather,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"CHURCHILL, *June* 22, 1846.

"MY DEAR NINE-OLDER,—I write you because this is your birth-day, and because it is my earnest wish and prayer, that by every year you become older you may become so much better and wiser. And let me tell you, that the beginning of wisdom is to fear God and keep His commandments. There is only one book in the world which is able to make you wise unto salvation, and far the greatest use for learning is that it enables you to read the Bible. Read it with a good and honest heart, and pray that God would open your understanding to understand it; and by His blessing you will attain to that knowledge of Himself, and of His Son, which is life everlasting.

"I am more than seven times older than you, and yet when I look back on my past life, and I remember when I was so young as three, I feel that time is very short. But eternity is long, and will never end; and be assured that to provide for it is the best and highest of all wisdom.

"I wish you had been at Craigholm with us, where I lately spent three weeks. The railroad cuts the green into two parts not far from our house. But we can go from the one part to the other under an arch, and I should like to stand in that arch with you at the time when the steam-engine and all the carriages are passing and rattling over our heads.—Believe me, my dear Tommy, your very affectionate grandpapa,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"P.S.—I have got so many new books that I have completely filled G e. There are only two and a half shelves now to fill in G, and when these are filled I must put away any more books I get into the empty shelves of the closet. Next time you come we must overhaul the old books and pamphlets that are in the garret.*—T. C.

"Another very curious thing I have to tell you of—a bird's nest in one of our strawberry tufts, near the corner where your old garden was. I looked several times both to the eggs and afterwards to the birds. I was much afraid lest our black cat should find them out and eat them: however it did not, and the birds had leave to grow, till their wings have been formed for flight, and now they are off. But the nest is still there; and I hope to show it to you when you come next. I never saw a bird's nest in a bunch of strawberry leaves all my days before."

* Dr. Chalmers imagined that the earliest faculty developed in his grandson was the love of order, to cultivate which he had set times appointed when they arranged together the works of the library. On the Sabbath evenings he always had Tommy alone with him in his study. Beginning the conversation with the "reddings up," or some topic equally remote, Dr. Chalmers found his way at last to speak to him about religion. They then knelt down together, when he prayed that he himself might be a true child of God, and his little grandson a lamb of the Saviour's flock; that his health might be improved; that his eyes (weak at the time) might not trouble him in after life; that whatever happened with his bodily vision, the eyes of his understanding might be opened to the knowledge of Jesus Christ; that he might be made in God's hand an instrument for good; and that when they both died and rose again, they might stand side by side on the right hand of the everlasting throne.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE SUCCESS OF THE FREE CHURCH—FINAL VERDICT OF DR. CHALMERS ON VOLUNTARYISM—THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF EDUCATION—PAPER DRAWN UP BY DR. CHALMERS—EVIDENCE BEFORE THE SITES COMMITTEE—VISIT TO LONDON AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE—RETURN TO EDINBURGH—HIS LAST SABBATH—HIS DEATH.

THE erection of the Free Church was hailed by the Voluntaries as a triumphant evidence that state endowments are not needed for the support or extension of Christianity. And there were not a few of their former adversaries who, surprised and impressed by the generosity which the Disruption elicited, were disposed to modify their former conceptions as to the limited power and range of the Voluntary principle. Although Dr. Chalmers did not partake in their surprise, he threw his mind open to any new convictions which the history of the Free Church might originate or confirm. He was not prepared at the instant to cast his old convictions away, but he was ready to admit whatever light this new experience might supply. At the Bicentenary Meeting held at Edinburgh in July 1843, he said, "I confess a keener scientific interest in this question than ever, now that Voluntaryism, brought to the test of experience, is fully put upon its trial; I for one will make it my strenuous endeavour to do it all justice, by drawing on its resources and capabilities to the uttermost. The most direct way surely of giving it a trial is just to try how much it will yield after that a full and fair appliance has been brought to bear upon it. It is but justice to add, that we are now in the very thick of the experiment. We call upon Voluntaryism to open all its fountain-heads, even though it should land us in the predicament of the well-digger, who succeeded so amply in his attempts to obtain water, that he made a narrow escape from drowning in the abundance of those rushing streams which he himself had evoked from their hiding-places. Now, though my own theory should incur by it the semblance, nay, even if so be, the reality of a defeat or confutation, I for one should most heartily rejoice if

Voluntaryism, playing upon us in every direction, shall make such demonstrations of its exuberance and its power as well-nigh to submerge myself and utterly to overwhelm my argument."

Dr. Chalmers only lived to see this trial of Voluntaryism to the close of its fourth year. And looking at the aspect which the Free Church presented in May 1847, the Voluntaries might confidently enough have asserted that the verdict of experience was in their favour; for here was a Christian community not of the wealthiest classes, upon which 470 clergymen had suddenly been thrown, and which had not only accepted and fulfilled the obligation to sustain them, but in four years had added 250 more to the regular ministry which it upheld. At a cost of upwards of £450,000, it had erected churches for all its congregations, and in addition to this had subscribed £100,000 to build manses for all its ministers. It had instituted a College with nine Professorships, to each of which a salary of from £300 to £400 per annum was attached. It had 340 students under education for the holy office, among whom bursaries and scholarships to the amount of £700 had been distributed in a single year. By a single effort it had raised £50,000 for the building of 500 school-houses, and it had already connected with it about 600 schools, in which nearly as many children were instructed in the ordinary branches of education as were in attendance at all the endowed parochial schools of Scotland. For the teaching and training of schoolmasters it had two extensive normal establishments in Glasgow and Edinburgh. At home 110 licentiates and 116 catechists were engaged in the spiritual instruction of the people, while abroad it had agents labouring in every quarter of the habitable globe. At Pesth, at Jassy, at Berlin, at Constantinople, seventeen missionaries and assistants were endeavouring to promote the conversion of the Jews. At Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Puna, and Nagpur, it supported fifteen European clergymen ordained as missionaries, nine converted natives engaged in the work of the Christian ministry, and a large band of teachers and assistants, both native and European, from whom 4000 Indian children were receiving a complete Christian education. In Nova Scotia, the Canadas, the West Indies, the Cape, Australia, Madeira, Malta, Leghorn, and Gibraltar, there were ministers supported in whole or in part by the bounty of the Free Church, while £1000 per annum had been intrusted to the Evangelical Societies of France and of Geneva, to aid in circulating the Gospel over the Continent

of Europe. In 1847, the Free Church raised for educational and missionary objects three times as much as the united Church of Scotland did in 1843. It had continued for four years to yield the princely revenue of £300,000, and in that short period had contributed about a million and a half to the Christian cause.* The annals of Voluntaryism present no instance of like success: yet bringing it to the test which he constantly employed, and which he believed to be the only true and legitimate one, Dr. Chalmers's final verdict was unfavourable. "I can afford," said he, "to say no more than that my hopes of an extended Christianity from the efforts of Voluntaryism alone have *not* been brightened by my experience since the Disruption. This is no reason why we should seek an alliance with the State by a compromise of the Church's spiritual independence; and still less with a Government which, on the question of endowments, disclaims all cognisance of the merits of that religion on which it confers support, and makes no distinction between the true and the false, between the scriptural and the unscriptural. Still it may be a heavy misfortune—it may prove a great moral calamity—when a Government does fall into what, speaking in the terms of my own opinion, I hold to be the dereliction of a great and incumbent duty. And ere I am satisfied that Voluntaryism will repair the mischief, I must first see the evidences of its success in making head against the fearfully increased heathenism, and increasing still, that accumulates at so fast a rate throughout the great bulk and body of the common people. We had better not say too much on the pretensions or the powers of Voluntaryism, till we have made some progress in reclaiming the wastes of ignorance and irreligion and profligacy which so overspread our land; or till we see whether the congregational selfishness which so predominates everywhere, can be prevailed on to make larger sacrifices for the Christian good of our general population. Should their degeneracy increase to the demolition, at length, of the present framework of society, and this in spite of all that the most zealous Voluntaryism can do to withstand it, it will form a most striking experimental demonstration of the vast importance of Christian Governments for the Christian good of the world. The lights of experience and pro-

* Assuming the number of families in her connexion to be 400,000, and their average income to be £50 per annum, the revenue of the Free Church, at the time of her greatest pecuniary efforts, did not exceed three per cent. upon the income of her members. Applied elsewhere, this method of calculation indicates how small a portion of its wealth the Christian world dedicates to the cause of Christianity.

phecy will be found to harmonize, when, after what may be called the horrors of the middle passage, the desolating flood of anarchy and misrule that is coming on the earth—the millennium will at length emerge from it; but then, in conjunction therewith, the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; or, in other words, the Governments of the world shall all be Christianized.

"It seems very clear that internal Voluntaryism will not, of itself, do all, and, with all the vaunted prosperity of the Free Church, we do not find that external Voluntaryism will either make up the deficiencies of the former, or, still less, of itself, do all either.... We rejoice, therefore, in the testimony of the Free Church for the principle of a National Establishment, and most sincerely do we hope that she will never fall away from it. Little do those of her enemies, who, at the same time, are the friends of loyalty and order—(for, besides these, we can rank many of the turbulent and disaffected in society as among the deadliest of her enemies)—little do they know that the Free Church is at this moment lifting a far more influential testimony on the side of ecclesiastical endowments than can possibly be given in any other quarter of society. Hers is a wholly disinterested testimony in their favour, for she reaps no advantage from them; but, sorely aggrieved though she has been by our rulers, she will neither underrate the importance of their friendship, nor yet the solemn obligation which lies upon them to care for the religion of the people, and to provide within their sphere for this best and highest interest of the commonwealth."*

In the spring of 1847, the Free Church was agitated by a discussion relative to the Government scheme of education. By their Minutes of August and December 1846, the Committee of Council on Education offered grants to all schools indiscriminately which should submit to the conditions—that they should be visited regularly by a Government Inspector; that the Holy Scriptures should be daily read; and that such religious instruction as the managers approved of should be communicated. A difference of opinion arose as to whether the Free Church should permit any of the schools in connexion with her own Education Scheme to accept of grants tendered upon such terms, and considerable difficulty was experienced as to the judgment which the Church should express upon the general character of the Government measure. Viewing the question as an ecclesiastic,

* "Earnest Appeal," pp. 52, 53.

and for the purpose mainly of deciding what part the Free Church should take, and what attitude she should assume, Dr. Chalmers transmitted the following expression of his opinion to Dr. Cunningham :—

"Morningside, Edinburgh, *April* 3, 1847.

"My dear Sir,—I promised to write you on the Education question, for I am quite willing on every occasion to state my opinions, though I may no longer fight for them, and must, therefore, be excused from being present at the Presbytery. But really I am at a loss what to say. I wait for more data than we are yet in possession of. I would infinitely rather that, *in hoc statu*, the Presbytery would not take up the question at all. I deprecate every precipitate and premature committal of ourselves, and would prize it as a signal honour for the Free Church, if, when it did come forward, it was with a well-weighed and unexceptional deliverance upon this great question.

"1. I feel no hesitation as to the wrongness of an indiscriminate endowment, if it carry in it the expression of an equal countenance by the Legislature to all forms of religion. I believe that there are modifications upon their scheme by which this might be done away, so as to give no other character to the movement on the part of the State, than a desire for the elevation of the people in general intelligence and scholarship—an object which we should no more resist than the object of public health, or economic improvement, or any other amelioration that can be devised for the temporal wellbeing of the masses in our land.

"2. Again, I would not object to a most strenuous recommendation of every exertion being made in each of our Free Church localities for the support of our own schools. None would more sincerely rejoice than I should, if, by the liberal contributions given to our educational scheme, the popular endowment were to supersede the necessity for a State endowment altogether. To avoid the hazard, or even the semblance of any mischief, and I am hopeful that it is but a semblance, yet, to avoid even this, I should look upon it as a higher position, if we could draw all our means for a sound education to our families from the liberality of our Christian friends, rather than from the public treasury.

"3. I am inclined to hold that the Free Church fully acquits herself of all that she owes on the score of principle by her honest and fearless testimony under the first head, and her earnest re-

commendations under the second. Should the recommendation, however, not take full effect, and should Government at the same time abstain from all control over our methods, and although they inspected as much as they had a mind to, I would be far from laying an authoritative interdict on the managers in any of our localities against their availing themselves of Government aid. I would therefore leave the determination of this question in each particular case to the consciences of those who have to do with it.

"4. And let it ever be recollected that if we should come to any deliverance at all, it must be a very peculiar one, and very different from that of our dissenting Voluntaries. It is my earnest prayer that the Free Church may be rightly guided in this matter.—Ever believe me, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

"REV. DR. CUNNINGHAM."

During the last few months of his life the subject of national education was much upon Dr. Chalmers's mind. Convinced that the Free Church, or any other Church, was as unlikely by its voluntary efforts to supply the educational, as it was to supply the spiritual wants of the country, that what would have been the best system for the Government to adopt was no longer practicable, and anxious that public aid in some large and effective way should be extended, he had pondered the problem as to the course which, under existing circumstances, the Government should pursue. His views, the fruit of much previous consideration, were stated by him in conversation to Mr. Fox Maule, and other members of Her Majesty's Government, whom he met in London in May. Mr. Maule having requested that he would embody them in writing, he took advantage of a day's leisure while living with his sister, Mrs. Morton, in Gloucestershire, on his way home, to comply with this request. The following paper, prepared under these circumstances, and with this object, was written about a week before his death, and comes to us sealed with the impressive characteristic of being the last formal expression of his judgment on any great public question.

"It were the best state of things that we had a Parliament sufficiently theological to discriminate between the right and the wrong in religion, and to encourage or endow accordingly. But failing this, it seems to us the next best thing, that in any public measure for helping on the education of the people, Government

were to abstain from introducing the element of religion at all into their part of the scheme, and this not because they held the matter to be insignificant—the contrary might be strongly expressed in the preamble of their act; but on the ground that, in the present divided state of the Christian world, they would take no cognisance of, just because they would attempt no control over, the religion of applicants for aid—leaving this matter entire to the parties who had to do with the erection and management of the schools which they had been called upon to assist. A grant by the State upon this footing might be regarded as being appropriately and exclusively the expression of their value for a good secular education.

"The confinement for the time being of any Government measure for schools to this object we hold to be an imputation, not so much on the present state of our Legislature, as on the present state of the Christian world, now broken up into sects and parties innumerable, and seemingly incapable of any effort for so healing these wretched divisions as to present the rulers of our country with aught like such a clear and unequivocal majority in favour of what is good and true, as might at once determine them to fix upon and to espouse it.

"It is this which has encompassed the Government with difficulties, from which we can see no other method of extrication than the one which we have ventured to suggest. And as there seems no reason why, because of these unresolved differences, a public measure for the health of all—for the recreation of all—for the economic advancement of all—should be held in abeyance, there seems as little reason why, because of these differences, a public measure for raising the general intelligence of all should be held in abeyance. Let the men, therefore, of all churches and all denominations alike hail such a measure, whether as carried into effect by a good education in letters or in any of the sciences; and, meanwhile, in these very seminaries, let that education in religion which the Legislature abstains from providing for, be provided for as freely and amply as they will by those who have undertaken the charge of them.

"We should hope, as the result of such a scheme, for a most wholesome rivalship on the part of many in the great aim of rearing on the basis of their respective systems a moral and Christian population, well taught in the principles and doctrines of the Gospel, along with being well taught in the lessons of ordinary scholarship. Although no attempt should be made to

regulate or to enforce the lessons of religion in the inner hall of legislation, this will not prevent, but rather stimulate to a greater earnestness in the contest between truth and falsehood—between light and darkness—in the outer field of society; nor will the result of such a contest in favour of what is right and good be at all the more unlikely, that the families of the land have been raised by the helping hand of the State to a higher platform than before, whether as respects their health, or their physical comfort, or their economic condition, or, last of all, their place in the scale of intelligence and learning.

"Religion would, under such a system, be the immediate product, not of legislation, but of the Christian and philanthropic zeal which obtained throughout society at large. But it is well when what legislation does for the fulfilment of its object tends not to the impediment, but rather, we apprehend, to the furtherance of those greater and higher objects which are in the contemplation of those whose desires are chiefly set on the immortal wellbeing of man.

"On the basis of these general views I have two remarks to offer regarding the Government Scheme of Education.

"1. I should not require a certificate of satisfaction with the religious progress of the scholars from the managers of the schools, in order to their receiving the Government aid. Such a certificate from Unitarians or Catholics implies the direct sanction or countenance by Government to their respective creeds, and the responsibility, not of *allowing*, but more than this, of *requiring*, that these shall be taught to the children who attend. A bare allowance is but a general toleration; but a requirement involves in it all the mischief, and, I would add, the guilt, of an indiscriminate endowment for truth and error.

"2. I would suffer parents or natural guardians to select what parts of the education they wanted for their children. I would not force arithmetic upon them, if all they wanted was writing and reading; and as little would I force the Catechism, or any part of the religious instruction that was given in the school, if all they wanted was a secular education. That the managers in the Church of England schools shall have the power to impose their Catechism upon the children of Dissenters, and still more, to compel their attendance on church, I regard as among the worst parts of the scheme.

"The above observations, it will be seen, meet any questions which might be put in regard to the applicability of the scheme

to Scotland, or in regard to the use of the Douay version in Roman Catholic schools.

"I cannot conclude without expressing my despair of any great or general good being effected in the way of Christianizing our population, but through the medium of a Government themselves Christian, and endowing the true religion, which I hold to be their imperative duty, not because it is the religion of the many, but because it is true.

"The scheme on which I have now ventured to offer these few observations I should like to be adopted, not because it is absolutely the best, but only the best in existing circumstances.

"The endowment of the Catholic religion by the State I should deprecate, as being ruinous to the country in all its interests. Still, I do not look for the general Christianity of the people but through the medium of the Christianity of their rulers. This is a lesson taught *historically* in Scripture by what we read there of the influence which the personal character of the Jewish monarchs had on the moral and religious state of their subjects—it is taught *experimentally* by the impotence, now fully established, of the Voluntary principle—and last, and most decisive of all, it is taught *prophetically* in the Book of Revelation, when told that then will the kingdoms of the earth (βασιλεῖαι, or governing powers) become the kingdoms of our Lord Jesus Christ; or the governments of the earth become Christian governments.

THOMAS CHALMERS."

There was one other expression of Dr. Chalmers's opinion delivered so publicly and so close upon his death, that a peculiar weight attaches to it. At the Disruption a large body of the landed aristocracy of Scotland had refused upon any terms to grant sites on which churches or manses might be built. Such stable fabrics would give permanence to a movement which they intensely disliked, and might prevent that reunion with the Establishment which, when the flush of the first excitement was over, they hoped to see accomplished. When these anticipations were falsified, and it became evident that the Free Church was to rank among the permanent institutions of the country, many of these hostile proprietors gave way, but a goodly number still stood out. Having waited patiently, but in vain, for two years, in the hope that this spirit of intolerance would spontaneously subside, and having exhausted all means of private

influence and remonstrance, the General Assembly of 1845 petitioned Parliament and the Legislature, stating the grievance, and praying for legislative redress. The Government having shown no disposition to move in the matter, Mr. Maule, in June 1846, introduced a bill into the House of Commons, the object of which was to oblige the proprietors to concede. The leading members of the House concurred in condemning the conduct complained of, but as its conclusion was thought to be too stringent, and the hope was cherished that their own good sense and good feeling would induce the proprietors to yield without the necessity of legislative interference, the Bill was thrown out. No symptoms of concession appearing, Mr. Bouverie, in March 1847, moved and carried the appointment of a Committee of the House "to inquire whether, and in what parts of Scotland, and under what circumstances, large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects have been deprived of the means of religious worship by the refusal of certain proprietors to grant them sites for the erection of churches." It soon became evident that the examination of witnesses before the Committee was to take a wide and important range, and that an attempt was to be made by representing the grounds of the Disruption as so untenable, and the opposition offered to the Establishment so violent, as to palliate if not excuse even the strong step of refusing sites for churches. In these circumstances, it was deemed desirable that Dr. Chalmers should appear as a witness before the Committee. He had lately retired very much from public life, and was in a situation to take a wider and calmer survey of the principles and position of the Free Church, than was possible at the period of the Disruption, or easy even now for those still mixed up with her affairs. His withdrawal from the public business of the Church had even created in some quarters the impression, that disappointed in his first expectations, the strength of Dr. Chalmers's attachment to the Free Church had been of late somewhat shaken, so that no small amount of curiosity was awakened as to what kind of evidence he would give. On Sabbath the 2d of May, he assisted at the Communion in the Free Church of Ratho, and preached the evening sermon, his last in Scotland. On the Thursday following, accompanied by his son-in-law, Mr. Mackenzie, he set out for London, where he arrived on the evening of Friday the 7th, when he found that his examination was not to take place till the following Wednesday. On the intervening Sabbath he officiated in Mary-le-bone Presbyterian

Church. From his own journal-letters we offer the following extracts:—

"*Sunday, May* 9.—Preached with greater comfort than I had ever done before in London. The church was thin when we first entered it, but became full, with a good many in the passages, before I began. Preached less than an hour; made an early retreat from the vestry to Mr. Carmichael's house close by. Was afterwards told that Lord John Russell, Lady Carlisle, Lord Morpeth's mother, and Lord Morpeth himself, had come to the vestry to shake hands with me, but I had gone.... Delighted with a call after dinner from Dr. Bunting, with whom I and Mr. Mackenzie were left alone for an hour at least. Most exquisite interview with one of the best and wisest of men. Mr. M. and I both love him to the uttermost.

"*Monday*, 10*th*.—Went a second time to the Athenæum. On my way met a gentleman coming out of it, who looked hard at me, and continued looking after we passed; and when I parted from Mr. Hamilton came back to me. It was Dr. Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. As we stood and talked at the door, there came to it two members, to whom he introduced me—the Bishop of Gloucester, and Mr. Lyell the geologist. Dr. Whewell and I sat together at our little table in the Athenæum, where we talked and took our respective soda waters. The treasurer and secretary are both most attentive to me, and I have a good mind to propose the *North British Review* for being taken in, which I fear it is not yet; at least I have not met it, though I have gone through a great number of their papers and periodicals. Went back to my lodgings, where I siesta'd—thence at five to the National Gallery, where we spent half-an-hour among the pictures of the great masters: Wilkie is conspicuous by a statue of him at the entrance and a large portrait up-stairs.* The pictures are few and select, but of first-rate value, and I should like to revisit them;—the Gallery is but a step from our lodgings. Thence took a cab for Mr. Maule's, where we dined;—a small eightsome party, reminding me of Lord Lansdowne's select parties round a small circular table. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Maule, Miss Abercrombie, a nephew, and ourselves, there were but two more—Mr. Rutherfurd, Lord

* Wilkie told Dr. Chalmers that he once met in the Strand a group, consisting of a man and two children, and that his eye was arrested by an object which convinced him that they were the whole family—it was the great door-key which one of them was carrying. Dr Chalmers observed that Wilkie had availed himself of this circumstance in his picture of the Rent Day—substituting, however, a widow for a widower.

Advocate, and last, though not least, Lord Morpeth. We had a deal of easy familiar talk about the Government Scheme of Education, Health of Towns (Lord Morpeth's department), Territorial System, &c. &c. After coffee I had a sofa talk with Lord Morpeth on the subject of West Port improvements, nuisances, public health, &c. &c. I like him very much—intelligent, philanthropic, with all the grace and culture of high aristocracy without its hauteur; he took a most friendly adieu of me when he and the other Parliamenters went off to attend the House of Commons: we sat half-an-hour after them with the ladies. Ordered a cab a little after nine; off to Warwick Street, and flung myself into bed at ten.

"*Tuesday*, 11*th*.—Crossed at Westminster Bridge, where I saw for the first time the magnificent Houses of Parliament, and was powerfully impressed by them. Landed at Mrs. Chalmers's* before three—a feeling and affectionate reception. I proposed to pray with her, to which she readily assented; she was much affected;—altogether it was a serious interview, and my brother's faithful and vivid picture has haunted me ever since. . . . After my siesta went off to the Athenæum, where I had my reviews and newspapers. I am now in the library with other quiet philosophic looking *savans* at our respective tables, and am writing you on Athenæum paper with Athenæum ink, and by an Athenæum metallic pen. In the large room where I had my solitary tea, there were twenty or thirty at their separate dinners. . . . The impression of my brother's picture still adheres to me; it is an affecting memento, and may well loosen our attachments to time. May we be wise for eternity!"

"*Wednesday*, 12*th*.—Here I am, in anxious expectancy. . . . At length the call came, and I took leave of my gossips in the lobby, for my inquisitors in the Committee-room. Sir James was there, and when I entered rose from his seat, came down to the floor, and shook hands with me, with smiles and blandnesses of expression, that made him as unlike a worricow as possible. Mr. Bouverie was in the chair; but Mr. Maule conducted the examination, which he did ably and satisfactorily. Sir James rose in the middle of it, and went out, and I thought he was really to keep his promise. But he did not, for he returned; and had a number of documents along with him—my printed speeches, concluding Moderator's Address to the Free Church Assembly, the very Montrose paper where was my letter anent

* The widow of his brother James.

Gladstone, &c. &c. Thus armed, he fell upon me for an hour or so, to the great surprise of Mr. Maule, who told me afterwards that he had said in public he should not put one question—he could not, in the face of old friendly recollections, &c. &c. My only regret is, that his questioning process of an hour, was the last hour, when, a good deal exhausted, I was scarcely able either mentally to frame, or orally to articulate a reply. However, I kept my ground; and I saw many a friendly smile elicited by my replies. There was an awkwardness that occurred when he asked me about the women's voting, and I said, I ever looked upon that as a most paltry question, on which he reddened, supposing that I meant the question as coming from him, instead of the question or topic in itself. However, he was mild and gentlemanly throughout, and shed many a benignant smile from the tribunal where he sat, on the panel at the bar. On one occasion when he asked me about the wisdom of legislating on some one point or other—some very ambiguous matter, and on which he thought to press me hard—I said that I did not feel it was for me to instruct legislators in their duties. There was a general smile, and he got off by the reply, that from me he should ever be happy to receive instruction upon all subjects. However, in his hands, the examination did at length degenerate into twaddle, and the best answer from me would have been that it was twaddle. But as I could not just say this, and behoved to give him some sort of answer, I was obliged 'to answer a fool according to his folly'—so that as you have heard of trash upon trash, you may perhaps yet read of twaddle upon twaddle! We kept our ground, however, and I was at perfect ease throughout. His main topics were, female voting, the possibility of a re-union with the Establishment, my London lectures —on which he told me that he heard with great satisfaction my advocacy of the Erastian Church of England—my former intimacy with the Duke of Buccleuch, my views of patronage, spiritual independence, &c. &c. I told him that I did not advocate the Church of England; that I felt more hopeful of it then than now, when like to be overrun by Puseyism; that even then I denounced its figment of an apostolical succession, and, without directly attacking its Erastianism, spoke of our own independence, and in terms which provoked the jealousy of English churchmen, &c. &c. He also spoke of intercommunion with the Establishment, and tried to embarrass me on points of previous examination under Mr. Maule; and so we concluded in a state

of great exhaustion, yet with an erect demeanour and visage unabashed. Lord Morpeth and Mr. Maule took me to the House of Lords—the finest room I ever saw, and by which we now outpeer both Versailles and Fontainebleau. There is a profusion of gilding which would have too gaudy an effect were not this counteracted by the massiveness and magnificence of the whole. The general effect both out and in disarms all criticism anent the details. Mr. Carmichael was by this time with us, and he accompanied me to the Treasury, where I called on Mr. Trevelyan to thank him for his blue books—a most interesting person, with all the thoughtfulness and exhaustion of an overworked student pictured in his countenance. He told me that he had read my article with the deepest interest, but offered only one criticism—that I had underrated the difficulties of the Government. He spoke with the highest admiration of the Highlanders, for that not a sheep had disappeared from the hills, not a baker's shop had been broken into—in total contrast with Ireland. I left him with much cordial regard: he and Lord Morpeth are the most interesting people I have met in London. Walked thence through the Park to the Athenæum, at the gate of which I parted with Mr. Carmichael, well prepared for my dinner at five. Being a teetotaller, I determined to repair my exhaustion with good meat instead of drink; and so, on inspecting the bill of fare, ordered a dinner as analogous as I could make it to kale and beef; so for the kale I had a plateful of mock-turtle soup, and calf's-foot for the beef. After this, siesta'd—and where?—still in the Athenæum, on one of the sofas of their quiet library, while the silent readers to the number of four or five were lounging upon their sofas or arm-chairs in other parts of the capacious and handsome room. Arose refreshed between six and seven; expatiated among the newspapers; got home before nine. . . .

"Sir James tried to heckle me, but I hope unsuccessfully, on what I had alleged as the *unanimous* view of Scotchmen in regard to the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical: that and the intercommunion questions I could have managed better had I been fresh. . . . Thus much in bed—it being now eight. I must start for Mr. Carmichael's,* where we breakfast.—May the very God of peace sanctify us wholly.

"*Thursday*, 13*th*.—Started at eight, got into a cab and drove

* The late Sir Alexander Gibson Carmichael, Bart. of Skirling, who, dying too soon for his country and his friends, gave so many affecting evidences on his deathbed of the triumphs of Christian fath.

to Mr. Carmichael's, where Lady Kinloch, his sister, was. Mr. and Mrs. Davies there—he the son of Hart Davies, and connected with the Harfords of Blaize Castle, where we lived; also Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Kinnaird; Rev. Mr. Burgess, now settled at Chelsea; Rev. Mr. Russel, a very fine man, who called me out to explain my proceedings at the West Port to an audience of by this time about twenty, for they came dropping in after breakfast. A cab to Mr. Morell's; a most interesting man—a pallid, reflective countenance, and very conversable on his own subjects. He accompanied me to Portland Place, when I took leave of him at the door of Lady Radstock, who received us in the kindest manner possible. Lord Radstock was engaged out of doors, and we saw not him; but there were two grown-up daughters, very frank and intelligent, and among all the three a fine enthusiasm which we both liked exceedingly. Lunched, and took a most affectionate parting of each other. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the social pleasure of these calls. . . .

"*Friday*, 14*th*.—A most splendid party breakfast in our lodgings—Isaac Taylor, Mr. Morell, Rev. James Hamilton, Mr. Baptist Noel, his son Wriothesly Noel, now a grown-up lad, and George Weakner. A deal of talk: the main subject was Mr. Irving. Mr. Taylor, whom I had not seen for ten years, looks a great deal more than ten years older. The most interesting appearance and manner of a man were those of Mr. Morell—modest and quiet, and very intelligent; but Taylor the person of greatest vigour. Mr. Hamilton's recent tracts are truly beautiful, particularly the 'Vine' from John xv. They left after ten, Taylor and Morell going off together. . . . We took a cab to Carlyle's at Chelsea. Nothing could be warmer than Mrs. Carlyle's reception of me (formerly Miss Welsh, who visited us at Ardincaple Inn). She is remarkably juvenile looking still. He came to us in a minute or two. I had lost all recollection of him, though he told me of three interviews and having breakfasted with me at Glasgow. A strong-featured man, and of strong sense. We were most cordial and coalescing, and he very complimentary and pleasant; but his talk was not at all Carlylish, much rather the plain and manly conversation of good ordinary common sense, with a deal of hearty laughing on both sides. The points on which I was most interested were his approval of my territorial system, and his eulogy on direct thinking, to the utter disparagement of those subjective philosophers who are constantly thinking upon thinking. We stopped more than an

hour with him. . . . Mr. Carlyle professed his willingness to write for the 'North British,' I think Morell would do the same."

Attracted by his desire to spend a day with the Misses Fryer, Dr. Chalmers went down to Brighton on Saturday the 15th; preached for the Rev. Mr. Ross on Sabbath, and returned to town on the following morning. His last day in London was spent with Mrs. Cardwell, the daughter of one* whom he used often to speak of as the most perfect earthly pattern he had ever seen of every feminine and Christian grace. Eager to get on to Gloucestershire, yet anxious to catch a glimpse of Oxford by the way, he accompanied Dr. Buckland on Tuesday forenoon from London to that University, revelled for two or three hours amid its Colleges and Halls, returned in time to catch the train for Bristol, and was welcomed at night by his sister Mrs. Morton at Whitfield, near Wooton-under-Edge. Talking first of what he had last seen, he was instant and profuse in his expressions of regret at the depressed condition of science and general literature at Oxford. He had attended a lecture on geology by Dr. Buckland, and though both subject and lecture were so attractive, there were not more than half-a-dozen students in attendance.—The week which followed was one of pure and unmingled gratification. Wednesday was devoted to a drive through the Bottoms of Gloucestershire, presenting such a succession of rich and varied landscapes, that with all their academic enthusiasm, both Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Mackenzie declared that the glories of Oxford were eclipsed. The record of Saturday must be given in Dr. Chalmers's own words:—

"*Saturday*, 22*d*.—Rode to Bristol on the more elevated of the two roads, and had a glorious view on our right of the Vale of the Severn, and the opposite Monmouthshire. Landed, on our entry into Bristol, at Mr. Norton's, my nephew-in-law. Like him and his two boys, of three years and fourteen months respectively. Mrs. Norton most cordial. Set out between eleven and twelve. Called first on Mrs. Robert Hall, who received us with great feeling and friendship. She has two daughters married, and one unmarried; but not at home. Was greatly interested by the various pictures and busts of Mr. Hall in the room where we sat. 2. By the Vale of Clifton, the Rev. Thomas Grinfield, whose reception of us was quite enthusiastic. The son whom we knew is a medical practitioner in Jersey. His wife and daughter and another son were alike cordial. The lad of 1822

* Mrs. Parker of Fairlie.

is now transformed into a sexagenarian, and I should certainly not have known him. He could not make enough of me; and instead of leaving him at the end of our call, took him along with us. He first took me to a Mrs. Dalrymple (Scotch and Free Church), and we had a genial greeting, then to Mr. Marshall, whom I intended to call on at any rate. He gave us a most friendly reception. In conjunction with Messrs. Marshall and Grinfield, we went to the cliff, and the whole party enjoyed therefrom the view of the Avon, and of the country at large. We then got into our fly, and took leave of Mr. Marshall; but Mr. Grinfield, notwithstanding our limited time, gave secret orders to drive back by his house, whither he himself walked quickly, and met us with a gift of Mr. Foster's 'Lectures,' just published (second series), inscribed to me as a memorial of my visit. Left him with great affection on both sides. Thence back to the Nortons', where there was tea, to which a good many had been invited; last, though not least, Mr. Ellis, author of the 'Polynesian Researches,' still fit for society and duty, though a good deal debilitated by two paralytic attacks which he had some years ago: most interesting talk with him on Otaheite. It was he who both baptized and married Queen Pomare. His daughter lived some time with the Nortons; and his present wife, the second, is an esteemed authoress, as of 'Prevention better than Cure,' &c. I liked the party very much as a whole; and our tea was followed up by the baptism of the younger children, which was laid upon me with the full consent and approbation of Mr. Haines, their clergyman; it was a very awkward affair, —one vivacious boy of fourteen months was kicking and sprawling and laughing during the whole of my address; and then to complete the thing, the bairn instead of being held out to me horizontally was held out perpendicularly; so that I could not apply the water to the face of it but by touching its brow with my wet handful, and letting as much as I could trickle down. The child (Alexander Robert) thought I was playing with it, and got up with a great guffaw of a laugh as the water flowed down its cheeks. I learned afterwards that the Independent ministers, like the Episcopalian, take the child in the one arm and baptize with the other—a thing which I could not have managed, and more especially with a boy so active and athletic as he was. This explained, however, the perpendicularity of the presentation by the father. Left at half-past six. We made a *détour* of three miles to see Foster's daughters now at Overn

with their aunt Mrs. Cox. This Mr. M. and I regard as the highest thing of the day. There was only one Miss Foster at home; but both she and Mrs. Cox were as friendly as possible; nothing could be more gratifying than their reception; and we had a deal of genial talk about Mr. Foster. His books and pictures are kept entire at Overn. On taking leave, Miss Foster presented me with the Lectures, which, as coming from her, I could not refuse, though now in possession of a duplicate. We left towards eight, and had a rapid journey home through a lower road to the west of the former, reaching Whitfield at about half-past nine."

On Sunday Dr. Chalmers preached his last sermon in the Independent Chapel of the Rev. Mr. Dove—his text being Isaiah xxvii. 4, 5. In the course of this visit he met with many Independent ministers, and had much conversation with them relative to the Evangelical Alliance, the Education Question, and Voluntaryism. On the last mentioned topic he was frequent and emphatic in his declarations that he was quite satisfied, from the working of it in the Free Church, that Voluntaryism was not calculated to do what it professed. While ready freely and fully to state his views, he showed himself averse to any thing like controversy. Looking back upon a day which had been particularly full of pleasure to him, he said, "There was just one flaw upon that day's enjoyment, I was too dogmatical on the Evangelical Alliance." "O uncle," said his niece, "I am sure they would not think so." "It's no matter what *they* thought," he said; "I feel so myself, and have a feeling akin to self-reproach on the subject." Great as were the many outward attractions of this visit, its chief pleasure lay in the quiet domestic intercourse with Mrs. Morton and her family. There was such gentleness, playfulness, lovingness, running through the whole of his deportment. "It was most delightful," says his niece, "to watch his countenance. I never saw anything like the smiles that gleamed one after another over it. He looked so happy, so innocent, so childlike, that one could scarcely fancy him the person before whom men of greatest intellect felt conscious inferiority." Each day he read and prayed with Mrs. Morton in her own room. Taking her daughter aside on the last day he was at Whitfield, he took down the Bible, opened it, and said, "Come, and look here." He then followed with his finger every word, as he read the tenth verse of the fiftieth chapter of Isaiah; "Who is among you that feareth the Lord,

that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." "Now I am sure that you have the fear of the Lord before you—thus obeying His voice. It would be very delightful to see Jesus as He is at the right hand of God; but all do not enjoy this—it is not given to all; but all may obey His voice—you obey that voice by honouring your father and mother—by attending to your household duties; and if at any time you be in darkness, see, here is what you have to do. You know that the name of a person is very little compared with his presence, and yet the Lord bids you take His name and lean upon it, and stay yourself upon it, and that will be enough for you." It was in such simple strains as this, that his last Christian counsels were given to the members of a family which had always been very dear to him; and when he was gone from them, the words and tones of his last prayer still echoed through that dwelling, as they remembered how earnestly he had asked that "one and all of them might be shielded under the ample canopy of the Redeemer's righteousness; that every hour that struck, every day that dawned, every night that darkened around them, might find them meeter for death, and for the eternity that follows it; and that when their earthly course was finished, they might meet and spend together a never-ending Sabbath in the bright abodes of purity and peace."

On the evening of Tuesday the 25th, Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Mackenzie were received at Darlington by Mr. and Mrs. Backhouse.* "A most delicious abode, both for enjoyment and repose. Altogether, Mr. Mackenzie and I are exceedingly delighted with this combination of Christianity and high culture." Here, too, many memories of departed days and departed friends were called up and fondly dwelt upon. He listened with great emotion to Mrs. Backhouse's account of the heavenly state of mind in which her father had lived for some time before his death, and how particularly they had remarked this on the occasion of his last visit to them at Darlington. It was not many days till Mrs. Backhouse wrote of himself the very same thing she had told him of her father. "I cannot," she says, "convey to you the impression he left on me of a loving spirit ripe for those joys, for the realization of which he was longing; while his most kind and affectionate manner to myself endeared him more than I can say. His leave-taking was most affectionate,

* A daughter of J. J. Gurney, Esq.

saying, 'I love you all with the affection of a father.'" Penning the last sentences he ever addressed to Mrs. Chalmers, to whom the whole of his journal letters were upon this occasion exclusively directed, Dr. Chalmers wrote—"This is my last sheet. To-morrow (Friday) evening I expect to see you, by the favour of Him whose right hand preserves continually, and for whose grace on us all I ever pray.—I ever am, my dearest Grace, yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

On Friday night he arrived at Edinburgh, bearing no peculiar marks of fatigue or exhaustion. At breakfast the next morning his conversation was as lively and vigorous as ever. He inquired of the Rev. Mr. Gemmel of Fairlie, who was staying in his house, what business had been before the General Assembly on the preceding evening. When told that it was an overture relative to the renewal of an old testimony by the Church, he was not satisfied as to the testimony required to be given—he hoped that they would let the matter alone—he expressed himself unfavourable to anything like a renewal of the National Covenants, and that he preferred the making the Church's testimony known rather by what it did than what it declared. The forenoon of Saturday was occupied in preparing a report which he was to read before the General Assembly on the following Monday, part of which he now completed, leaving the remainder to be executed on Monday morning before he rose. On Sabbath morning he did not rise to breakfast. "He sent a message to me," says Mr. Gemmel, "after breakfast to go and see him in his bedroom. On entering the room, I found him in bed, reclining on his back, propped up with pillows, his head being very considerably elevated, which I believe was his usual way of resting in bed. His bland and benevolent countenance beamed upon me as I came up to his side, and he grasped me warmly by the hand. 'I am sorry that you are unwell, to-day, Doctor.'—'I do not by any means feel unwell: I only require a little rest.' He spoke with the greatest clearness and vigour; and I could not think that anything was wrong, but what might arise from the lassitude produced by his late journey and exertions in the South. 'I am rejoiced,' said he, 'that the Assembly have agreed to avail themselves of the grant for national education; and I trust that a sound Scriptural education will pervade the whole length and breadth of the land. Your resolutions are, I think, to that effect?' I replied, 'Yes; but one of our resolu-

tions characterizes the national scheme as unsound and latitudinarian. I fear that the scheme is latitudinarian; but I am not quite so clear as to the use of the word unsound. Doddridge, for example, is latitudinarian; but I should be very unwilling to call him unsound. And Baxter is still more latitudinarian; but I should be very unwilling, in the full sense of the word, to call him unsound. There are what are called Baxterian errors, I am aware, and one of these is in relation to the extent of the sacrifice of Christ; Baxter, I think, holding that Christ died for all men.' Dr. Chalmers answered, 'Yes: Baxter holds that Christ died for all men; but I cannot say that I am quite at one with what some of our friends have written on the subject of the atonement. I do not, for example, entirely agree with what Mr. Haldane says on that subject. I think that the word *world*, as applied in Scripture to the sacrifice of Christ, has been unnecessarily restricted; the common way of explaining it is, that it simply includes Gentiles as well as Jews. I do not like that explanation; and I think that there is one text that puts that interpretation entirely aside. The text to which I allude is, that "God commandeth *all men*, *everywhere* to repent."' Here the Doctor spoke of the connexion between the election of God, the sacrifice of Christ, and the freeness of the offer of the Gospel. He spoke with great eloquence, and I felt as if he were in the pulpit, as some of his finest bursts rolled from his lips. 'In the offer of the Gospel,' said he, 'we must make no limitation whatever. I compare the world to a multitude of iron filings in a vessel, and the Gospel to a magnet. The minister of the Gospel must bring the magnet into contact with them all: the secret agency of God is to produce the attraction.'—'But,' said I, 'a common objection of the sinner, when awakened to a sense of his state, is, "Perhaps I am not elected; and, therefore, I need not try."' 'That,' said he, 'is cutting before the point. I am a predestinarian: my theology is that of Jonathan Edwards.' 'You are a Necessitarian,' said I. 'Yes,' was the reply, 'a Necessitarian; but I would always wish to be borne in mind a saying of Bishop Butler—viz., "That we have not so much to inquire what God does, or should do to us, as what are the duties which we owe to Him." Human beings,' continued Dr. Chalmers, 'have the most strange way of keeping their accounts: they have one way of keeping their accounts with the world, and another way of keeping their accounts with Heaven. In relation to the world, you will find men often open,

and generous, and unsuspicious; but then they keep their accounts with Heaven in the most suspicious and niggardly manner—in a manner with which I can have no sympathy—continually striving against, and fighting with, the goodness and sincerity of God, and will not take God at His word.'"

In the course of the forenoon, the Rev. Dr. Cunningham called, and went with Dr. Chalmers to the afternoon service in his usual place of worship—the Free Church at Morningside. In accompanying Dr. Cunningham a short distance on his way back to Newington, Dr. Chalmers expressed his great satisfaction at the opportunity he had in London of giving his evidence before the Sites Committee, dwelling with particular complacency on the representation he had given of the position in which the Free Church stood towards the Establishment. Returning by Bruntsfield Links, he made his last call, on Mrs. Coutts, one of the oldest and most beloved of his Fifeshire friends. After tea he retired to his siesta, and wrote the following letter to his sister,* Mrs. Morton :—

"Edinburgh, *May* 30, 1847.

"My dearest Jane,—We reached this in safety on Friday night, and found Mrs. Chalmers much stronger and better, while your Lucy is quite well. What abundant reasons of thankfulness to the great Preserver! May He be the sanctifier of us all.

"I never expected at one time to see you again in the flesh; but now I will form no definite prospect of any futurity on this side of the grave. I am exceedingly happy that we have met, and have derived from my visit fresh accessions of kindly feeling and good-will for one and all of you; for Mr. Morton, and Anne, and Mrs. Norton; and I like Mr. Norton, and do hope and pray that you may be blest more and more in all your relations and connexions.

"Give my kindest regards to Mrs. Maclellan, and with earnest prayers for the mercy and grace of a reconciled Father in heaven on one and all of us—I ever am, my dearest Jane, yours very truly and affectionately, Thomas Chalmers.

"Mrs. Morton."

He went out, after writing this note, into the garden behind his house; sauntering round which he was overheard by one of

* This letter was found next morning upon his table, along with the writing materials, which, as usual, lay within his reach.

his family, in low but very earnest tones, saying, "O Father, my Heavenly Father!" On returning to the drawing-room, he threw himself into his usual reclining posture. His conversation at first was joyous and playful; a shadow passed over him as some disquieting thought arose—but a light spread over his face as he said, that disquietudes lay light upon a man who could fix his heart on heaven. "I'm fond," he said, "of the Sabbath. 'Hail, sacred Sabbath morn!' Do you like Grahame's Sabbath, Mr. Gemmel? Dr. Johnson was very wrong in saying that there can be no true poetry that is religious." "At supper," says Mr. Gemmel, "I sat near him, at his right hand. 'Are you much acquainted with the Puritan divines, Mr. Gemmel?' said he. I answered that I was, in some measure. 'Which do you chiefly admire?' 'I think very much of Howe,' was my reply. 'And so do I,' said he; 'he is my favourite author. I think that he is the first of the Puritan divines. I cannot say that I take much to his image of a living temple; but I have been lately reading his "Delighting in God," and I admire it much.'

"After supper, addressing me, 'You gave us worship,' said he, 'in the morning; I am sorry to ask you again to give worship in the evening.' 'Not at all,' said I, 'I will be happy to do so.' 'Well,' said he, 'you will give worship to-night; and *I expect to give worship to-morrow morning.*' Before worship commenced, and just as the servants were preparing to come up stairs, he asked me whether I had read the Sermons of Mr. Purves of Jedburgh. I answered that I had not. 'They are very excellent sermons,' said he; 'and there is one, in which he rids the marches between the election of God on the one hand, and the freeness of the Gospel on the other, which is admirable.'"

During the whole of the evening, as if he had kept his brightest smiles and fondest utterances to the last, and for his own, he was peculiarly bland and benignant. "I had seen him frequently," says Mr. Gemmel, "at Fairlie, and in his most happy moods, but I never saw him happier. Christian benevolence beamed from his countenance, sparkled in his eye, and played upon his lips. Immediately after prayers he withdrew, and bidding his family remember that they must be early to-morrow, he waved his hand, saying, "A general good-night."

Next morning, before eight o'clock, Professor MacDougall, who lived in the house adjoining, sent to inquire about a packet of papers which he had expected to receive at an earlier hour. The

housekeeper, who had been long in the family, knocked at the door of Dr. Chalmers's room, but received no answer. Concluding that he was asleep, and unwilling to disturb him, she waited till another party called with a second message; she then entered the room—it was in darkness; she spoke, but there was no response. At last she threw open the window-shutters, and drew aside the curtains of the bed. He sat there, half erect, his head reclining gently on the pillow; the expression of his countenance that of fixed and majestic repose. She took his hand—she touched his brow; he had been dead for hours: very shortly after that parting salute to his family he had entered the eternal world. It must have been wholly without pain or conflict. The expression of the face undisturbed by a single trace of suffering, the position of the body so easy that the least struggle would have disturbed it, the very posture of arms and hands and fingers known to his family as that into which they fell naturally in the moments of entire repose,—conspired to show, that, saved all strife with the last enemy, his spirit had passed to its place of blessedness and glory in the heavens.

"Servant of God, well done!
Rest from thy loved employ;
The battle o'er, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy.

"The cry at midnight came,
He started up to hear;
A mortal arrow pierced his frame,—
He fell, but felt no fear.

"His spirit with a bound
Left its encumb'ring clay;
His tent at sunrise on the ground
A darken'd ruin lay."

APPENDIX.

When the sudden and solemn event was announced to it, the General Assembly of the Free Church unanimously resolved to adjourn all business; but to remain convened till, as an Assembly, it had the melancholy satisfaction of rendering the last office of friendship to the departed. The funeral took place on Friday, the 4th June, and we extract from the *Witness* the following account of it:—

"The General Assembly of the Free Church met in Free St. Andrew's Church at twelve o'clock, together with the members of deputations to the Assembly from the Presbyterian Churches of England and Ireland, and also the ministers from foreign parts attending the Assembly; the Moderator, Dr. Keith, and Dr. Clason, conducted the devotional exercises. The ministers and elders not members of Assembly, and deacons, assembled in Free St. George's Church at the same hour; the devotional exercises here were conducted by Dr. Henry Grey and Dr. Buchanan of Glasgow. The probationers and students met in the hall of the New College, also at twelve, where Dr. Cunningham conducted the devotions. A little before one, a large body of citizens, desirous of testifying respect to the memory of the deceased, by joining in the procession, assembled on the south side of Charlotte Square; as did also the Magistrates and Town-Council of the city, in St. George's Church, in the same square. At one o'clock, the General Assembly left Free St. Andrew's Church, the Moderator and Office-bearers in front, in gowns and bands, preceded by the two officers of Assembly, dressed in deep mourning, with hanging crapes, and white rods in their hands, and walking four abreast, proceeded to the Lothian Road, where they halted at about a hundred yards in advance of Free St. George's Church. The members of Assembly were followed by the Professors in the New College, in their

gowns and bands. The ministers and elders not members of Assembly, now left Free St George's Church, walking four abreast, preceded by four beadles, two and two, dressed in deep mourning, and with black rods in their hands, and took their place in the procession immediately behind the Professors. Next came the ministers of other denominations. These were followed by the probationers and students, walking also four abreast, and preceded by two officers dressed in the manner last described. Next in the procession came the Rector and Masters of the High School in their gowns, and preceded by the Janitor in his official costume; and following in their rear were the Rector, Teachers, and Students of the Edinburgh Normal School, with other Free Church teachers in Edinburgh and neighbourhood. Forming the rear of the procession came the large body of citizens, who had assembled in Charlotte Square, walking four abreast. Thus formed, the procession moved along the Lothian Road, headed by the Magistrates and Town-Council in their robes, the pavement being occupied with solemnized spectators, and every window being crowded with faces. At the Main Point, the Committee and congregation of the Territorial Church, West Port, were drawn up, and, as the procession passed, they fell into the rear. The procession moved on by the Links to Churchhill; and having arrived within fifty yards of the gate leading to the house of the deceased, it halted. Here the members of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and the Professors, fell out of their places, and repaired to the house, where the private friends of the deceased were already assembled, and where devotional exercises were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Addis, minister of Morningside Free Church. At Morningside the procession was joined by the office-bearers and congregation of Morningside Free Church, and by the pupils of Merchiston Academy. After an interval of about half an hour, the hearse containing the body of the lamented dead, drawn by four horses, attended by grooms, was led up to the procession, which now began to move slowly off towards the place of interment in the New Cemetery at Grange.

"Dust to dust; the grave now holds all that was mortal of Thomas Chalmers. Never before did we witness such a funeral; nay, never before, in at least the memory of man, did *Scotland* witness such a funeral. Greatness of the mere extrinsic type can always command a showy pageant; but mere extrinsic greatness never yet succeeded in purchasing the tears of a people; and the spectacle of yesterday—in which the trappings of grief, worn not as idle signs, but as the representatives of a real sorrow, were borne by well-nigh half the population of the metropolis, and blackened the public ways for furlong after furlong, and mile after mile—was such as Scotland has rarely witnessed,

and which mere rank or wealth, when at the highest or the fullest, were never yet able to buy. It was a solemn tribute, spontaneously paid to departed goodness and greatness by the public mind.

"The day was one of those gloomy days, not unfrequent in early summer, which steeps the landscape in a sombre neutral tint of gray—a sort of diluted gloom—and volumes of mist, unvariegated, blank, and diffuse of outline, flew low athwart the hills or lay folded on the distant horizon. A chill breeze from the east murmured drearily through the trees that line the cemetery on the south and west, and rustled amid the low ornamental shrubs that vary and adorn its surface. We felt as if the garish sunshine would have associated ill with the occasion. A continuous range of burial vaults, elevated some twenty feet over the level, with a screen of Gothic architecture in front, fenced by a parapet, and laid out into a broad roadway atop, runs along the cemetery from side to side, and was covered at an early hour by many thousand spectators, mostly well-dressed females. All the neighbouring roads, with the various streets through which the procession passed, from Morningside on to Lauriston, and from Lauriston to the burying-ground,—a distance, by this circuitous route, of considerably more than two miles,—were lined thick with people. We are confident we rather underestimate than exaggerate their numbers, when we state that the spectators of the funeral must have rather exceeded than fallen short of a hundred thousand persons. As the procession approached, the shops on both sides, with scarce any exceptions, were shut up, and business suspended. There was no part of the street or road through which it passed sufficiently open, or nearly so, to give a view of the whole. The spectator merely saw file after file pass by in what seemed endless succession. In the cemetery, which is of great extent, the whole was at once seen for the first time, and the appearance was that of an army. The figures dwindled in the distance, in receding towards the open grave along the long winding walk, as in those magnificent pictures of Martin, in which even the littleness of men is made to enhance the greatness of their works and the array of their aggregated numbers. And still the open gateway continued to give ingress to the dingy, living tide, that seemed to flow unceasingly inwards, like some perennial stream that disembogues its waters into a lake. The party-coloured thousands on the eminence above, all in silence, and many of them in tears—the far-stretching lines of the mourners below,—the effect, amid the general black, of the scarlet cloaks of the magistracy,—for the Magistrates of Edinburgh, with much good taste and feeling, had come in their robes of office, and attended by its officials and insignia, to manifest their spontaneous respect for the memory of the greatest of their countrymen.—the slow, measured tramp, that, with the rustle of the breeze

formed the only sounds audible in so vast an assemblage,—all conspired to compose a scene solemn and impressive in the highest degree, and of which the recollection will long survive in the memory of the spectators. There was a moral sublimity in the spectacle. It spoke more emphatically than by words, of the dignity of intrinsic excellence, and of the height to which a true man may attain. It was the dust of a Presbyterian minister which the coffin contained; and yet they were burying him amid the tears of a nation, and with more than kingly honours."

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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